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ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS
ON THE
ORIGIN AND HISTORY
OF
THE PEOPLE OF INDIA,
THEIR RELIGION AND INSTITUTIONS,
COLLECTED, TRANSLATED, AND ILLUSTRATED,

BY
J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., PH.D.,
CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ROYAL PRUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, AND OF THE AMERICAN
ORIENTAL SOCIETY, CORRESPONDENT OF THE FRENCH ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS AND
BELLES LETTRES, HONORARY MEMBER OF THE GERMAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,
AND FOREIGN MEMBER OF THE LEYDEN LITERARY SOCIETY.

VOLUME FOURTH.
COMPARISON OF THE VEDIC WITH THE LATER REPRESENTATIONS OF THE
PRINCIPAL INDIAN DEITIES.
SECOND EDITION, REVISED.

LONDON:
TRÜBNER & CO., 57 AND 59, LUDGATE HILL.
1873.
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HERTFORD:
PRINTED BY STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS.
The object which I have had in view in the present Volume is to compare the representations which are given of the Indian deities Brahmā, Vishnu, and Rudra, and of the goddess Ambikā, in the Vedic hymns and Brāhmaṇas, with the accounts which we find in the legendary poems called Itihāsas and Purāṇas, and to show, so far as the materials at our command will allow, to what extent, and by what steps in each case, the earlier conceptions were gradually modified in the later works.

The First Chapter (pp. 3–62) treats of the deity who is described in the later hymns of the Rig-veda, and in the Atharva-veda, under the different titles of Viśva-karman, Hiranyagarbha, and Prajāpati, and appears to correspond with the Brahmā of the more modern legendary books.

Though this god was originally unconnected with Vishnu and Rudra, while at a subsequent period he came to be regarded in systematic mythology as the first person in the triad of which they formed the second and third members, yet the general idea entertained of his character, if at all altered, has been less modified in the course of his history than is the case in regard to the other two deities.

* [With the exception of the notes in pages i., vii., and x., and the alterations in the figures showing the pages in which several chapters and sections begin and end, rendered necessary by the additions made in this second edition, this preface is reprinted nearly as it originally stood.]
Brahmā was from the beginning considered the Creator, and he continued to be regarded as fulfilling the same function even after he had sunk into a subordinate position, and had come to be represented by the votaries of Vishnu and Mahādeva respectively as the mere creature and agent of one or other of those two gods (see pp. 188, 194, 230, 267, 273). In later times Brahmā has had few special worshippers; the only spot where he is periodically adored being at Pushkara in Rajputana.* Three of the acts which the earlier legends ascribe to

* See Professor H. H. Wilson's Essay on the Pādma Purāṇa, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. V., p. 309, reprinted in vol. iii. of his collected works, pp. 74 f.; and the same author's Oxford Lectures, p. 21. In the preface to his edition of the Nārada Pañcarātra, published in the Bibliotheca Indica, in 1865, p. 4, the Rev. K. M. Banerjea refers to this subject: "Of the three select divinities," (Brahmā, Vishnu, and Śiva) "the first, however, had never become an object of special adoration, having been guilty of an incestuous attempt on his own daughter." (See pp. 45 ff. of this volume.) "The incident is thus accounted for in the work now presented to the public." The words referred to will be quoted below. They occur in the tenth section, vv. 30 f. It had been previously related that Brahmā had exhorted his son Nārada to take a wife and so people the world (prakṣitā kuru mahābhūya kriyā dāra-parigrahaḥ, v. 5). Hereupon Nārada, who was a votary of Krishna, becomes angry, affirms that devotion to that god is the sole way to attain felicity, and denounces his father as an erring instructor (vv. 7-22). Brahmā in reply curses Nārada, and dooms him to a life of sensuality and subjection to women, etc. (vv. 23-29). Nārada pays back the imprecation in the lines translated by Mr. Banerjea, which I give in the original, with some of those that follow: Tūtasya vachanaṁ śrutē śhukopā Nārada muniḥ śaśopā pitarān śighraṁ dāruṇam ama yathochitam | 31. Apyūjo bhava dushta tvam tvan-mantropāsakah kutah | āgamyāgamanechā te bhavishyati na saṁsārayah | 32. Nāradasya te sūpēna so pūjya jagataṁ v. śhikā | drīṣṭvā sva-kanyā-rūpam cha pāschaḥ dhāvitarūn puraḥ | 33. Punah svadehān tatjñā bharsitah Sanākūdibhīḥ | lajjitaḥ kāma-yuktād cha punar Brahmā bhābhūva sāk | 34. Nāradas tu namaskṛitya pitarān kānaloḷdharan | vipra-dēham paritvyāgya cād harvān saḥ | 30. "Hearing the words of his father, the muni Nārada became incensed, and straightforwardly cursed him dreadfully, as was befitting. 31. 'Wretch, become no object of adoration: how shall any one be devoted to the forms of thy worship? Thou shalt without doubt last after her who is no fit object of thy desires.' 32. Through this curse of Nārada, the creator of the world ceased to be an object of worship. Beholding the beauty of his daughter, he formerly ran after her. 33. Afterwards, being reproached by Sanaka and others, he abandoned his corporeal form. Brahmā afterwards became ashamed, being a slave to lust. 34. And Nārada, having made obeisance to his lotus-born father, forsook his Brahmanical body, and became a Gandharva." His loves are then related.
him; or Í̄ ṛṣa, the assumption of the forms of a
tortoise, * Sa̤ryā, and a fish, are in later works trans-
fered to Vishnu (see pp. 27, 33 f., 36 and 38).

The Second Chapter (pp. 63–298) first of all describes
the original conception of Vishnu as he is celebrated in
the hymns of the Rig-veda (pp. 63–97). The particular
attribute by which he is there distinguished from every
other deity is that of striding across the heavens by three
paces. This phrase is interpreted by one of the ancient
commentators as denoting the threefold manifestations
of light, as fire on earth, as lightning in the atmosphere,
and as the sun in the sky; and by another as designat-
ing the three stages of the sun’s daily movement, his
rising, culmination, and setting. The latter explanation
seems to satisfy best the idea of movement expressed
in the description; but the conception is not distinctly
developed in any of the texts. Some of the highest
divine functions and attributes are also assigned to
Vishnu; and we might thus be led to suppose that
the authors of these hymns regarded him as the Supreme
Deity. But this supposition is invalidated by the fact
that Indra is sometimes associated with Vishnu in the
performance of these functions, and that several other
deities are magnified in terms of similar import (pp. 97–
114). The Third Section (pp. 114–121) treats of Vishnu
as one of the sons of Aditi. The origin here assigned to
this god would lead us to conclude that he was origin-
ally considered as of no higher rank than the other
beings who bear the same name of Ādityas. The Fourth

* Compare the passage from the Tattvāya Sankītā, vii. 1, 5, 1, quoted in the
first volume of this work, p. 62.
Section (pp. 121-156) contains the legends relating to the same god in the Brāhmaṇas, in which he is identified with sacrifice; while in one of them he is spoken of as a dwarf. The later accounts of the dwarf incarnation are next adduced as recorded in the Rāmāyāna, the Mahābhārata, and in the Vishnu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas. In the Fifth Section a passage is quoted from the Nirukta (pp. 156 ff.), in which the gods are classified, and the most prominent places are assigned to Agni, Vāyu or Indra, and Sūrya, who seem to have been regarded by the author as the triad of deities in whom the Supreme Spirit was especially revealed, while Vishnu and Rudra are merely mentioned as gods who were worshipped conjointly with Indra and Soma, respectively. The later triad of Brahmā, Vishnu and Rudra, seems therefore to have been then unknown. The remainder of this Section (pp. 163-298), and pp. 441-491 of the Appendix, are chiefly occupied by quotations from the Rāmāyāna and Mahābhārata, containing a great variety of details relating to Rāma and Krishṇa, the two heroes who came ultimately to be regarded as the principal incarnations of Vishnu; and an attempt is made by an examination of these texts to elucidate the question whether or not a divine nature was ascribed to these two personages by the authors of the two poems as they originally stood. The passages adduced from the Mahābhārata relating to Krishṇa make frequent mention of Mahādeva also, and illustrate the conceptions entertained of him at that epoch of Indian history when they were composed. This Section contains also many texts which indicate the existence of a strong rivalry between the adherents of these
two gods. In different passages here cited, Vīṣṇu and Rudra (Mahādeva) are both described by their respective votaries as one with the Supreme Spirit; while in some places they are identified with one another.

The Third Chapter* (pp. 299-437) traces the mythological history of Rudra as he is represented in the Rigveda (pp. 299-320), in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (321-331), in the Atharva-veda (332-339), in the Brāhmaṇas and Mahābhārata (339-355), in the Upanishads (355-363), and in various further texts from the Itihāsas and Purāṇas which describe some of this god’s proceedings, and indicate the struggles of his votaries to introduce his worship, as illustrated in the story of Daksha’s sacrifice (363-393). A summary of the conclusions deducible from these Sections is given in pp. 393-405.

Pages 405-420 contain an inquiry into the origin of the Linga worship,—though unfortunately nothing better than a negative result is obtained;—and into the question whether or not Mahādeva’s worship was most prevalent in the South of India in the epic era. This Chapter concludes with an account of the different representations of the goddess called variously Ambikā, Umā, Kāli, Karāli, Pārvatī, Durgā, etc., which we find in the Kena and Maṇḍaka Upanishads, in the Tāttvīrīya Āranyaka, in the Rāmāyaṇa, Harivaṃśa, and Mahābhārata, and in the Mārkandaṇḍeya Purāṇa (pp. 420-437).

A further indication of the various matters illustrated in this Volume will be obtained by consulting the Index under the names Brāhmaṇa, Vīṣṇu, Rāma, Krīṣṇa, Umā, etc.

It will be apparent to all Sanskrit scholars that the
main results at which I have arrived in regard to Vishnū, Rudra, and Ambikā, are not new. Rosen (in the notes to his translation of the R.V. p. li.), Burnouf (Pref. to Bhāg. Pur. vol. iii. p. xxii.), whose remarks are subjoined in a note,* and Wilson (Pref. to transl. of R.V. i. p. xxxiv.), had already drawn attention to the text of Yāsaka and to the Commentary of Durga, by which it is shown that the three steps of Vishnū were interpreted by the ancient commentators in the manner which I have indicated in pp. 64 ff.

In the same way Wilson, Weber, and Whitney (see pp. 394 ff. of this Volume), had pointed out that the Rudra of the Rig-veda is very different from the Rudra or Mahādeva of the Purāṇas. And in pp. 421 ff. I have quoted the dissertations of Professor Weber on the mythological history of Ambikā or Umā. The whole, therefore, that I can claim to have effected is to have brought together, and to have illustrated to the best of my power, all the most important texts which I could

* "We can at this day go further still, and affirm that the Vishnū of the Vedas is in no way the Vishnū of the mythologists." A commentator of a certain authority, Durgīchārya, explaining the Nirukta of Yāsaka, when he arrives at the text of Medhātithi published by Rosen," (i.e. R.V. i. 22, 17 ff.) "says positively that Vishnū is the sun, either because he enters into the heaven, or because he entirely occupies it. This interpretation, which he derives from Yāsaka himself, leaves no doubt on the question what we are to understand by the Vishnū of the Vedas, who takes three steps. It is manifestly the luminary of day regarded in the three principal moments of his course, his rising, meridional position, and setting; and there is none of the expressions of the Vedic texts in which this god appears, making himself in three steps master of the celestial vault, to which this explanation given by Yāsaka several centuries before our era does not apply. We learn by this example what prudence it is indispensable to bring to the studies by the aid of which criticism must restore the chain which connects the mythical development of the Indian religion with the conceptions of the primitive naturalism of the Vedas. Neither the identity of the names, nor even that of the senses, is a sufficiently sure guide; and the ideas, though originally simple, are clothed in form either so different, or so easy to be confounded, that we cannot judge of the details without having understood and embraced the whole."
discover to have any bearing on the subjects which I have handled.

My best thanks are due to the different scholars who are mentioned in the course of the Work as having given me assistance; and in particular to Professor Aufrecht, whose name recurs perpetually in the following pages, and who has favoured me with the most valuable suggestions and information in respect particularly to the sense of the Vedic texts, which long and careful study has rendered him so competent to interpret.
PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

With the exception of a variety of additions, interspersed through the work, which in all fill about 60 pp., but little alteration has been made in this Edition. The most important additions, chiefly in notes, will be found in pp. 39 f., 78 f., 126, 131, 138 f., 143 f., 151-156, 165, 167, 200-203, 255 f., 261 f., 267, 278, 289 f., 298, 301-303, 304, 310, 314 f., 317, 321, 327 ff., 337, 341, 347 f., 381, 393, 403, 406, 413 f., 420, 425, 441 f., 456, 464 f., 472, 474, 476, 491-493, 494, 496, and in the “Additional Notes.” The addition in pp. 151-156, from the Matsya Purāna, contains a statement (unusual, if not altogether unknown in other Indian works) in reference to Vishnu’s incarnations, which represents seven of them as being the result of a curse uttered against the god by Sukra, the priest of the Asuras, whose mother he (Vishnu) had slain. At the same time it is affirmed, strangely enough, that these incarnations, though occasioned by a curse, were intended for the repression of unrighteousness when it should become dominant on the earth.
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PLAN OF THE PRESENT VOLUME.

Reference has already been made in the second volume of this work (pp. 212–216, 1st ed.) to the great difference which is discoverable between the mythology of the Vedas and that of the Indian epic poems and Purāṇas; and this difference was there illustrated by comparing the representations of Viṣṇu and Rudra which are given in the hymns of the Rig-veda with those which we find in the productions of a later age. On the same occasion I intimated my intention of treating the same subject in greater detail in a subsequent portion of my work. In pursuance of this design, I propose to collect in the present volume the most important texts regarding the origin of the universe, and the characters of the three principal Indian gods, which occur in the Vedic hymns and Brāhmaṇas, and to compare these passages with the later narratives and popular speculations on the same subjects which are to be found in the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, and the Purāṇas.

This gradual modification of Indian mythological conceptions will indeed be found to have already commenced in the Rig-veda itself, if we compare its later with its earlier portions; it becomes more clearly discernible when we descend from the hymns to the Brāhmaṇas; and continues to exhibit itself still more prominently in the Puranic writers, who, through a long course of ages, gave free scope to their fancy in the embellishment of old, and the invention of new, stories in honour of their favourite gods, till at last the representations given of the most popular divinities became not only at

1 The passage occurs at pp. 201–204 of the 2nd ed.
variance with the characteristics ascribed to their prototypes in the Vedas, but even in some respects different from the descriptions which occur in the older Purāṇas themselves.

These successive mutations in Indian mythology need not occasion us any surprise, as they merely afford another exemplification of a process which may be remarked in the history of all nations which have given free scope to thought, to feeling, and to imagination, in matters of religion.

In carrying out the plan just sketched, I shall, first of all, quote the texts in the Vedic hymns which refer to the creation of the world, and to the deities Viśvakarman, Hiranyagarbha, Prajāpati, etc.; these shall be succeeded (2) by passages from the Brāhmaṇas, and (3) by quotations from Manu, the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, and the Purāṇas having reference to the same subjects.

I shall then proceed in a similar order with the various texts which relate to the gods Viṣṇu and Rudra, and the goddess Ambikā, with occasional notices of other Indian deities.
CHAPTER I.

TEXTS FROM THE VEDIC HYMNS, BRĀHMAṆAS, AND PURĀṆAS, ETC., RELATING TO THE CREATION OF THE UNIVERSE, AND TO THE DEITIES VISVAKARMAN, BRAHMANASPATI, DAKSHA, ADITI, HIRANYAGARBHA, SKAMBA, PRAJAPATI, PURUSHA NARAYANA, BRAHMA, ETC.

SECT. I.—Texts from the Rig- and Atharva-vedas regarding the creation and some of the deities just named.

SPECULATIONS ABOUT CREATION,—RIG-VEDA, x. 129 (= TAITTIRĪYA BRĀHMANA, ii. 8, 9, 3).

R. V. x. 129, 1 ff.—Na asad āsīd no sad āsīt tadānāṁ na āsīd rajo no vyoma paro yat | kim āvarīvaḥ kuha kasya sarmāṁ ambhaḥ kim āsīd gahanaṁ gabhiraṁ | 2. Na mrityur āsīd amritaṁ na tarhi na rātryāh āhnaḥ1 āsīt praketaḥ | ānim avātaṁ svadhaya tad ekam tasmād ha anyad na paraḥ kinchanasa | 3. Tamaḥ āsīt tamaśa gāṅham agre2 apraketaṁ salilaṁ sarvam āpi ādam tuchhyaena ābhv apihitam āyah āsīt tapasas tad

1 The Vishnu Purāṇa, i. 21 ff., quotes (from some source which is not indicated) a verse which seems to be in some degree founded on the text before us, and employs it in support of the Sūnkhya doctrine of Pradhāna: Veda-vāda-vāda vipṛṇāḥ niyatāḥ Brähma-vādināḥ | pāthantu vār tam svārtham Pradhāna-pratipādaḥ | 22. Nāho na rātrir na nabhō na bhūmīnasīt tamo jyotir abhūd na vā 'nyat | srotādibuddhyānupalabhya eva pradhānāh Brahma pumāṁs tadāsīt | "Brahmans learned in the tenets of the Veda, firm assertors of its principles, repeat the following statement establishing the doctrine of Pradhāna: 22. 'There was neither day nor night, neither sky nor earth; there was neither darkness nor light, nor anything else. There was then the One, Brahma possessing the character of Pradhāna, the Male, incomprehensible by the ear, or other senses, or by the intellect.'" See Dr. Hall's ed. of Wilson's V. P., vol. i., pp. 20 ff., with the Editor's notes.

2 These words are quoted by Kullūka or Manu, i. 5, of which passage this may be the germ. In the Śatapatha Brāhmana, x. 6, 5, 1 (=Bṛhad Āranyaka Upan-

   "There was then neither non-entity, nor entity; there was no atmosphere, nor the sky which is above. What enveloped [all]? where, in the receptacle of what [was it hid]? was it water, the deep abyss? 2. Death was not then, nor immortality; there was no distinction of day or night: 'That, being One, breathed calmly, in self-dependence: there was nothing different from It [that One] or above It. 3. Darkness existed; originally enveloped in darkness, this universe was undistinguishable water; that One which lay void, and wrapped in a husk [or in nothingness], was developed by the power of fervour. 4. Desire first arose in It, which was the primal germ of mind; [and which] the wise, seeking by their intellect, have discovered in their heart to be the bond between non-entity and entity. 5. The ray [or cord] which stretched across these [worlds],—was it above, or was it below? There were impregnating energies, and mighty powers; a self-supporting principle beneath, and energy above. 6. Who knows, who here can declare, whence has sprung, whence, this creation? The gods are subsequent to the development of this [universe]; who then knows from what it arose? 7. From what

ishad, pp. 26 ff., in Bibl. Ind.), it is said, Na eva iha kinehama agre āsīt | mṛityunā eva idam ārītam āsīt | " Originally there was nothing here. This was enveloped by Death," etc. See also the Tāitt. Br. ii. 2, 9, 1 ff., quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 27.

3 In the passages which I shall quote from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, etc., further on, we shall see that the creative acts of Prajāpati are constantly said to have been preceded by desire: so 'kāma�ata, 4 he desired," etc. In ś hymn of the Atharva V. (ix. 2) Kāma is personified as a deity. See the fifth vol. of this work, pp. 402 ff.

4 In regard to water, as the origin of all things, see 'verse 5, and the quotations which are given further on, from Br V. x. 82, 5 ff., x. 72, 6; the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, etc.

See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon under the words ṛahu and tuḥhya.
source this creation arose and whether [any one] made it or not,6—He who in the highest heaven is its ruler, He knows, or [even] He does not know."

See Professor Müller's translation of this remarkable hymn, his enthusiastic appreciation of its merits, and his remarks in regard to its age, in his "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature," pp. 559–566; and Professor Goldstücker's observations on the same subject in his "Pāṇini," pp. 144 f. The hymn is also translated and illustrated in the fifth volume of this work, pp. 356 ff., to which I refer.

VIŚVAKARMAN,—RIG-VEDA, X. 81 AND 82 (=VÄJ. SANH. XVII. 17–23; 25–31; AND TÂJIT. SANH. IV, 6, 2, 1 ff.).


57 Ob Einer sie schuf oder nicht. Böhtlipgk and Roth's Lexicon, under the root dhā (p. 903).
58 Paramachchado varṇa | T.S.
59 The A.V. reads yo viśvacharshaṁcir uta viśvatomukho yo viśvataspāṁcir uta viśvataspṛthāḥ | sam bāhubhyāṁ bharati, etc.
60 Instead of prithivīṁ uta dyāṁ the S.V. reads tāvāṁ svā hi te.
61 Compare R.V. v. 33, 8. See the fifth volume of this work, pp. 140 f.
EIGVEDA


R. V. x. 81, 1 ff.—“Our father, who, a rishi and a priest, celebrated a sacrifice, offering up all these creatures,—he, earnestly desiring substance, he, the archetype, entered into later [men]. 2. What was the position, which and whence was the principle, from which the all-seeing Viśvakarman produced the earth, and disclosed the sky by his might? 3. The one god, who has on every side eyes, on every side a face, on every side arms, on every side feet, when producing the sky and earth, shapes them 20 with his arms and with his wings. 4. What was the wood, what was the tree, out of which they fashioned the heaven and

12 Manasa yad | T.S.
13 See R.V. iv. 1, 6, and iv. 6, 6, and Roth's Illustratidac of Nirukta, x. 26, p. 141.
14 Instead of yo vidhātā the A.V. has sa uta banāhū.
15 Yo naḥ sato abhi ā saj jagāna | T. S.
16 Asūrtā sūrtā rajaso vimāne | T. S.
17 Guhā yad | T. S.
18 After this verse the Taitt. Sanh. has the following [= Vaj. S. xvii. 32]: Viśva- karnāḥ hy ajanishṭa devaḥ ād ād gandharvo abhavaḥ devitīyah | tītīyah pitā jānitā oshadhiṁ apāṁ garbhām evadadhah purutrā | “The god Viśvakarman was born: then the Gandharva was produced the second; the third was the father, the generator of plants; he divided into many parts the source of the waters.”
19 Bhavīti | T.S.
20 Compare R.V. x. 72, 2, below, p. 1; and R. V. iv. 2-17 (= A. V. xvi. 3, 22): Ayo na devāḥ sajajāna dhamāntaḥ | “The gods blowing on [or shaping] productions, like iron.”
the earth? 21 Inquire mentally, ye sages, what that was on which he took his stand, when establishing the worlds. 5. Do thou, Viśvakarman, grant to thy friends those thy abodes which are the highest, and the lowest, and the middle, and these. Thou who art strong in the oblation, exhilarated, thyself offer up thyself. 22 6. Do thou, Viśvakarman, delighted by the sacrifice, thyself offer up heaven and earth. Let other men who are round about me become confounded. May a generous son remain here to us. 23 7. Let us to-day invoke in our conflict the lord of speech, who is swift as thought, Viśvakarman, for succour. May he who is the source of all prosperity, the beneficent, with a view to our protection, receive graciously all our invocations."

R. V. x. 82, 1.—"The father of insight, wise in mind, impregnated with sap these two [worlds] as they bowed down [before him]. When their remotest ends were fixed, then the heaven and earth extended. 2. Viśvakarman is wise, energetic, the creator, the disposer, and the highest object of intuition. The objects of their desire inspire them with gladness in the place where men say that the One dwells beyond [the abode of] the seven rishis. 3. He who is our father, our creator, disposer, who knows all spheres and creatures, who alone assigns to the gods their names, 24 to him the other creatures resort for instruction. 4. The former rishis, who fashioned these creatures in the remote, the near, and the lower atmosphere, offered to him, like worshippers, substance in abundance. 5. That which is beyond the sky, beyond this earth, beyond gods and spirits,—what earliest embryo did the waters 25 contain, in which all the gods were beheld? 6. The waters contained that earliest embryo in which all the gods were collected.

21 This half verse also occurs in R. V. x. 31, 7. The second half verse, as also the answer given to the question in Taitt. Br. ii. 8, 9, 6, "Brahma was the wood, Brahma was that tree," etc., are quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 32.

22 See, however, Roth, s.v. tanu, and R. V. x. 7, 6; vii. 11, 2.

23 Prof. Aufrecht proposes to translate this verse as follows: "May all other people around us vanish into nothing, but our own offspring remain blessed in this world." In proof of the sense of "offspring," or "son," here assigned to sūri (though it has not always this meaning), he refers to R. V. v. 42, 4; vi. 26, 7; vi. 63, 11; vi. 68, 7; viii. 66, 9; viii. 26, 12. This sense is perhaps also recommended by the parallel in R. V. i. 181, 4, between svakasyasūriḥ and divahputroḥ.

24 Nāma cha pītā eva karoti | Mahidhāra.

25 Compare verses 1 and 3 of R. V. x. 129, above, p. 3.
One [receptacle] rested upon the navel of the unborn, wherein all beings stood. 7. Ye cannot know him who produced these things; something else is within you. The chanters of hymns go about enveloped in mist, and unsatisfied with idle talk."

I have placed these two hymns together, as they are so similar in character. The sense in some parts of them is clear, in others very obscure. The verses of which they are made up are all to be found in the Vājasaneyi Sanhītā (xvii. 17-23, and 25-31), in the same order in which they occur in the Rig-veda, and without any various readings of importance. They are also repeated in the Taittīrīya Sanhītā, with variations, of which the chief have been noted above. Some of them also occur in the Nirukta; viz., R. V. x. 81, 6 in Nir. x. 27; R. V. x. 82, 2 in Nir. x. 26; the second half of R. V. x. 82, 4 in Nir. vi. 15; and R. V. x. 82, 7 in Nir. Pariśīṣṭa, ii. 10.

Professor Roth, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta (pp. 141, f.), offers some remarks on the 2nd verse of the second, and the 6th verse of the first, of the hymns before us, which I shall translate. He renders the former verse thus: "Viśvakarman, wise and mighty in act, is the creator, the orderer, and the highest image [for the spiritual faculty]. That which men desire is the attainment of good in the world where the One Being dwells beyond the seven rishis." He then proceeds to observe: "Viśvakarman, who is no mythological personage, but the 'creator of all things,' and who in the Vājasaneyi Sanhītā, 12, 61,26 is so far rightly identified with Prajāpati, is here celebrated as equally wise in design, and powerful in execution (the highest conception which can be attained by man): and from him the fulfilment of every desire is obtained beyond the starry heaven, where he resides alone, without the numerous deities of the popular creed. . . . . The legend, which relates that Viśvakarman, son of Bhūrana, after he had offered up all beings in sacrifice, concluded by offering up himself, belongs, in my opinion, to the numerous class of stories which have arisen out of a misunderstanding of Vedic passages, viz., in the present instance, verses 1 and 5 of R. V. x. 81."

The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, viii. 2, 1, 10, and viii. 2, 3, 13, identifies Viśvakarman with Prajāpati (Prajāpatir vai Viśvakarmā). See also

26 Prajāpatir Viśvakarmā vimunckatu.
the Aitareya Brähmana, iv. 22, and Professor Haug's translation, p. 299.

The legend here referred to by Professor Roth is given by Yāska, Nirukta, x. 26:

Tatretihamsam āchakshate | Viśvakarmā Bhuvanaḥ sarvamedhē sarvāṇi bhūtāṇi juhavānchakāra sa ātmāṇam apy antato juhavānchakāra | tad-abhivādiny eshā rig bhavati 'yaḥ īmā viśvā bhuvanāni juhvađ' iti |

"Here they tell a story: Viśvakarman son of Bhuvana offered up all creatures at a universal sacrifice (sarvamedha). He finally offered up himself also. The following verse (R. V. x. 81, 1) is descriptive of this, viz., 'he who offering up all beings,' etc."

Some further passages relating to Viśvakarman will be found below, in the sixth section of the third chapter, to which, as well as to the first volume of this work, pp. 52, 76, and 456 f., and to the fifth volume, p. 372, I may refer.

On the 6th verse of the first of the hymns before us (R. V. x. 81), Professor Roth remarks, thus: "For the correct understanding of the second pāda (the latter half of the first line), and similar passages, the reader should compare R. V. x. 7, 6, yathā 'yajah rītubhir deva devān evā yajasva tanvaṁ sujātā | 'As thou (O Agni) at the measured times, O god, didst sacrifice to the gods, so sacrifice also to thyself.' Agni is to accept the offering for himself also. In the same way are the words of the 5th verse of the hymn before us to be understood; svayaṁ yajasva tanvaṁ vridhānaḥ | 'sacrifice to thyself for thine own glorification': the idea of self-immolation has arisen from a misunderstanding of the word tanū 27 and of the construction of the root yaj. The 1st verse of the same hymn (R. V. x. 81, 1) is, as it appears to me, to be understood in a similar manner: 'He who received all these creatures as offerings.' In the passage before us (the

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27 In his remarks on the word Tanūnapāt in p. 117 of his Illustrations, Professor Roth observes: "The signification has been overlooked, which tanū obtains in the older Sanskrit, as well as in Zend and modern Persian, as it there designates our own person, our self, in contrast to things belonging to us. Hence I might explain the word Tanūnapāt as meaning 'his own son.' Agni is his own son, because he springs into life either as lightning, or from the friction of wood, without being the product of similar phenomena, or powers." See also Bühlingk and Roth's Lexicon, under the word Tanūnapāt.
6th verse of R. V. x. 81) the words would therefore be rendered as follows: ‘Viśvakarman, glorify thyself by the sacrifice, offer up to thyself heaven and earth.’ The idea of sacrifice is introduced, because every portion of the created universe which is given as a possession to the gods, comes to them in the shape of a sacrifice. The god who takes anything into his possession is said to offer it to himself. The various reading which we find in the Sāma-veda, ii. 939, as compared with the verse before us (viz., tanvāṁ svā hi te, ‘offer thy body, for it is thine,’ instead of prithivim uta dyām, ‘offer earth and heaven’) may be an amendment in support of the legend.”

I do not know whether this view is consistent with the 6th and 7th verses of the Purusha Śukta. See the first volume of this work, pp. 8, 9, and the fifth volume, pp. 367, ff. Possibly both conceptions (that of the gods sacrificing themselves, and that of their sacrifice to themselves) may have been entertained by the Vedic writers.

[I may here remark that the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ii. 6, 15 ff., gives a sort of paraphrase on the Purusha Śukta. The author there puts into the mouth of Brahmā the following lines (verses 21 ff.), which are intended to illustrate the 7th and following stanzas of that allegorical hymn:

23. Vastūny oshadayah snehāḥ rasa-loha-mrido jalām | richo yajūṁshi sāmāṁi chaturkrotracha sattama |
24. Nāmadheyāni mantras cha dakshiṇās cha vratāni cha | āvēvatānukramāḥ kalpaḥ sankalpas tantram eva cha |
25. Gatayo matayaṁ chaiva prāyaścittam samarpanam | Purushāvayavair ete sambhārāḥ sambhiratha mayā |
26. Iti sambhrita-sambhāraḥ Purushāvayavair aham | tam eva Purushāṁ yajnaṁ tenaiyājyam ēsvaraṁ |

“21. When I was produced,” says Brahmā, “from the lotus sprung out of the navel of that great Being, I found no materials for sacrifice excepting the members of Purusha. 22. Among them were the victims, the sacrificial posts, the Kusa grass; they formed the sacrificial ground, and the seasons with their various qualities. The utensils, the grains, the unctuous substances, the flavours, the metals, the earths, the water, the verses of the Ṛicḥ, the Yajush, and the Sāman, the functions of the four priests, the names [of the rites], the texts, the
gifts, the vows, the list of deities, the ritual rules, the designs, the forms, the arrangements, the meditations, the expiation, the dedication,—all these essentials of sacrifice were derived by me from the members of Purusha. Having thus drawn from the members of Purusha all these appliances, I by this means offered up Purusha, the lord [himself], as a sacrifice.”

In his note on the Nirukta, vi. 15, Professor Roth translates the 4th verse of the second hymn before us (R. V. 82) as follows: “They who in still, in moving, and falling vapour (rajas) created those beings . . . . . . furnished to him the material.” In his Lexicon, however, he renders the word asūrta, not by “still,” but by “distant;” and quotes A. V. x. 3, 9, as another passage in which it occurs.

The later conception of Viśvakarman, as the artificer of the gods, is found in the following passage of the Mahābhārata, i. 2592: Viśvakarman mahābhāgo jajne śilpa-prajāpatiḥ | kartā śilpa-sahasrānāṁ tridāsaṁ cha vardhākhiḥ | bhāshanaṁ cha sarveshaṁ kartā śilpavatāṁ varaḥ | yo divyāṁ vimānāṁ tridāsaṁ chakāra ha | manushyāṁ chopājīvanti tasya śilpaṁ mahātmanāḥ | pūjantyāṁ cha yaṁ nityāṁ Viśvakarmānam avyayam | “Then was born the illustrious Viśvakarman, the lord of the arts, executor of a thousand handicrafts, the carpenter of the gods, the fashioner of all ornaments, the most eminent of artisans, who formed the celestial chariots of the deities; on whose craft men subsist, and whom, a great and immortal god, they continually worship.”

R. V. x. 72, 1 ff.—Devaṁ naṁ nu vayaṁ jānā pravochāna vipanyayaḥ | uktheshu saśyamāneshu yāḥ paśyād uttare yugeḥ 29 | 2. Brahmanaspatir etā saṁ karmāraḥ 30 ivūdhamaṁ | devānam pūrveye yuge asataḥ sad ajāyata 31

28 This hymn is also translated and illustrated in the fifth volume of this work, pp. 48 ff.
29 See Benfey’s Glossary to the Śāma-veda, under the word yuga; and the first volume of this work, p. 455.
30 Karmāraḥ | sa yathā bhastrayaṁ gnim upadhamat evam vāparādayat | (Śāyāna) “As a blacksmith blows up a fire with a bellows, so he created them.” Compare R. V. x. 81, 3, above p. 6, and note 20, there.
31 Compare Atharva-veda x. 7, 25.—Bṛhantō nāma te deveḥ ye’sataḥ pari jajivre | tāṁ taṁ angāṁ Skambhaṁḥ aṣad āhūḥ paro janāḥ | “Great are those gods who
3. Devanāṁ yuge prathāme asataḥ sad ajāyata: tad āsāḥ anv ajāyanta
tad Uttānapadas pari | 4. Bhūr jānē Uttānapado bhūvah āsāḥ ajāyanta |
Aditer Daksho ajāyata Dakshād u Aditih pari | (comp. R. V. x. 90, 5.)
5. Aditir hi ajanīstha Daksha yā duhitā tava | Tāṁ devāh anv ajāyanta
bhadrāḥ amṛita-bāndhavaḥ | 6. Yad devāh cādā salile32 susaṁrabdhāḥ
atishṭhata | atra vo mrityatām iva tivro reṇur apāyata | 7. Yad devāh33
yatayo yathā bhuwanāni apinvata | atra samudre āgātham u sūryam aja-
hartana | 8. Ashtau putrāso Aditer ye jātās tanvas pari | devān upa
prait saptabhiṁ parā Māṛttaṁdam āṣyat34 | 2. Saptabhiṁ putrā Aditer
upa prait pārvyaṁ yugam | prajāyai mrityave tvat punar Māṛttaṁdam
āḥarati35 |

"1. Let us celebrate with exultation the births of the gods, in
chanted hymns, [every one of us], who may behold them in [this]
later age. 2. Brahmaṇaspati shaped all these [beings] like a black-
smith. In the earliest age of the gods, the existent sprang from the
non-existent. 3. In the first age of the gods the existent sprang from
the non-existent. Thereafter the different regions sprang forth from
Uttānapad. 4. The earth sprang from Uttānapad; from the earth
sprang the regions. Daksha sprang from Aditi, and Aditi [came]
forth from Daksha. 5. For Aditi was produced, she who is thy
daughter, O Daksha. After her the gods came into being, blessed,
sharers in immortality. 6. When, O gods, ye moved, strongly agitated,
on that water, there a violent dust issued forth from you, as from
dancers. 7. When ye, O gods, like devotees [or strenuous men],
replenished the worlds, then ye disclosed the sun which had been

sprang from non-entity. Men say that that remote non-entity is one member
of Skambha." This production of the gods out of nothing seems, on one interpretation,
to be contrary to the doctrine of the Chhāndogya Upanishad. Tad ha eke āḥur "asad
vedam agre āsid ekam evadvitiyam tasmād asataḥ saj jāyeta" | Kutastu khalu saumya
evaṁ syād iti hovācha katham asataḥ saj jāyeta iti" (Biblioth. Ind. vol. iii. pp. 389,
392). "Some say 'this was originally non-existent, one without a second; therefore
the existent must spring from the non-existent.' 'But how, gentle friend,' he said,
'can it be so? how can the existent spring from the non-existent?"' See the fifth
volume of this work, pp. 358 ff.
32 Compare R. V. x. 129, 1, 3, above, p. 3.
33 Here Śayana makes yatayaḥ meghāḥ, "clouds." See the fifth volume of this
work, p. 49, note 92.
34 Parīṣyat = upari prākshipat, "fossed aloft" (Śayana).
35 Abharat = āharat = ādyoloke adhārayat, "placed in the sky" (Śayana).
hidden in the ocean. 8. Of the eight sons who were born from the body of Aditi, she approached the gods with seven, but cast away [the eighth] Mārtttāṇḍa [the sun]. 9. With seven sons [only] Aditi approached the former generation of gods. Again, for birth as well as for death she disclosed Mārtttāṇḍa.”

In R. V. vi. 50, 2, mention is made of certain luminous gods (sujiyotishāh) as being the sons or descendants of Daksha (Daksha-pitrin). These notices of Daksha which occur in the Rig-veda have been greatly developed in the later mythology, as may be seen by a reference to the passages given in the first volume of this work, pp. 65, 72, 116, 122 ff., etc. Uttanapāda is said in the Viṣṇu and other Purāṇas to have been a son of Māna Svāyambhuva by Satarūpā (ibid. pp. 65, 72, 106, 114).

On the fourth verse of this hymn Yāska remarks as follows in the Nirukta, xi. 23: Adivya Dakshāḥ ity āhur Aditya-madhya cha stutāḥ | Aditir Dākhāyaṇī | “Aditer Dakshe ajāyata Dakshād u Aditiḥ pari” iti cha | tat katham upapagyeta | samāna-jannānau syātām ity api vā deva-dharmena itaretara-jannānau syātām itaretara-prakrīti | “Daksha is, they say, a son of Aditi, and is praised among the sons of Aditi. And Aditi is the daughter of Daksha, [according to the text] Daksha sprang from Aditi, and Aditi came forth from Daksha. How can this be possible? They may have had the same origin; or, according to the nature of the gods, they may have been born from each other,—have derived their substance from one another.” See also Nirukta vii. 4, as quoted below in chapter ii. sect. 5.

Roth, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta (p. 161), translates the 4th and 5th verses of the hymn before us: “Bhū (the world) was born, and from her opened womb (Uttanapad) sprang the Spaces: from Aditi was born Daksha (spiritual force), and from Daksha again Aditi. Yes,

36 The word Mārtttāṇḍa is compounded of two words mārtta, apparently derived from mṛityu, death, and anta, an egg, or place of production. The last line seems to contain an allusion to this derivation of the word. The Harivāmśa v. 549, thus interprets the word: Na khalv ayam mṛītv utdaksah iti snehād abhāṣhatā | ajnanāt Kaśyapas tasvad Mārtttāṇḍah iti abhāṣyate | “Kaśyapa, from affection, but in ignorance, said, ‘he is not dead, abiding in the egg;’ hence he is called Mārtttāṇḍa.” See the fifth volume of this work, p. 49, note 94. Böilingk and Roth, s.v., assign to the word in this passage the sense of “bird.” See R. V. ii. 38, 8–25.

37 See, however, the fifth volume of this work, p. 51 f.
Aditi was born, O Daksha, she who is thy daughter; after her the gods were produced, the blessed possessors of immortality." He then proceeds to remark: "Daksha, spiritual force, is the male power, which generates the gods in eternity. As Bhū (the World or Being) and Space are the principles of the Finite, so to both of these is due the beginning of divine life."

Sāyana annotates thus on the 8th verse of the hymn:

"Ashtau putrāh" putrāḥ Mitrādayo 'diter bhavanti | "Ye Adites tanvas pari" sārīraj "jātāh" utpannāḥ | Aditer ashta-putrāḥ Ādhvaryaṃ-ṣayaṃ brāhmaṇe pariganitāḥ | tathā hi | "tān anukramisyāno Mitraśaḥ Varuṇaśaḥ Dhātūḥ Aryāmāḥ Aṃśaḥ Bhagaḥ Vivasvān Ādityaḥ cheti" | tathā tatraiva pradesāntare Aditīṁ prastutya āmnātām "tasyāḥ uchchheshanam adadhus tat prāśnaḥ | sā reto 'dhatta tasyai chatvāraḥ Ādityāḥ ajāyante sā dvitiyam āpibad" ityādinā aśka-ṭanām Ādityānām utpattir varṇitā |

"Eight sons, Mitra and the rest, were born to Aditi, who sprang from her body. Eight sons of Aditi are enumerated in the Brāhmaṇa of the Adhvaryus, thus: 'We shall state them in order, Mitra, Varuṇa," Dhātri, Aryaman, Aṃśa, Bhaga, Vivasvat, and Āditya.' In another part of the same work, after reference has been made to Aditi, it is recorded: "They placed before her the remnant of the sacrifice. She ate it. She conceived seed. Four Ādityas were born to her. She drank the second [portion], etc. Thus is narrated the birth of the eight Ādityas." See the first volume of this work, pp. 26 f.

The Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa (3, 1, 3, 3 ff.) gives the following explanation of the same (the 8th) verse of this hymn:

"Ashtau ha vai putrāḥ Āditeh | Yaṁś tv etad "devāḥ Ādityāḥ" ity āchakshate sapta ha eva te | avikritam38 ha ashtamaṁ janayānchakāra Marttāndam | sandegho39 ha evasa | yāvan evordhvas tāvāṁs tiryāṇa purusha-sammitaḥ ity u ha eke āhuḥ | 4. Te u ha ete āchur devāh Ādityāḥ "yad asmān anv ajānimā tad anmuveva bhūd | hanta imaṁ vikaraścāna" iti | taṁ vihakrur yathā 'yam puruso vikritas tasya āyani māṃśāni sankritya sannyāsas tato hasti samabhūvat | tasmād āhur "na hastinam

38 Avikritam kara-charaṇādi-vikāroḥ iti tad-rahitam | Comm.
39 Samyag upachitaḥ samah evaśi | Comm.
pariyrihişyāt purushājanō hi hasti” iti | yam u ha tad vichakruḥ sa Vivasvān Ādityas tasya imāḥ prajāḥ |

After quoting the text of the Rig-veda, the author of the Brāhmaṇa proceeds:

“Aditi had eight sons. But there are only seven [gods] whom men call the Āditya deities. For he produced the eighth, Mārt-tāṇḍa, destitute of any modifications of shape (without hands and feet, etc.). He was a smooth lump; of the dimensions of a man, as broad as long, say some. The Āditya deities said, ‘If in his nature he be not conformable to ours, then it will be unfortunate; come let us alter his shape.’ Thus saying, they altered his shape, as this man is modified (by possessing different members). An elephant sprang out of those [pieces of] his flesh which they cut off, and threw away. Wherefore men say, ‘let no one catch an elephant, for an elephant partakes of the nature of man.’ He whom they then altered was Vivasvat (the Sun) the son of Aditi, from whom these creatures are descended.”

HIRANYAGARBHA,—RIG-VEDA, x. 121.

R. V. x. 121, 1 ff. (Vāj. S. 13, 4: A. V. 4, 2, 7)—HIRANYAGARBHA 41 samavarttātāgre bhūtasya jātāḥ 42 patir ekāḥ āsit | sa dādāra prīthivīṁ dyām utemāṁ kasmai devāya 43 havishā vidhema | 2. (Vāj. S. 25, 13: A. V. 4, 2, 1.) Ya ātmadāḥ baladāḥ yasya viśe upāsate prabhām yasya devāḥ | yasya chāhāṁ amṛtāṁ yasya mrityuḥ kasmai devāya ityādi | 3.

40 Purushājanah purusha-prakritikah | Comm.
41 Hiranve hiranva-purusha-rūpe brahmāṇḍe garba-rūpeṇa avasthitah Prajāpatir Hiranyagarbhah bhūtasā praṇijātasya agrē samavarttata praṇijātottateḥ purā svayam śarīra-dhāri bhūveva | Prajāpati Hiranyagarbha, existing as an embryo, in the egg of Brahma, which was golden,—consisting of the golden male (purusha),—sprang into being before all living creatures; himself took a body before the production of all living creatures.” Mahādhara on Vāj. S. 13, 4. (Compare the words hiranmayah sakunti Brahma nāma | “The golden bird, namely Brahma,” in Taitt. Br. 3, 12, 9, 7.)

42 Jātāḥ. Compare R. V. ii. 12, 1; R. V. x. 133, 2, aśatru Indra jajnishe— “Indra, thou hast been born without a rival;” and R. V. viii. 21, 13. . . . . . tvam anāpir Indra jnanah saḥ sanād asi | “Indra of old art thou by nature without a fellow.”

43 Kasmai devāya | Kasmai Kāya Prajāpataye devāya | “Kasmī, to whom,” is for Kāya, the dative of Ka, the god Prajāpati.” Comm. on Vāj. S. 13, 4. Prajāpatir vai Kas tasmāṁ havishā vidhema | “Ka is Prajāpati: to him let us offer our oblations.” S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, 7, 4, 12, 19.

"1. Hiranyagarbha arose in the beginning; born, he was the one lord of things existing. He established the earth and this sky: to what god shall we offer our oblation? 2. He who gives breath, who gives strength, whose command all, [even] the gods, reverence, whose

44 On the word rasā, see the second volume of this work, p. 343, note 119.
45 Krandaśī | "This word is explained in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon as meaning (not heaven and earth, as Mahādhara in loco understands it, and Sayana on R. V. ii. 12, 8, alternatively interprets,—the other sense assigned being, armies,—but) two armies engaged in battle. See the references there given.
46 Compare with verses 7 and 8, the preceding hymns, x. 129, 1, 3; x. 82, 5, 6; and x. 72, 6.
47 I have observed another hymn in the R. V., the 168th of the tenth Mandala, of which the fourth verse ends with words similar to those which conclude the first nine verses of the 121st, except that instead of kasmāi the 168th hymn has tasmāi. I quote this verse with the last words of the 3rd. . . . kṣa svij jātal kutāh āababhūva | 4. ātmā devānāṁ bhuvānasya garbho yathāvāyaṁ charṣī devaḥ eshāḥ | gosāhāḥ id asya śrīnivore na rāpaṁ tasmā Vātasya hāvēkā vidhena | "Where was he produced? whence has he sprung? 4. Soul of the gods, and source of the world, this deity marches at his will. His sounds are heard [we see] not his form: to this Vāta (wind) let us offer our oblations." Compare St. John iii. 8. "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth."
shadow is immortality, whose shadow is death—to what god shall we offer our oblation? 3. Who by his might became the sole king of the breathing and winking world, who is the lord of this two-footed and four-footed [creation],—to what god, etc.? 4. Whose greatness these snowy mountains, and the sea with the Rasā [river], declare,—of whom these regions, of whom they are the arms,—to what god, etc. 5. By whom the sky is fiery, and the earth fixed, by whom the firmament and the heaven were established, who in the atmosphere is the measurer of the aerial space;—to what god, etc.? 6. To whom two contending armies, sustained by his succour, looked up, trembling in mind; over whom the risen sun shines,—to what god, etc.? 7. When the great waters pervaded the universe, containing an embryo, and generating fire, thence arose the one spirit (āsu) of the gods,—to what god, etc.? 8. He who, through his greatness beheld the waters which contained power, and generated sacrifice, who was the one god above the gods,—to what god, etc.? 9. May he not injure us, he who is the generator of the earth, who, ruling by fixed ordinances, produced the heavens, who produced the great and brilliant waters!—to what god, etc.? 10. Prajāpati, no other than thou is lord over all these created things: may we obtain that, through desire of which we have invoked thee; may we become masters of riches."

On Prajāpati, see the fifth volume of this work, pp. 352 ff.; 390 ff.

The whole of this hymn is to be found repeated in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, the first eight verses in the Taittirīya Sanhitā iv. 1, 8, 3 ff., and most of the verses recur in the Atharva-veda. In making my translation, I have had the assistance of Mahīḍhara's Commentary on the first-named Veda, as well as of the version given by Professor Müller in his Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 569 ff. In his annotation on Vāj. S. 27, 5,—verse 7, the commentator Mahīḍhara refers to the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 1, 3, 1: Āpo ha vai idam agrā salām evāsa | “This [universe] was in the beginning waters, only water;” 48 and explains the words garbhāṁ dadhānāḥ, “containing a germ,” thus: tathā garbhāṁ Hiranyagarbha-kshaṇāṁ dadhānāḥ dhārayantyāḥ ataḥ eva agnī janayantāh agnī-rūpaṁ Hiranyagarbhaṁ janayantyāḥ utpādayishyantyāḥ | “And also containing an embryo (garbhā) distinguished as the golden

48 Compare R. V. vi. 50, 7, quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 345; and the quotations from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa and other works in the next section.
embryo Hiranyagarbha); and consequently 'generating, being about to produce, fire,—Hiranyagarbha in the form of fire." The Atharva-veda reads this seventh verse somewhat differently, this (A. V. 4, 2, 6): Āpo agre viśvam āvah garbham dadhānāḥ amrītāḥ mitayānāḥ | yāsu devisv adhi devaḥ asīt kasmāt ityādi | "In the beginning, the waters, immortal, and versed in the sacred ceremonies, protected (covered?) the universe, containing an embryo; over these divine [waters] was the god," etc. The verse which comes next, the seventh in the A. V., is the first in the R. V. The eighth in the A. V., which has none answering to it in the R. V., is as follows: Āpo vataṃ janayantir garbham agre samairayan | tasyota jāyamānasya uibaḥ āsīt hitaryayah | kasmāt devāya ityādi—"In the beginning the waters, producing a child, brought forth an embryo, which, as it was coming into life, was enveloped in a golden covering."

The idea of the production of the divine principle by which the gods were animated (āsvu) from the embryo generated in the waters, contained in the seventh verse of the hymn before us (R. V. x. 121, 7) is replaced, as we shall find, in the Brāhmaṇas and the later mythology by that of the generation of Prajāpati, or Brahmā, from the egg formed in the waters. In the verse attached to the hymn as the 10th, the deity celebrated in the hymn is addressed by the appellation of Prajāpati, which became a title of Brahmā. The last verse which I have quoted from the A. V. (iv. 2, 8) assigns a "golden covering" to the embryo produced by the waters.

In another part of the same Veda (A. V. x. 7, 28) the following verse occurs: Hiranyagarbham paramam anatyudāya janāḥ viduḥ | Skambhās tadagre prūsinchad hirayām loke antarā | "Men know Hiranyagarbha, the supreme, the ineffable: before him Skambha [the Supporter] shed forth gold in the midst of the world."

I shall make some additional quotations from the hymn of the A. V. in which the last cited verse occurs, and the next following. [The whole of the hymn A. V. x. 7, and a portion of A. V. x. 8, are quoted in the fifth volume of this work, pp. 378 ff., which can be referred to.]

Extracts from the Atharva-veda, x. 7, and x. 8.

A. V. x. 7, 7.—Yasmin stādāhā Prajāpatir lokān sarvān adhārayat | Skambhān tam brūki katamāh svid eva saḥ | Ě. Yat paramam avamaṃ

A V. x. 8, 2.—Skambhenem vaiṣṭabhite dhyāus cha bhūmiś cha tīsthataḥ | Skambhaḥ idaṁ sūram atmanvad yat prāṇad nimishachchaya yat | . . . . 11. Yadi ejati patati yachcha tīsthataḥ prāṇad aprāṇad nimishachchayaḥ cha yad bhuvat | tad dāḍhāra prithivīm viśvarūpāṁ tat sambhāya bhavaty ekam eva | . . . . 44. Akāmō dhīro amritāḥ svayambhāḥ rasena tripto na kutaśchananāḥ | tam eva vidvān na bīhāya mrītyor atmānām dhīram ajāraṁ yuvānum |

A V. x. 7, 7.—"Tell who that Skambha (supporter) is, on whom Prajāpati has supported, and established all the worlds. 8. How far did Skambha penetrate into that highest, lowest and middle universe, comprehending all forms, which Prajāpati created? and how much of it was there which he did not penetrate? 9. How far did Skambha penetrate into the past? and how much of the future is contained in his receptacle? how far did Skambha penetrate into that one member which he separated into a thousand parts? . . . . 17. Those men who know Brahma (the divine essence) in the Male (Purusha), know him who occupies the highest place (Paramesṭhin): he who knows Paramesṭhin, and who knows Prajāpati,—they who know the highest

49 I know not whether this word has here its ordinary meaning, or the same sense which is assigned to the word vaitasa in R.V. xx. 95, 4, 5; S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 5, 1, 1; and Nir. iii. 21. See also R.V. iv. 58, 5; and S'atap. Br. vii. 5, 2, 11; and the fifth volume of this work, p. 384, note.
Brāhmaṇa (divine mystery), they know Skāṃbha. 

24. In the place where the gods, the knowers of sacred science (brahma) reverence the highest Brahma,—that priest (brahmā) who knows them clearly, will be a knower. 

32. Reverence to that highest Brahma, of whom the earth is the measure, the atmosphere the belly, who made the sky his head. 

35. Skambā established both these [worlds] the earth and sky, Skambha established the wide atmosphere, Skambha established the six wide regions, Skambha pervaded this entire universe. 

36. Reverence, to that highest (Brahma, who, sprung from toil and from austere fervour, has pervaded all the worlds, who made soma for himself alone. 

41. He who knows the golden reed standing in the water, is the mysterious Prajāpati." 

A. V. x. 8, 2.—"These two [worlds] the earth and sky, stand, supported by Skambha. Skambha is all this which has soul, which breathes, which winks. 

11. Whatever moves, flies, or stands, whatever exists breathing, or not breathing, or winking,—that omni-form [entity] sustains the earth; that, combined, is one only. 

44. Knowing that Soul, calm, undecaying, young, who is passionless, tranquil, self-existent, immortal, satisfied with the essence, wanting in nothing,—a man is not afraid of death."

I quote these passages partly because they contain frequent references to Prajāpati, a name which occurs but sparingly in the Rig-veda; and partly because they celebrate a new god called Skambha, the "Supporter," or "Proper," whose personification may have been suggested by the function of "supporting" the earth and heavens, which, as we shall see in the next chapter, is frequently ascribed to Indra, Varuṇa, Viśṇu, and Savitri. 

The verse last quoted (x. 8, 44) seems to contain the idea of the supreme Soul as the object of knowledge. 

On the subject of this and the next sections compare the twenty-first section of the fifth volume of this work, pp. 350 ff.

Sect. II.—Original non-entity; Prajāpati; primeval waters; mundane egg, etc., according to the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, Manu, the Rāma-yaṇa, Viṣṇu Purāṇa, etc. 

The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa contains the following legends about the creation.

I. Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 1, 1 ff. (pp. 499 of Weber's ed.)—
Asad vai idam agre āśīt | tad āhuḥ 'kiṁ tad asad āśīt' iti | rishayo vāva te 'agre asad āśīt' tad āhuḥ | 'ke te rishayaḥ' iti | prāṇāḥ vai rishayas te yat pūrā 'smāt sarvāsmād idam ichehantaḥ śramaṇa tapasā 'rishāṁs tas-
mād rishayaḥ' 2. Sa yo 'yam madhye prāṇāh esha evendraḥ | tān esha prāṇāṁ madhyataḥ indriyenaṁdaḥ | tad aindha tasmād Indhaḥ | Indho
ha vai tatav Indraḥ ity āchakshate parokṣam | parokṣa-kāmāḥ hi devās
tad idādha sapta nāṁ purūṣān asṛjjanta 3. Te 'bravaṇ ca "na vai
ītham santaḥ sākṣhyāmāḥ prajanaṇyitum imāṇaṁ sapta purūṣān ekam
purūṣaṁ karvāmā" iti te etān sapta purūṣān ekam puruṣam
akurcan | yaṁ urddhavāṁ nābhes tadu dvau samaudbjan | yaṁ āvīn nābhēs
tau dvau | pakshaḥ puruṣaḥ | pakshaḥ puruṣaḥ | pratishṭhā ekāḥ
āśīt | .... 5. Sa eva puruṣaḥ Prajāpatir abhavaṁ sat yaḥ sa
puruṣaḥ Prajāpatir abhavaṁ ayam eva sa yo 'yam Agnī50 ohīyate 
6. Sa vai sapta-puruṣo bhavati | sapta- puruṣo hy āyam puruṣo
yach chatvāraḥ ātmā trayāḥ pākṣa-puṣcḥāṇi | chatvāro hi tasya
puruṣāh sāmrāśā ātmā trayāḥ pākṣa-puṣcḥāṇi 51 | atha yaṁ ekaṁ
puruṣaḥ ātmānāṁ vardhayaṁ tēna viryaṁ ayam ātmā pākṣa-puṣcḥāṇi
udyacchati | .... 8. Sa 'yam puruṣaḥ Prajāpatir akāmaya
'bhuyāṁ syāṁ prājāyeya' iti | so 'śrāmyat sa tapo 'tapyata | sa
śrāntas tepāno brahma eva prathamam asṛjjata trayāṁ eva vidyāṁ | 
so eva asmaim pratiṣṭhā 'bhavat tasmād āhūr 'brahma asya sarvasya
pratiṣṭhā' iti | tasmād anishaya pratiṣṭhātah pratiṣṭhā hy eskā
yaṁ brahma | tasyāṁ pratiṣṭhāyāṁ pratiṣṭhātita 'tapyata | 9. So
'po 'sṛjjata vācaṁ eva lokād vāg evāsya sā 'sṛjjyata sā idaṁ sarvam
āpnoḥ yaṁ idaṁ kineḥ | yaṁ āpnot tasmād āpah52 | yaṁ āvīnot tasmād
vāḥ | 10. So 'kāmayaṁ 'abhyaṁ'ābhyo 'dhi prājāyey' iti so 'nayā trayāṁ
vidyāṁ saha āpaḥ prāviśat tataḥ āndaṁ samavatītataḥ tad abhyamṛśad
'astro ity 'astu bhūyo 'ste ity eva tad abravī | tato brahma eva prathamam
asṛjjata trayā eva vidyā | tasmād āhūr 'brahma asya sarvasya
prathamajam' ity | api hi tasmāt puruṣād brahma eva pūrvam asṛjjata
tad asya tad mukham eva asṛjjyata | tasmād anūchānāṁ āhūr 'Agni-
skalpaḥ' iti | mukham hy etād Agner yaṁ brahma 53

50 Compare S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa vi. 1, 2, 13, and 21 (pp. 502-3) ; ix. 2, 2, 2
(p. 713). According to vi. 2, 1, 1 ; and xi. 1, 6, 14, Agni is the son of Prajāpati.
51 Comp. vi. 2, 2, 4, and 9.
52 Compare S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa ii. 1, 1, 3; and vi., 1, 3, 1 ff.
53 Compare Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa ii. 2, 9, 1 ff. quoted in the first volume of this
work, pp. 37 ff.
"In the beginning this [universe] was indeed non-existent. But
men say, 'what was that non-existent?' The rishis say that in the
beginning there was non-existence. Who are these rishis? The rishis
are breaths. Inasmuch as before all this [universe], they, desiring
this [universe], were worn out (arishan), with toil and austerity,
therefore they are called Rishis. 2. This breath which is in the midst
is Indra. He by his might kindled these breaths in the midst: inas-
much as he kindled them, he is the kindler (Indha). They call Indha
Indra esoterically: for the gods love that which is esoteric. They [the
gods] being kindled, created seven separate males (purusha). 3. They
said, 'being thus, we shall not be able to generate; so let us make these
seven males one male.' So speaking, they made these seven males one
male (purusha). Into the part above the navel, they compressed two of
them, and two others into the part below the navel; [one] male
formed one] side; [another] male [another] side: and one formed the
base. . . . 5. This [one] male became Prajapati. The male who
became Prajapati is the same as this Agni who is kindled on the
altar. 6. He verily is composed of seven males (purusha): for this
male is composed of seven males, since [four] make the soul, and three
the sides and extremity (lit., tail). For the soul of this male [makes]
four, and the sides and extremity three. Now inasmuch as he makes
the soul [which is equal to four] superior by one male, the soul, in
consequence of this [excess of] force, controls the sides and extremity
[which are only equal to three]. . . . 8. This male (purusha) Praj-
jabati desired, 'may I be multiplied, may I be developed.' He toiled,
he performed austerity. Having toiled and performed austerity, he
first created the Veda (brahma), the triple science. It became to him
a foundation; hence men say, 'the Veda (brahma), is the foundation of
all this.' Wherefore having studied [the Veda] a man has a founda-
tion, for this is his foundation, namely the Veda. Resting on this
foundation, he performed austerity. 9a He created the waters from
the world [in the form of] speech. 64 Speech belonged to him. It was

64 This is illustrated by a passage in the Satapatha Brahmana, vii. 5,2, 21 (p. 617),
which says: vāg vai ajo vičho vai praṣṭāh Viśvakarmā jajāva | "Speech is the mover
[or, the unborn]. It was from speech that Viśvakarman produced creatures." And
in the Brihad Aranyaka (p. 290 of Bibl. Ind.) it is said | trayo locāh ete eva | vāg
eviyām loko mano 'ntariksha-locāh prāgo 'sau locāh | "It is they which are the three
created. It pervaded all this. Because it pervadad (āpnott) all this which exists, it (speech) was called waters (āpah); and because it covered (avrinot), it was called vāh (another name of water). 10. He desired, 'May I be reproduced from these waters.' So saying, with this triple science he entered the waters. Thence an egg arose. He handled it. He said to it, 'let it become,' 'let it become,' 'let it be developed.' From it the Veda was first created, the triple science. Hence men say, 'the Veda is the first-born of this whole [creation]. Further, [as] the Veda was first created from that Male, therefore it was created his mouth. Hence they say of a learned man that he is like Agni; for the Veda is Agni's mouth.'

The same idea about Prajāpāti being composed of seven males, occurs again in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 2, 2, 1, and seems to be connected with the notion of Agni having the size of seven males. (See the commentary on Satap. Br. x. 2, 2, 1).—Yān vai tān sapta purushān ekam purusham akurvan sa Prajāpātir abhavat | sa prajāh asrijata | sa prajāh śrishtvā ārddheḥ udakrāmat | sa etām lokam agachhad yatram esha etat tapati | no ha tarhy anyah etasmād atra yajnīyāh asa tam devāh yajnenaiva yashtum adhriyanta | tasmād etad rishinā 'bhyanuktaṁ 'yajnena yajnam ayajanta devāh ityādi | "These seven males whom they made one male (purusha) became Prajāpāti. He created offspring. Having created offspring, he mounted upwards; he went to this world where this scorches this. There was then no other being fit for sacrifice: the gods began to offer him with sacrifice. Hence it has been said by the rishi (R. V. x. 90, 16), 'the gods offered the sacrifice with sacrifice.'" Part of the passage, Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 1, 6 is repeated in Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 2, 2, 5.

II. In the preceding story, the gods are represented as the creators
of Prajāpati, who in his turn is stated to have generated the waters, which he entered, and from which sprang the mundane egg. In the following story, the order of production is different. The waters generate the egg, and the egg brings forth Prajāpati, who creates the worlds and the gods.

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 1, 6, 1 ff.—ṣapaha vai idam agre salilam evāṣa\(^{53}\) tāḥ akāmmayanta \textquoteleft katham nu praśyaṁmah\textquoteright iti tāḥ aśrāmyāṁ tās tapo \textquoteleft tapyanta \textright tāsā tapas tapyamānaṁ triśaṁ saṁbhāva \textright ajāto ha tarhi saṁvatsaraṁ āśa \textright ādāṁ hiraṁ mayam āparāṁ āvatsaṁ saṁvatsarasasya velā tāvat pariṇāpaṁ\(^{52}\) 2. Tatha saṁvatsare purushaṁ saṁabhavat sa Prajāpatiṁ | tasmād u saṁvatsare eva stri vā gaur vā vaḍābā vā vijāyate saṁvatsare hi Prajāpatir ajāyata \textright ādāṁ hiraṁ mayam āparāṁ āvatsaṁ saṁvatsarasasya velā āśi tāve bibhrat pariṇāpaṁ\(^{59}\) 3. Sa saṁvatsare vyājīhirshat \textright sa \textquoteleft bhūr\textright iti vyāharat sa iyam prithivy abhava-v\(^{60}\) \textquoteleft bhūvaḥ\textright iti ādāṁ antariksham abhava svar iti sa asai dyāur abhavaḥ tasmād u saṁvatsare eva kūmāro vyājīhirshatī saṁvatsare hi Prajāpatir vyāharat . . . 6. Sa sahaś-rāyur jāne \textright sa yatāh nadiyai pāram pariṇāpaśyed evam svaśayaṁ uṣhāḥ pāram pariṇāhaṁ\(^{5}\) 7. So ṛchan śrāmyāṁs chachāra Prajākāmaḥ \textright

\(^{53}\) Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 7, 1, 17.—Tasyay āpah eva pratishtāḥ | apsu hi ime lobhā pratisākṣiptāḥ \textright \textquoteleft Waters are its support: for these worlds are based upon the waters.\textright Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 8, 6, 1 (≡Epihād Ārāyaka Upanishad, p. 974).

—ṣapaha evaṁ u seṣuḥ \textright \textquoteleft The world was created True, Truth, created Brahma, Brahma created Prajāpati, and Prajāpati the gods.\textright Compare Taitt. Sanh. vii. 1, 5, 1 ff.; Taitt. Br. i. 1, 3, 5 ff.; and Taitt. Āraṇy. i. 23, 1 ff. quoted in pp. 31 and 52 f. of vol. i. this work. To the same effect is Taitt. Sanh. v. 7, 5, 3, Āpah vai idam agre salilam āśi. The A. V. xii. 1, 8, also says: \textquoteleft That earth which formerly was water on the ocean, which the sages followed after by their divine powers,\textright etc. R. V. x. 109, 1, speaks of the \textquoteleft divine first-born waters\textright (āpo deviḥ prathamaṁ). The Satāp. Br. xiv. 2, 2, 2, represents the wind as the ocean, which was the source from which the gods and all creatures issued (aṅāṁ vai samudra yo 'yam pavate | etasmin vai samudrāṁ sarve devāḥ sarvāni bhūtāni samuddravanti | 59) Tasya Prajāpater āpadaṁ kimāpi na babhūva sa cha nirādhi-avatvā sthātum aśāknevaṁ ādama eva bhīnam hiraṁ mayam uṣhāḥ saṁvatsara-parāyantam bibhṛad dhyāyan tāv evāpyuṣu pariṇāpaṁ | \textquoteleft There was no resting place for Prajāpati; and he, being unable to stand, from the want of any support, occupying this divided golden egg for a year, floated about on these waters.\textright Commentary.

\(^{60}\) Compare vol. iii. of this work, 2nd ed. pp. 101, 104, and Satapatha Brāhmaṇa ii. 1, 4, 11, p. 141.
WATERS; MUNDANE EGG; PRAJĀPATI; GODS.

sa utmany eva prajātim' adhatta sa āsyenaiva devān asrijata | te devāh divam abhipadya asrijyanta tad devānāṁ devatvāṁ yad divam abhipadya asrijyanta | tasmai sasrijāṇāya divā iva āsa61 | tad eva devānāṁ devatvāṁ yad asmai sasrijāṇāya divā iva āsa | 8. Atha yo 'yaṁ avān prānas tena asurān asrijata | te imāṁ eva prithivim abhipadya asrijyanta | tasmai sasrijāṇāya tamāḥ iva āsa | 9. So 'vet "pāmāṇāṁ vai asrikṣi āsmai me sasrijāṇāya tamāḥ iva abhūd" iti | tāṁs tataḥ eva pāmāna 'vidhyat | te tataḥ eva parābhavān | . . . . 14. Tāṁ vai etāṁ Prajāpater adhi devatāḥ asrijyanta Agnir Indrah62 Somakh Parameshtih prajāpatyah | . . . . 18. Sa Prajāpatir Indram putram abravid ityādi |

"In the beginning this universe was waters, nothing but water. The waters desired, 'how can we be reproduced?' So saying, they toiled, they performed austerity. While they were performing austerity, a golden egg came into existence. Being produced, it then became a year. Wherefore this golden egg floated about for the period of a year. 2. From it in a year a male (purusha) came into existence, who was Prajāpati. Hence it is that a woman, or a cow, or a mare, brings forth in the space of a year, for in a year Prajāpati was born. He divided this golden egg. There was then no resting-place for him. He therefore floated about for the space of a year, occupying this golden egg. 3. In a year he desired to speak. He uttered 'bhūr,' which became this earth; 'bhuvah,' which became this firmament; and 'svāra,' which became that sky. Hence a child desires to speak in a year, because Prajāpati spoke in a year. . . . 6. He was born with a life of a thousand years. He perceived the further end of his life, as [one] may perceive the opposite bank of a river. 7. Desiring offspring, he went on worshipping and toiling. He conceived progeny in himself: with his mouth he created the gods. These gods were created on reaching heaven. This is the godhead of the gods (devāh) that they were created on reaching heaven (divam). To him while he was continuing to create, it became, as it were, daylight (divā). This is the godhead of the gods, that to him as he was continuing to

62 In R. V. x. 134, 1 ff. Indra is said to be the son of a mother whose name is not mentioned. See, however, the fifth volume of this work, where this subject is referred to.
create, it became, as it were, daylight. 8. Then from this lower breath he created the Asuras. They were created when they reached this world. To him, when creating, darkness, as it were, appeared. 9. He knew: ‘I have created evil, since as I was creating, darkness, as it were, appeared.’ He then pierced them with evil; and they in consequence were overcome. . . . . 14. These [following] gods were created from Prajāpati,—Agni, Indra, Soma, and Parameshthin, son of Prajāpati. . . . . 18. Prajāpati said to his son Indra,’” etc.

The mundane egg is also mentioned in the Chhāndogya Upanishad (p. 228 ff.): Ādityo Brahma ity ādesah | tasyopavyākhyānam | asad eva idam agre āsit | tat sad āsit | tat samabhavat | tad añḍam niravarttata | tat saṁvatsrasasya mātrām aṣayata | tad nirabhidyata | te añḍa-kapāla rajataṁ cha swarṇam cha abhavatām | tad yad rajataṁ sā iyam prithivi yat swarṇam sā dyaur yaj, jārāyu | te parvataḥ yad uvaṁ sa megho niharo | tuḥ dhamanayas tāḥ nadyo yad vāsteyam udakam sa samudraḥ | atha yat tad ajāyata so 'sāv Ādityas tāṁ jāyamānam ghoshāḥ ulūlavo 'nudatishṭhan [‘nudatishṭhan?] sarvāṇi cha bhūtāni sarve cha kāmās tasmāt tasyodayam prati pratyāyanam prati ghoshāḥ ulūlavo ’nudatishṭhan sarvāṇi cha bhūtāni sarve chaiva kāmāḥ | which is thus translated by Babu Rājendralal Mittra: “The sun is described as Brahma;—its description. Verily at first this was non-existent; that non-existence became existent; it developed,—it became an egg: it remained [quiet] for a period of one year; it burst into two; thence were formed two halves of gold and silver. Thereof the argentine half is the earth, and the golden half the heaven. The inner thick membrane [of the egg] became mountains, and the thin one cloudy fog; the blood-vessels became rivers, and the fluid became the ocean; and lastly, what was born therefrom is the sun, Āditya. On its birth arose loud shouts [or shouts of ‘ulu-ulu’], as well as all living beings, and their desires. Hence on the rising, and re-rising [day after day]

63 Garbha-veshtanāṁ sthūlaṁ | Comm.
64 Sūkṣmaṁ garbha-pariveshtanāṁ | Comm.
65 Avasīyāyaḥ (frost) | Comm.
66 S'irāḥ | Comm.
68 Uruvavo vāstīrṇa-raṉāḥ udatīṣṭham uṭthita-vantāḥ | Comm. 69 Pratyāsta-gamanam . . . athavā punah punah pratyāgamanam |
of the sun, arise shouts of 'ulu-ulu,' as well as all living beings and their desires." (Bibl. Ind. No. 78, p. 65.)

In the next passage, Prajāpati is said to have taken the form of a tortoise:

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 4, 3, 5.—Sa yat kūrmo nāma etad vai ṛupaṁ kṛtva Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ āsrijata | yad āsrijata akarot tad yat akarot tasmāt kūrnah | Kaśyapo vai kūrmas tasmād āhuh sarvah prajāḥ Kaśyapyah iti | sa yaḥ sa kūrmo sau sa Ādityaḥ | "Having assumed the form of a tortoise, Prajāpati created offspring. That which he created, he made (akarot); hence the word kūrm. Kaśyapa means tortoise; hence men say, 'all creatures are descendants of Kaśyapa.'

This tortoise is the same as Āditya."

In the later mythology it is Vishnū who assumes the form of a tortoise:

Thus in the chapter of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa descriptive of Vishnū's incarnations it is said (i. 3, 16) : Sūrāsurānām udadhīm mathnatām mathanāchalam | dadhre kamaṭha-ṛūpena prīṣthe ekādaśe vibhuḥ | "In his eleventh incarnation, the Lord in the form of a tortoise supported on his back the churning-mountain, when the gods and Asuras were churning the ocean."

In its application of the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, 37, 5, the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, 14, 1, 2, 11, makes the following allusion to the elevation of the earth by a boar: "Iyatya agrē āśid" (Vāj. S. 37, 5) iti | iyat ha vai iyam agrē prithivy āsa pradeśa-mātri | tām Emūshaḥ iti va-rāhah | ujağhāna | so 'syāḥ patiḥ Prajāpatiḥ tenaiva enam etanithu-nena prīyena dhāmnā | samardhayaī kritsnāṁ karoti ityādi |

"She (the earth), was formerly so large,' etc.; for formerly this

70 Kaśyapa is mentioned in the A. V. xix. 53, 10 (see the fifth volume of this work, p. 408); as well as in two rather obscure verses of the Śāma-veda, which do not occur in the Rigveda. The first is i. 90: Jātaḥ pareṇa dharmaḥ yat savriḍhiḥ saḥākhumah | pitā yat Kaśyapasyōghaḥ Sṛaddhā mātā Manuḥ kavīḥ | "Since with thy companions, thou hast been produced through an excellent rite; since Agni is the father, Faith (Sraddha) the mother, and Manu the bard, of Kaśyapa." The second is i. 361: Kaśyapasya svarvīdeo yāv āhuh sayujāva iti | yaṣor viśvam api vratān yajnas dhrīrāḥ nīcāya | "Whom twain the wise, revering, declare to be the companions of the heavenly Kaśyapa; to whom twain [they declare] the entire power (or ceremonial) and sacrifice to belong."

71 See R. V. viii. 66, 10.

72 In regard to these words compare S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, iii. 9, 4, 20.
earth was only so large, of the size of a span. Emūsha, a boar, raised her up. Her lord, Prajāpati, in consequence, prospers him with this pair, the object of his desire, and makes him complete," etc. Compare the passages from the Taittirīya Sanhitā and Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, etc., quoted in the first volume of this work, pp. 52 ff., and 181 ff.; and also the fifth volume of this work, pp. 390 ff.

From Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 78, I find that in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka also, the earth is said to have been "raised by a black boar with a hundred arms" (varāhena krishṇena sata-bāhunā uddhṛita).

I quote some further texts from the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa relative to Prajāpati.

In the following he is said to have in the beginning constituted the universe, and to have created Agni (see above, p. 26).

S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii., 2, 4, 1.—Prajāpatir ha vai idam agre ekaḥ evāsa | sa aikṣata 'kathaṁ nu prajāyeya' iti | so 'śrāmyat sa tapo 'tapyata so 'gnim eva mukhāj janayāṁchakre, ityādi | "Prajāpati alone was all this [universe] in the beginning. He considered, 'how can I be reproduced?' He toiled, and performed austerity. He generated Agni from his mouth." Compare the passages quoted in the first vol. of this work, pp. 24, 69 ff.; in volume third, p. 4; and in volume fifth, pp. 390, ff.

In the next passage he is identified with Daksha: 73

S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 4, 4, 1.—Prajāpatir ha vai etenāgre yajñene jė prajākumo 'bahuḥ prajāya paśubhī syāṁ śriyāṁ gachheyāṁ yaśāḥ syāṁ annūdaḥ syāṁ' iti | sa vai Daksho nāma ityādi | "Prajāpati formerly sacrificed with this sacrifice, being desirous of progeny, [and saying] 'may I abound in offspring and cattle, attain prosperity, become famous, and obtain food.' He was Daksha."

In S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 8, 1, 14, Prajāpati is said to be the supporter of the universe (a function afterwards assigned to Viṣhnu): Prajāpatir vai bharataḥ sa hi idaṁ sarvam bibhartti | "Prajāpati is Bharata (the supporter), for he supports all this universe." 74

73 See R. V. x. 72, 4, 5 (above p. 12).

74 In R. V. i. 96, 3, the epithet Bharata is applied to Agni. The commentator there quotes another text, nē doubt from a Brāhmaṇa, esha prāṇo bhūtvā prajāḥ bibhartti tasmād esha bharataḥ | "He becoming breath, sustains all creatures; hence he is the sustainer."
Compare the first verse of the Mundaka Upanishad, where Brahma is called the preserver of the world (bhuvanasya goptā).

In the next passage Prajāpati is represented as desirous, not to create, but to conquer, the worlds:

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 2, 4, 1.—Prajāpatir ākāmayata ‘ubhau lokāh abhijdeyām deva-lokānca manushya-lokānca’ ityādā | “Prajāpati desired, ‘may I conquer both worlds,’ that of the gods, and that of men,” etc. Comp. Satap. Br., x. 2, 1, 1.

In Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 6, 1, 1, Purusha Nārāyaṇa is introduced:

Purusha ha Nārāyaṇo ākāmayata ‘atishśeyāṁ sarvān bhūtānī aham eva idāṁ sarvān syām’ iti | sa etam purusha-medham pancha-rātraṁ yajnākramata apāṣyat tam āharat tena āyujata tena ishtiya ‘tyatishtat sarvānī bhūtānī idāṁ sarvān abhavat | atishśhati sarvānī bhūtānī idāṁ sarvān bhavati yaḥ evaṁ vidvān purusha-medhena yujate yo vai etad evaṁ veda |

“Purusha Nārāyaṇa desired, ‘may I surpass all created things; may I alone become all this?’ He beheld this form of sacrifice called ‘purusha-medha’ (human sacrifice) lasting five nights. He took it; he sacrificed with it. Having sacrificed with it, he surpassed all created things, and became all this. That man surpasses all created things, and becomes all this, who thus knowing, sacrifices with the ‘purusha-medha,’—he who so knows this.” The Purusha-sūktā is shortly afterwards quoted. Comp. Satap. Br. xii. 3, 41, quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 377.

In Satap. Br., xi. 2, 3, 1, Brahma (in the neuter) is introduced as being the original source of all things: Brahma vai idam agrī āsīt | tad devān asrijata | tad devān aśishvā eshu lokeshu vyārohayad uśmin eva lokē’gniṁ Vāyum āntarikshe divy eva Śūryam | “In the beginning Brahma was all this. He created the gods. Having created the gods, he placed them in these worlds, in this world Agni, Vāyu in the atmosphere, and Śūrya in the sky.” This passage is quoted at greater length in vol. v. of this work, p. 387 ff. Comp. the other passages quoted in pp. 378–390, and Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 3, 1, cited in p. 361, note, of the same volume; and Satapatha Brāhmaṇa xiv., 4, 2, 21, and 23 (=Bṛhadārānyaka Upanishad in Bibliotheca Indica, pp. 198 ff., and 335).

In Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 7, 1, 1, Brahma is described as sacrificing himself: Brahma vai svayambhu tapo ‘tapyata | tad aikṣhata
na vai tapasy ānantyam asti hanta aham bhūteshv ātmānaṁ juhavāni bhūtāṇi cha ātmanī 'iti | tat sarveshu bhūteshv ātmānaṁ hutaṁ bhūtāṇi cha ātmanī sarveshām bhūtānaṁ śraṅktiḥyaṁ svārājyaṁ ādhipatyām paryait | tathaiva etad yajamānaḥ sarvamedhe sarvān medhān hutaṁ sarvāṇi bhūtāṇi śraṅktiḥyaṁ svārājyaṁ ādhipatyām paryeti |

"The self-existent Brahma performed austerity. He considered, 'in austerity there is not infinity. Come let me sacrifice myself in created things, and created things in myself.' Then having sacrificed himself in all created things, and all created things in himself, he acquired superiority, self-effulgence, and supreme dominion (compare Manu, xii. 91). Therefore a man offering all oblations, all creatures, in the 'sarvamedha' (universal sacrifice), obtains superiority, self-effulgence, and supreme dominion."

The following is the account of the creation, given at a later period by Manu, i. 5 ff., founded, no doubt, on R. V. x. 129, and the passages of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, given above (pp. 20 ff.), or some other ancient sources of the same character, with an intermixture of more modern doctrines:


75 See the discussion on the sense of R. V. x. 81, 1, 5, 6 (above, pp. 9 f.).
tistinguishable, undiscoverable, unknowable, as it were entirely sunk in sleep. 6. Then the irresistible self-existent Lord, undiscerned, causing this universe with the five elements and all other things, to become discernible, was manifested, dispelling the gloom. 7. He who is beyond the cognizance of the senses, subtile, undiscernible, eternal, who is the essence of all beings, and inconceivable, himself shone forth. 8. He, desiring, seeking to produce various creatures from his own body, first created the waters, and deposited in them a seed. 9. This [seed] became a golden egg, resplendent as the sun, in which he himself was born as Brahmā, the progenitor of all the worlds. 10. The waters are called 'nārāḥ,' because they are the offspring of Nāra; and since they were formerly the place of his movement (ayana), he is therefore called Nārāyana. 11. Being formed by that First Cause, undiscernible, eternal, which is both existent and non-existent, that Male (purusha) is known in the world as Brahmā. 12. That lord having continued a year in the egg, divided it into two parts by his mere thought. 13. With these two shells he formed the heavens and the earth; and in the middle he placed the sky, the eight regions, and the eternal abode of the waters.”

It will be observed from verses 9–11, that the appellation Nārāyana is applied to Brahmā, and that no mention is made of Vishnu.

On verse 8 Kullūka annotates thus: ‘Tad āṇḍam abhavād haimam’ iti | tad vijyam Parmāsvarapūsanā jīvaṇaḥ haimaṁ bhūmiṁ sura-guṇa-yogūd na tu haimam eva | tadiyaśa-sakalena bhūmiṁ-nirmāṇasya vakshyānātvad bhūmeśchāhaimatvasya pratyakṣhatvad upachārāśrayānām . . . . . . taśmin āṛṣe Hiranyagarbho jātavān | yena pūrva-janmani ‘Hiranyagarbho ’ham asmi’ iti bhedābheda-bhāvanāyā Paramāsvaropūsanā kṛtā tadiyaṁ linga-śarirāvachhinna-jīvaṁ anupra-prāśya svayam Paramātmā eva Hiranyagarbha-rūpatavyā prādūrbhūtāḥ | “That [seed] became a golden egg,’ etc. That seed by the will of the deity became a golden egg. Golden, i.e. as it were golden, from the quality of purity attaching to it, and not really golden; for since the author proceeds to describe the formation of the earth from one of the halfs of its shell, and since we know by ocular proof that the earth is not golden, we see that a mere figure of speech is here intended. . . . In that egg Hiranyagarbha was produced: i.e. entering into the living soul,—invested with a subtile body,—of that person
by whom in a former birth the deity was worshipped, with the
contemplation of 'distinctness and identity expressed in the words,
'I am Hiranyagarbha,' the supreme Spirit himself became manifested
in the form of Hiranyagarbha.'

The creation is narrated in a similar manner, but without the intro-
duction of any metaphysical elements, in the Harivamsa, vv. 35 ff.:

Tatah svayambhūr bhagavān sīrīkshur vividhāḥ prajāḥ | apāḥ eva sasarjyā-
dau tāsu vijam avāśrijat | āpo nārāḥ iti praktaḥ āpo vai nara-sūnavaḥ |
ayanaṁ tasya tāḥ pūrvaṁ tena nārāyaṇaṁ smrītaḥ | hiranyavārayaṁ
abhavat tad āṇḍam udakeśayam | tatra jajne svane Ṛajasā va māyā svayambhūr
iti naḥ śrutam | Hiranyagarbho bhagavān ushitvā parivatsaram | tad-
āṇḍam akarod dvaidhāṁ divam bhuvam athāpi eha | tayoh śakalayor
madhye ākāśam asrijat prabhuḥ | apsu pūrīplavāṁ prītheīṁ dīsaścā
daśadāḥ dadhe |

"Then the self-existent lord, desiring to produce various creatures,
first of all formed the waters, and deposited in them a seed. The
waters are called 'nārāḥ,' for they are the offspring of Nara. They
were formerly the place of his movement; hence he is called 'Narā-
ayaṇa.' That seed became a golden-coloured egg, reposing on the
water: in it the self-existent Brahmā himself was born, [or, in it he
himself was born as the self-existent Brahmā], as we have heard.
The divine Hiranyakagarbha having dwelt [in the egg] a year, divided
it into two parts, heaven and earth. In the midst between these two
shells, the Lord created the ether, and the earth floating about on the
waters, and placed the regions in ten directions."

In a later part of the same work we find another account of the
production of Hiranyakagarbha:

Harivaṁśa, vv. 12, 425 ff.—Jagat-srāṣṭu-manāḥ devaṁ chintayāmīṣa
pūrvataḥ | tasya chintayato vaktrād niḥśrītaḥ purushāḥ kila | tataḥ sa
purusho devaṁ kīṁ kāromīty upashhitāḥ | pratyuvācha smitoṁ kriyā
deva-devo jagat-patiḥ | 'vibhajātimān,' ity uktāv gato 'ntardhānam
iśvarāḥ | antarhitasya devasya, saśarīrasya bhāsvataḥ | pradipasyeṣa
śāntasya gatiṁ tasya na vidyate | tatas ternerīṁ viṇām so 'nevachintayata
prabhuḥ | "Hiranyakagarbho bhagavān yeḥ esha chhandasā śutuḥ | ekāḥ
prajāpatiḥ pūrvaṁ abhavaṁ bhuvanādhipaḥ | tāda-prabhriti tasyādyo
yajna-bhūgo vidhiyate | 'vibhajātrimān' ity uktas tenāśmi śūnāhātmanā |
kathām atmā vibhajyāḥ syāt samśayo hy atra me evahūn" |
PRIMEVAL WATERS; BRAHMA AS A BOAR.

"Being desirous to create the world, the deity formerly meditated. As he meditated, a man (purusha) issued from his mouth. This man then approached the deity, [saying] 'what am I to do?' The god of gods, the lord of the world, answered smiling, 'divide thyself.' Having thus spoken, the lord vanished. The path of the radiant embodied deity, when he has vanished, is not known, like that [of the flame] of an extinguished taper. The lord then meditated [thus] upon the word which the deity had uttered: 'This divine Hiranya-garbha, who is celebrated in the Vedic hymn, was formerly the one sole Prajāpati, the ruler of the world. Thenceforward the first half of the sacrifice is allotted to him. "Divide thyself,"—thus have I been commanded by that mighty being. But how is the self to be divided? Here I have great doubt.'" Then follow the verses which have been quoted in the third volume of this work, p. 13 f., to which I refer.

The Rāmāyana, which I quote first according to the recension of Schlegel (which here coincides with the Serampore, and essentially with the Bombay, editions), thus describes the origin of the world:


Vasishṭha says: "Lord of the people, understand from me this [account of] the origin of the worlds. 3. All was water only, in which the earth was formed. Thence arose Brahmā, the self-existent, with the deities. 4. He then, becoming a boar," raised up the earth, and created the whole world with the saints, his sons. 5. Brahmā, eternal, and perpetually undecaying, sprang from the other; from him was descended Marichi; the son of Marichi was Kaśyapa. 6. From Kaśyapa sprang Vivasvat, and Manu is declared to have been Vivasvat's son. He (Manu) was formerly the Prajāpati," etc.

76 See Appendix A.
77 Compare S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, 14, 1, 2, 11, quoted above, p. 27.
It will be observed that here it is Brahmā who assumes the form of a boar to raise up the earth from under the ocean. In the Gauḍa recension of Gorresio, however, this function is transferred to Vishṇu; and this I regard as one proof that this recension of the text is more modern than that followed by Schlegel. I have indicated by italics in my translations the important points in which the two recensions differ from one another.

Rāmāyaṇa (Gorresio’s ed.), ii. 119, 2 ff.—Imm loka-samupattiṁ lokā-nātha nibodha mē | 3. Sarvaṁ salilam evāsti vasudhā yena nirmitā | tataḥ samabhavad Brahmā svayambhūr Vishṇur avyayāḥ | 4. Sa vārahō 'tha bhūtevām ujjahāra vasundhārām | asriyachchha jagat sarvam sachācharam avyayam | 5. Ākāśa-prabhavo Brahmā sāsvato nityam avyayāḥ | tasmād Marichiḥ sanjāne Marīcēḥ Kaśyapaḥ sutaḥ | 6. Tataḥ paryāya-śargonā Vivasvān asriyad Manum ityādi |

“Lord of the people, understand from me this [account of] the origin of the worlds. 3. All was water only, through which the earth was formed. Thence arose Brahmā, the self-existent, the imperishable Vishṇu. 4. He then, becoming a boar, raised up this earth, and created the whole world, movable and immovable, imperishable. 5. Brahmā, eternal, and perpetually undecaying, sprang from the ether; from him was descended Marichi; the son of Marichi was Kaśyapa. 6. By successive creation, Vivasvat created Manu,” etc.

It will be noticed that at the end of the third sloka, the reading of the first recension, viz. Brahmā svayambhūr daivataiḥ saha, “Brahmā, the self-existent, with the deities,” is, in the second, changed into Brahmā svayambhūr Vishṇur avyayāḥ, “Brahmā, the self-existent, the imperishable Vishṇu,” whereby Brahmā becomes a mere manifestation of Vishṇu,—a character of which we have no hint in the earlier recension. Similarly the words which are given in Schlegel’s recension, at the close of the fourth sloka, viz. saha putraīḥ kritātmabhīḥ, “with the saints, his sons,” are in the other recension altered into sachācharam avyayam, “movable and immovable, and imperishable” —epithets descriptive of the world. This second alteration was rendered necessary by the first: for as soon as the god who is the subject of the passage had been changed from Brahmā to Vishṇu, the mention of sons became inapplicable; as Vishṇu is not described in the accounts of the creation as having any sons, whereas Brahmā is.
WATERS PRODUCED FROM THE ETHER.

Compare with the fifth verse of the passage before us (in Schlegel’s text), the Vishnu Purana, i. 7, 1 ff.; quoted in the first volume of this work, pp. 64 f. The accounts of Brahma’s descendants are not, however, always consistent. See Manu, i. 32 ff., and Vishnu Purana, i. 7, 12 ff., quoted in pp. 35 ff., and 64 f., of vol. i.

The origin of the world is similarly described in the Mahābhārata xii. 6805 f.

Bṛhari uvācha | Prajā-visargaṁ vividham Mānasas ūśijat | saṃrakshanārtham bhūtanāṁ srishtam prathamato jalam | yaḥ prāṇaḥ sarva-bhūtanāṁ vardhante yena cha prajāḥ | parityaktā cha naśyanti tenedaṁ sarvam āśritam | prithivi parvataḥ meghāḥ mūrtimantaḥ cha ye 'pure | sarvaṁ tad vāruṇaṁ ānām āpaḥ tastabhīre yataḥ |

Brahmakalpe purā brahman brahmārṇaḥ samāgame loka-sambha-va-sandaheḥ samutpanno mahātmanām | Te tiṣṭhant āhyānam ālambya maunam āsthāya niśchalāḥ | tyaktāhārāḥ pavana-pāḥ divyaṁ varsha-śatam dvijāḥ | teshām Brahmanāya vāni sarveshāṁ śrotam āgamat |

divyā Sarasvatī tatrasambhāva nabhaṅgaṅit | purā stimitam ākāśam anantam achaḷapam | nasanta-chandrārka-pavanamprasaptam iva sambahau | tataḥ sahilam utpannaṁ tamasvāparam tamaḥ | tasmācha sahilottidād udatiṣṭhata marutaḥ |

“Bṛhari says: Mānasa78 (the Intellectual) formed by a mental effort the varied creation of living beings. For the preservation of creatures water was first produced,—water which is the breath of all creatures, by which they grow, and forsaken by which they die:—by it all things were covered. The earth, the mountains, the clouds, and other material objects;—all these things must be understood as aqueous, because the waters supported them.” Bharadvāja asks how water, fire, air [or wind], and earth were created, and Bṛhari replies: “Formerly, in an assemblage of Brāhman rishis, in the Brahmakalpa, a doubt arose in their minds as to the production of the worlds. These Brāhmans continued fixed in meditation and in silence, eating no food, drinking in only air, for a hundred years of the gods. A voice, of the essence of Brahma, reached the ears of them all: the divine Sarasvatī

78 This word is defined in vi. 6775: Mānasas ūṁya yaḥ pūrvo piśrute vai maharṣhi-bhiḥ | anādi-nidhano devas tathā ‘bhedyo ‘jāraṇāh | The primeval god, without beginning or dissolution, indivisible, undecaying and immortal, who is known and called by great rishis Mānasas, etc.
sprang forth from the heavens. Formerly the infinite ether, motionless, like a mountain,—moon, sun and air having been destroyed in it,—appeared as it were asleep. Then water was produced like another darkness (tamas) in darkness, and from the foam of that water arose air.'

Before proceeding to quote the other texts which I have to adduce regarding the egg of Brahma, I shall here introduce two quotations, to show how the assumption of the form of a boar, ascribed in the older recension of this passage of the Rāmāyaṇa to Brahma, is in works of a later date represented as the act of Vishnu. The first passage forms a part of the rapid enumeration of the twenty-two incarnations of Vishnu, in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, i. 3, 7: 

_Dvitiyāṁ tu bhavāyasya rasā-tala-gatām mahām | uddharishyann upaḍatta yajuesah sau karaṇā vapiḥ | “Secondly, with a view to the creation of this universe, the lord of sacrifice, being desirous to raise up the earth, which had sunk into the lower regions, assumed the form of a boar.”

The second passage to be adduced is from the Vīṣṇu Purāṇa, i. 4, 1 ff. (p. 57 ff. of Wilson’s English trans., Dr. Hall’s ed., vol. i.), and has been already partly quoted in the first volume of this work, pp. 50 f.: 

_Maitreya uvācha | Brahma Nārāyaṇākhyo ’sau kalpaḍau bhagavān yathā | sasarjja sarva-bhūtāni tad āchakśva mahāmune_79 | Parāsaraḥ uvācha | prajāḥ sasarjja bhagavān Brahma Nārāyaṇamākahaḥ | prajāpati-patir devo yathā tan me niśāmaya | atita-kalpāvasāne niśā-suptothitah prabhuh | sattvadriktas tato Brahma śūnyāṁ lokam avaikṣhata | Nārāyaṇāḥ paro ’chintyaḥ pareshām api sa prabhuh | Brahma-svarūpa bhaga-

79 I take the opportunity of quoting here an answer given in the Vīṣṇu Purāṇa, i. 3, 1 ff. (p. 44 of Wilson’s trans. in Dr. Hall’s ed. vol. i.), to the question how it is conceivable that Brahma should create;—an answer which, if admitted as the only solution of the problem, would have rendered many speculations of the Indian philosophers unnecessary. _Maitreyaḥ uvācha | nirgunaśyeprameyasya buddhasyopya amalātmanah | kathāṁ sargādikarttrivam Brahmāno bhupapadyate | Parāśarabhuvācha | śaktayaḥ sarva-bhūvānam, achintya-jūna-gocarāḥ | yato 'tva Brahmayaḥ tās tu sarṣādyaḥ bhava-śaktayaḥ | bhavanti tapasāṁ ērshaḥ prāvakṣya yathoshhyutā | “Maitreya asks: How can the agencies of creation, etc. be possible to Brahma, who is devoid of the [three] qualities, immeasurable, pure, and free from stigma? Parāśara answers: Since powers which could not be imagined if are actually known to belong to all natures, therefore, O chief of ascetics, these powers of creative agency, etc., belong to the essence of Brahma, as heat is an attribute of fire.” Dr. Hall translates differently. See his note. Can the proper reading be _achintyaḥ_ in place of _achintya?_
vän anädih sarva-sambhavah | toyäntha sa mahät jañatvā jagatah ekārṇave
prasuh | aanmänūd tad-uddhāraṁ karttu-kāmaḥ Prajāpatiḥ | akarot
sa tanām anyām kalpādīshu yathā purā | matsu-kārma-v ikām tadeva
vārāhan vapur āshithaḥ | veḍa-yañjamayaṁ ṛṣaṇ am aśeṣa-jagataḥ
sthitau | sthitah sthirātmā sarvātmaḥ paramātmā Prajāpatiḥ | janaloka-gataḥ siddhaḥ Sanakādyair abhishtuḥ | pravṛṣṇa tada toyam ātmā-
dhāro dharādharah | niriktasya taṁ tadā devi pāṭalā-talam āgatam
| tushṭāva prāṇāta bhūtvā bhakti-namrā vasundharā | Prithvy uvāca |
Namas te sarva-bhūtāya tubhyaṁ śankha-gadā-dharaḥ | māṁ uddhar-
āśmād adya tvam tvat ḥam pūrvam utthitaḥ | . . . sambhakshayitvā
sakalaṁ jagaty ekārṇavikrite | śeshe tvam eva Govinda chinṭyamāno
manīśhobiṁ | bhavato yat paraṁ rūpaṁ tān na jānāti kacchana | avatā-
ṛesu yad ārūpaṁ tad archanti divaukaṣaḥ | tvām ārādhya paraṁ Brahma
yātāḥ muktim mumukṣuṭvāḥ | Vāsudevam avārādhyā ko mokṣhāṁ sama-
vāṣyati | . . . tvāṁ yajnas tvāṁ vashaṭkūras tvāṁ oṁkāras tvāṁ
agnayaḥ | . . . tvāṁ samstāyamānās tu Prithivyā prithivī-dharāḥ
| sāma-svara-dharmā śrīmān jagarīja parīhṛgharām | tataḥ samutkshiśpya
dhāraṁ sa daṁśhtraya mahāvarāḥ sphutā-pada-lochanāḥ | rasūtalād
upāla-patra-sannibbhaḥ samuttitho nilāḥ ivāchalo mahān | . . . evam
samstāyamānās tu Paramātmā mahiddharah | vijahāra mahāṁ kshipram
nyastacāṁścha mahāmbhāṣi | tasyopari jalaughasya mahati naivr ivā
sthitā | vitatativat tu dehasya na mahī yāti samplavam |

"Maitreya said: Tell me, great Muni, how, at the beginning of the
Kalpa, that divine Brahma called Nārāyaṇa created all beings. Parāśara
replied: Hear from me how the divine Brahma, lord of the Prajāpatis,
who had the nature of Nārāyaṇa, created living beings. At the close of the
past (or Pādma) Kalpa, Brahma, the lord, endowed predominantly with
the quality of goodness, awoke from his night-slumber, and beheld the
universe void. He [was] the supreme lord Nārāyaṇa, who cannot even
be conceived by others, existing in the form of Brahma, the deity without
beginning, the source of all things. [The verse given in Manu
i. 10, and the Harivansha, v. 36, regarding the derivation of the word
Nārāyaṇa, is here quoted.] This lord Prajāpati, discovering by in-
ference,—when the world had become one ocean,—that the earth lay
within the waters, and being desirous to raise it up, assumed another
form. As he had formerly, at the commencement of the [previous]
Kalpas, taken the shape of a fish, a tortoise, etc. (so now), entering
the body of a boar,—a form composed of the Vedas and of sacrifice, —the lord of creatures, who throughout the entire continuance of the world remains fixed, the universal soul, the supreme soul, the self-sustained, the supporter of the earth, hymned by Sanaka and other saints residing in the Janaloka, entered the water. Beholding him then descended to Pātāla, the goddess Earth, bowing down, prostrated in devotion, sang his praise: 'Reverence, bearer of the shell and club, to thee who art all things: raise me to-day from this place: by thee have I been formerly lifted. . . . Having swallowed up the universe, when the world has become one ocean, thou, Govinda, sleepest, meditated upon by the wise. No one knows that which is thy highest form: the gods adore that form which [thou assumest] in thy incarnations. Worshipping thee, the supreme Brahma, men desirous of final liberation have attained their object. Who shall obtain liberation without adoring Vāsudeva? . . . . Thou art sacrifice, thou art the vashāṭkāra (a sacrificial formula), thou art the oṁkāra, thou art the fires.' . . . Being thus celebrated by the Earth, the glorious upholder of the earth, with a voice like the chanting of the Sāmaveda, uttered a deep thundering sound. Then the great boar, with eyes like the expanded lotus, tossing up the earth with his tusk, rose up, resembling the leaf of the blue lotus, from the lower regions, like the great blue mountain. . . . [The boar is then again lauded by Sanandana and other saints, in a hymn, in the course of which his different members are compared in detail to some of the materials and implements of sacrifice, etc.—See Wilson's Vishnū Purāṇa, 2nd ed., i., pp. 63 ff.] . . . . Being thus hymned, the supreme Soul, the upholder of the earth, lifted the earth up quickly, and placed it upon the great waters. Resting upon this mass of waters, like a mighty ship, the earth does not sink, owing to the expansion of its bulk."

80 Another instance in which an act ascribed to Brahmā by earlier writers is transferred to Vishnu in the later Purāṇas, may be found in the story of the deluge in the Mbh., Vanaparva, 12, 797 ff. (see the first volume of this work, pp. 196 ff.); towards the conclusion of which, vv. 12, 797 f., the Fish declares himself to be Brahmā: ႀહভবिद हृदिष्ठस् तृषिना हितस तदा | अहम प्रजापतिर ब्रह्माय यत्पराय नैदिकिमयते | नैलेख-रुपं युयनाचक मना 'स्माद मोक्षितां भयति | "Then the god (iit. the unwinking), kindly-disposed, said to those rishis, 'I am the Prajāpati Brahmā, above whom no Being is discoverable': by me in the form of a fish
The Linga Purāṇa, however, which is of the Saiva class, and has not, as such, any interest in glorifying Vishnu, describes Brahma as the deity who took the form of a boar: Part i. 4, 59 ff.: Rātrau chaikārnave Brahmā nasīte sthāvara-jāngame | suskrāpāmbhavi yas tasmād Nārāyaṇaḥ iti śrīritah | śaśāvare-ante prabuddho vai dhīstva śunyaṁ charācharam | srashtuṁ tādā matiṁ chakre Brahmā brahmavidām varah' | udakair āplutām kshmām tām samādāya sanātanaḥ | pūrve-val sthāpayāmaṣa vārāhaṁ rūpam āśhitaḥ | "In the night, when all things movable and immovable had been destroyed in the universal ocean, Brahma slept upon the waters, and is hence called Nārāyaṇa. At the close of the night, awakening, and beholding the universe void, Brahma, chief of the knowers of Brahma, then resolved to create. Having assumed the form of a boar, this eternal [god] taking the earth, which was overflowed by the waters, placed it as it had been before."

[In Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, s. v. varāha, reference is made to a further passage from the Taitt. S. vi. 2, 42, in which the boar is mentioned (see above, pp. 27 f.). I quote this with another story which follows it: Yajno deśebhyo nilāyata Vishnu-rūpam kṛitvā | sa pṛthivim prāviṣat | taṁ devaḥ hastān saṁrābhya aichhan | tam Indraḥ upary upary aty akrāmat | so 'bravīt "ko mā 'yam upary upary aty akrāmīd" iti | "aham durge hantā" iti | ahaṁ durge āharta" iti | so 'bravid "durge vai hantā avocadhāḥ" | varāho 'yam vāmamoshah saptānāṁ girināṁ parastād vittam vedyam you have been delivered from this danger." Compare the story as told in the Bhāg. Pur. (and see Burnouf, Pref. to Bhāg. Pur., iii. p. xxiii.). Bhāg. Pur. viii. 24, 4: Ity ukto Vishnu-rātendo bhagavān Vādārāyanīḥ | uvācha charitāṁ Vishnu matsyavrūpeṇa yat kritam | S'ukāḥ uvācha | . . . . . 7. āśid atīta-kalpante Brahmā naimitikā layāḥ | samudrapaṇaḥ lokaṁ bhūrīdayo nriṣaḥ | 8. Kālenagata-nidrasya dhātūḥ sīsayishor balī | mukhāt naśiriṭan eva dhan Hayagrīvaḥ ntike harat | 9. Jñātād tad dānacaryāśya Hayagrīvasā yaḥ seshitam | dādhāra saphārīrupam bhagavān Harir īśvarah śyātād | "Being thus addressed by Vishnu, the divine Vādārāyanī related the deed of Vishnu done by him under the form of a fish. S'uka said . . . . . 7. At the end of the past Kalpa there was a Brāhma, or partial, dissolution of the universe (see Wilson’s Vish. Pur., 2nd ed., vol. i. p. 113; vol. v., p. 186); in which the earth and other worlds were submerged under the ocean. The powerful Hayagrīva [coming] near, snatched away the Vedas which had issued from the mouth of the creator, who from drowsiness, which had superseded through time, was disposed to sleep. Having discovered this deed of Hayagrīva, chief of the Īndus, the divine lord, Hari, took the form of a saphari fish," etc.
Asurāṇāṁ bibharti tam jahi yadi ṣūrge hastā 'si' iti | sa darbhā- 
puṇyālam udvīhyā sapta giryin bhittāva tam ahan | so 'bravid "durgād 
vai āhartā arocathāḥ | etam āhara" iti | tam ebhyo yajnaḥ eva yajnam 
āharat | yat tad viśāṁ vedyam asurāṇāṁ avindanta tad ekāṁ vedyai 
editvam | Asurāṇāṁ vai iyaṁ agre āsīt | yāvad āsīṁaḥ parāpaśyati 
tāvad devānām | te āevāh abhuvann "asti eva no 'syām upi" iti | 
"Kiyad vo dāṣyāṁah" iti | yāvad iyaṁ salāvriki triḥ parikrāmati 
tāvan no datta" iti | so Indrāḥ salāvriki-rūpaṁ kriyā imāṁ triḥ sarva- 
taḥ paryakrāmat | tad imāṁ avindanta | yad imāṁ avindanta tad vedyai 
editvam | sā vai iyaṁ sarvā eva vediḥ |

"The sacrifice, assuming the form of Viṣṇu, disappeared from 
among the gods, and entered into the earth. The gods joined hands, 
and searched for him. Indra passed over above him. He (Viṣṇu) 
said, 'Who is this who has passed over above me?' (Indra replied:) 
'I am he who slays in a castle; but now who art thou?' (Viṣṇu 
said:) 'I am he who carries off from a castle.' He (Viṣṇu) said: 'Thou 
hast said a slayer in a castle. This boar, the plunderer of wealth, 
keeps the goods of the Asuras on the other side of seven hills. Kill 
him, if thou art a slayer in a castle.' He (Indra), plucking up a 
bunch of Kuṣa grass, pierced through the seven hills, and slew him. 
He (Indra) then said: 'Thou hast said I am he who carries off from a 
castle; so carry him off.' He (Viṣṇu), the sacrifice, carried off the 
sacrifice for them. Inasmuch as they obtained (avindanta) these goods 
of the Asuras, this is one reason why the altar is called vedi.

'This earth formerly belonged to the Asuras, whilst the gods had 
only as much as a man can see when sitting. They (the gods) said, 
'Let us have a share in this earth also?' 'How much shall we give 
you?' (asked the Asuras). 'As much as this she-jackal can go round 
in three (steps).' Indra, assuming the form of a she-jackal, stepped 
all round the earth in three (strides). 'Thus the gods obtained 
(avindanta) it. And from this circumstance the altar derives its name 
of vedi.'

Compare the various stories about the original position of the gods 
in reference to the Asuras, given above, and in the fifth vol. of this 
work, p. 15, note].
To return to the mundane egg. In the Vishnu Purana i. 2, 45 ff. we have the following account of its production, in which the simplicity of the older mythical conceptions is destroyed by the inter-mixture of metaphysical ideas borrowed from the Sankhya philosophy. In fact, though it forms here the subject of a magniloquent description, the egg was an element in the cosmogonic traditions with which any writers less ingenious and fanciful than the authors of the Puranas would, perhaps, have found it somewhat inconvenient to deal in such a way as to harmonize with the current philosophical speculations:


"Ether, air, fire, water and earth, when joined in order, with sound and the other qualities in succession, are then called specific, being soothing, terrific, or stupefying, but being of different powers, and separated from one another, they could not, without contact, and without being combined together, produce living creatures. [At length] having attained to mutual conjunction, being dependent upon each other, having a tendency to amalgamation, and having so attained an

entire unity,—being presided over by Purusha (spirit) and favoured by Pradhāna (matter), these principles, commencing with Mahat (intellect), and down to the gross elements inclusive, generate an egg. Gradually augmented from the elements, smooth like a bubble of water, that vast egg, resting on the water, was the material and appropriate receptacle of Vishnu in the form of Brahmā. There, undiscernible in his essence, Vishnu, the lord of the world, himself abode in a discernible shape, in the form of Brahmā. It was like mount Meru; the mountains were the womb, and the seas were the uterine fluids of that vast [production]. In that egg, O Brahmān, were collected the worlds, with their hills, continents, and oceans, the luminaries, the gods, Asuras, and men. This egg was enveloped externally by water, fire, air, ether, and the source of the elements (bhūtādi, i.e. ahankāra) increasing in tenfold progression; and in the same way 'Ahankāra' was invested by 'Mahat'; and Mahat with all these [aforesaid principles] was surrounded by the indiscreet principle (Pradhāna). The egg is enveloped in these seven material coverings, as the seed within the cacao-nut is surrounded by the outward husks. Assuming there the quality of passion (rajas) Hari, the universal lord, himself becoming Brahmā, engages in the creation of this world."

The Vishnu Purāna does not connect the egg any further with the creation, or tell us how it became divided, etc., etc.


"And these principles, from Mahat to the gross elements inclusive, generate an egg, like a bubble of water, from which issued the Parent [of the universe], who was the same as divine Rudra, and Vishnu, the omnipresent lord. Within that egg were these worlds,—this entire universe. The egg was externally 'invested with a tenfold' ether; in like manner, the ether, sprung from sound, was surrounded by 'ahankāra';
the cause of sound (ahankāra) by Mahat, and the latter itself by Pradāna. These men call the seven coverings of the egg; its soul is Kamalasana (Brahma). Here ten thousand crores of crores of eggs are declared (to exist), in which four-faced Brahmās, Haris, and Bhavas (Sivas) were created by Pradāna, which had attained to proximity with Sambhu (Siva).”

The Bhagavata Purāṇa has the following passage on the same subject in the third Book, in answer to an inquiry how the Prajāpatis created the world:


12. “The Great principle (Intelligence) arose from the three qualities agitated by the Divine Being in consequence of an inscrutable destiny, supreme and ever wakeful. 13. Springing from the Great principle (in which the quality of passion prevailed, and which was impelled by destiny), the source of the elements (bhūtādi or ahankāra), characterized by the three qualities (guṇas), created the ether and other principles, in groups of five. 14. These principles being severally unable to create, deposited, when united by the action of destiny, a golden egg formed of the elements. 15. This egg-shell lay lifeless on the waters of the ocean: the Lord dwelt in it for a complete [period of a] thousand years. 16. From his navel sprang a lotus splendid as a thousand suns, the abode of all living things, where Svarat (Brahmā) himself was born. 17. He penetrated by the Divine Being who reposes on the receptacle of waters, constructed as before, the substance (saṁsthā) of the worlds with his own substance.”

The same ideas are repeated in a later chapter of the same book:

Bhāg. Pur. iii. 26, 50 ff.: Etāny asaṁhatya yadā mahād-adīni sapta

50. "When these seven principles, Mahat and the rest, remained uncombined, the [god who is the] source of the universe entered into them, united with time, action, and the qualities. 51. Then out of these principles penetrated by him; and combined, there arose a lifeless egg, from which sprang Purusha, viz. that Virāt. 52. This egg, named Viśeṣa (the specific) was surrounded by water, and other elements gradually increasing in extent by a tenfold progression, which in their turn were externally invested by Pradhāna. In this egg [was formed] this expanse of worlds, which is the form of the divine Hari. 53. Having arisen out of the envelopment of this golden egg reposing upon the water, the great god, pervading it, opened up many apertures. 54. First his mouth was divided, from which speech issued," etc.

The same process is also described in the second book of the same Purāṇa, sect. 5, 32 ff.; but it is unnecessary to adduce more than a verse or two of the passage.

34. Varsha-pūga-sahasrānte tad aṇḍam udakeśayam | kāla-karma-svabhāva-stho jīva jīvam ajīvayat | 35. Sa eva puruṣas tasmād aṇḍāṁ nirbhidya nirgataḥ | sahasrorv-anghaḥ-ākshāḥ sahasrāṇa-sīrshavān

34. "At the end of many thousand years, the Life (Jīva) residing in time, action, and nature, gave life to that lifeless egg reposing on the water. 35. Splitting the egg, Purusha issued forth with a thousand thighs, feet, arms, eyes, faces, and heads."

The same subject is yet again referred to in another text of the same work.

Bhāg. Pur. ii. 10, 10 f.: Purusho 'ṇḍaṁ vinirbhidyā yadā "dau sa vinirgataḥ | utmaṇo 'yanam anvichhanā apo 'srākṣiḥ chhuchāḥ suchiḥ | tāsv avāśit svasṛsiḥśau sahasra-parivatsarān | tena Nārāyaṇo nāma yad āpaḥ purushodbhavāḥ |

10. "When, splitting the egg, Purusha first issued from it, seeking
BRAHMĀ'S PASSION FOR HIS DAUGHTER.

a receptacle for himself, he created the pure waters, himself pure. 11. In these waters created by himself he dwelt a thousand years. Hence he is named Nārāyaṇa, because the waters were produced from Purusha."

The story about Brahmā's incestuous passion for his own daughter, which is sometimes alluded to in the Purāṇas, is thus noticed in the Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, 1, 7, 4,1 ff. 82—Prajāpatir ha vai svām. duhitaram abhindadyau divaṁ vā rūshasāṁ vā 'mithūṇy enayā syām' iti taṁ sambabhūva| 2. Tad vai devānūm āgaḥ āsa 'yaḥ itthāṁ svām duhitaram asmākaṁ svasaṁraṁ karoti' iti | 3. Te ha devāḥ uchur 'yo 'yaṁ devaḥ paśānam istic 'tisandhaṁ vai 'ayaṁ charati yaḥ itthāṁ svām duhitaram asmākaṁ svasaṁraṁ karoti vidhya imam' iti | tam Rudro 'bhyāyatya vivyādha tasya sāmi retaḥ prachaskanda tathā id nūnaṁ tad āsa | 4. Tasmād etad rishinā 'bhyānuktam 'pitā yat svām duhitaram adhishkan kshmayā retaḥ sanjagnāno nishinchad' iti tad āgni-mūrutam ity ukthāṁ tasmāṁ tad vyākhya'ya'yaḥ tathā tad devaḥ retaḥ prajānayan | teśāṁ yadā devānāṁ krodho vyaid atha Prajāpatim abhisajyaṁ tasya taṁ sāyaṁ nirakrin-tan | sa vai yajnah eva Prajāpatiḥ |

"Prajāpati cast his eyes upon his own daughter, either the Sky, or the Dawn, [desiring] 'May I pair with her.' So [saying] he had intercourse with her. 2. This was a crime in the eyes of the gods, who said: '[He is guilty] who acts thus to his own daughter, our sister.' 3. The gods said: 'This god who rules over the beasts, commits a transgression in that he acts thus to his own daughter, our sister: pierce him through.' Rudra aimed at, and pierced, him. Half of his seed fell to the ground. So it happened. 4. Accordingly this has been said by the rishi (R. V. x. 61, 7), 'when the father embracing his daughter, uniting with her, discharged his seed on the earth,' etc. This is a hymn addressed to Agni and the Maruts; and it is there related in what manner the gods generated this seed. When the anger of the gods had passed away, they applied remedies to Prajāpati, and cut out of him the arrow. Prajāpati is sacrifice."

The following is the context of the passage of the Rig-veda referred

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82 See the passages from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and the Matsya Purāṇa on the same subject, with the remarks subjoined, in the first vol. of this work, pp. 107 ff.
to in the preceding legend, which refers apparently to some atmospheric phenomenon. It is hard to say what gods or powers of nature are denoted by the father and the daughter respectively, and the passage is obscure and difficult to translate, even with the aid of Sāyāṇa’s comment, for a copy of which I am indebted to Professor Müller. The 4th verse is addressed to the Āsvins. The commentator regards verses 5–7 as intended to show how “Rudra Prajāpati created Rudra Vāstoshpati with a portion of himself” (Yathā svāṁśena dhagavān Rudrāḥ prajāpatir Vāstoshpatiṁ Rudram asrijat tad etad-ādibhir tisri-bhir vadati.)

R. V. x. 61, 4: Krishnā yad gosho arunīshu sīdaṁ dīvo napātā Āsvinā huvā vān | vitam me yajnam āgatam me annaṁ vavanvānas na isham asmrita-dhrāḥ | 5. Prathishtā yasya virākarmam ishṇā amunṣṭhitam nu naryyo apauhat | punas tad āvrihati yat kanāyāḥ duḥitvā āḥ anubhrītam anarvā | 6. Madhyā yat kartvam abhavat abhīke kāman kriṇvāne pitari yuvatyām | manānag reto jahatur visvantā sānau nishiktāṁ sukritasya yonau 

7. Pita yat svāṁ duḥitaram adhishkan kshmayāḥ retāḥ sanjagmano nishinchat | svāṁhya ajanayan brahma devāḥ vāstoshpatiṁ vratapāṁ niratkshan ī

“When the dark female (night) stands among the tawny cows (rays of the dawn?), I invoke you twain, Āsvins, sons of the Sky. Come eagerly to my sacrifice, come to my oblation, as desiring sustenance, ye who do not disappoint my longings. 5. That male, whose prolific virile (organ) was extended, now withdrew it, after it had been sent forth. Again the irresistible [god] draws forth that which had been

83 In S’atapatha Brāhmaṇa vi. 1, 2, 1 ff., it is related that Prajāpati, being desirous of creating, connected himself with various spouses, or associates, for this purpose, first—in the form of, or by means of, Agni,—with the Earth (So ‘gnaṁ prithivīṁ mithyaṁ samabhavat): from which union sprang an egg, and thence Vāyu; next, through Vāyu he united himself with the Air (antarīksha, neutron), and again an egg was produced, and thence Aditya (the Sun); thirdly, through Aditya he connected himself with Dyaus (the Sky); fourthly, fifthly sixthly, and seventhly, through his mind (manas) with Vāch; the result of which, in each of the last four cases, was his own pregnancy (garbhī abhavat).

84 The same phrase occurs in R. V. i. 39, 8.

85 See the fifth vol. of this work, pp. 234 and 239.

86 Such is the meaning given by Professor Roth to asmrita-dhrū from aṁ-asmrita-ḥ ṛ +dhrū, “not suffering what I have derived to fall.” See s.v. 2, ḍhrū. Sāyāṇa renders it, asmrita-drohau mayi drohāṁ asmārāntau | “forgetting injury—forgetting injury to me.”
introduced [into the womb] of his youthful daughter. 6. [They then did] in the midst that which was to be done at their contact, when the father loved the youthful damsel,—separating from each other, they discharged a little seed which was shed on the surface, on the place of holy ceremonies. 7. When the father, bent on impregnating his own daughter, united with her, discharged his seed on the earth, the benevolent gods generated prayer, they fashioned Vāstoshpati, the protector of sacred rites.”

The same story is repeated in the later literature, as in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa iii. 12, 28 ff., only that Vāch is the daughter of Brahmā who is there spoken of: Vāchāṁ duhitaram taneśu Svaṁabhū haratim manah | akāmāṁ chakame kshattah sakāmāṁ iti naḥ śrutam | 29. Tam adharme kriya-matiṁ vilokya pitarāṁ suśāḥ | Marīchi-mukhyāṁ munayo viśrambhāt pratyabodhayan | 30. Naitat pūrvaiḥ kriyaiṁ tvad ye na karishyanti chāpare | yas tvāṁ duhitaraṁ gachher anigrihyāṇgajam prabhū | 31. Tejiyasāṁ api hy etad na suślokyāṁ jagadguro | yad vṛttam anutishthan vai lokāṁ kshemāya kalpate, | 32. Tasmāṁ nāma bhagavate ya idāṁ svena rochishā | ātmasthaṁ vyanjayāṁsa sa dharmaṁ pātum arhati | 33. Sa itthāṁ grīṇaṁ putrāṁ puro dhrisťvā prajāpatiṁ | prajāpati-ḥatis tan-vāṁ tatyāja vṛīditas tādā | tāṁ diśo jagrihur ghorāṁ nihāraṁ yad vidus tamaṁ

“We have heard, O Kshatriya, that Svaṁabhū (Brahmā) had a passion for Vāch, his slender and enchanting daughter, who had no passion for him. The Munis, his sons, headed by Marīchi, seeing their father bent upon wickedness, admonished him with affection: ‘This is such a thing as has never been done by those before you, nor will those after you do it,—that you, being the lord, should sexually approach your daughter, not restraining your passion. This, O preceptor of the world, is not a laudable deed even in glorious personages, through imitation of whose actions men attain felicity. Glory to that divine being (Vishnu) who by his own lustre revealed this [universe] which abides in himself,—he must maintain righteousness.’ Seeing his sons, the Prajāpatiṁ, thus speaking, before him, the lord of the Prajāpatiṁ (Brahmā) was ashamed, and abandoned his body. This dreadful body the regions received, and it is known as foggy darkness.”

This legend of Brahmā and his daughter, though, as appears from the passage in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, it has occasioned scandal among
licentious acts of the aśvins, indra, etc.

the Indian writers from an early period, is not to be regarded in the same light as many other stories regarding the licentious actions of some of the other gods. The production of a female and her con-

junction with the male out of whom she was formed, is regarded in Manu i. 32, as one of the necessary stages in the cosmogonic process (and finds its near parallel in the book of Genesis): devidhā kṛtvā 'tmano deham ardhhena purusho 'bhavat | ardhhena nārī tasyāṁ sa Virājam asrijat prabhuh | "Dividing his own body into two, [Brahmā] became with the half a man, and with the half a woman; and in her he created (i.e. according to the commentator, begot) Virāj." Compare also the passage from the Vishṇu Purāṇa i. 7, 12 ff. quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 65, and the passage from the Satap. Brāhmaṇa cited in the same vol., p. 25 f. On the injustice of ascribing an immoral character to the Hindu writings, or to the deities whom they describe, on the ground of such legends as the one before us, or of the dialogue between Yama and Yamī in the 10th hymn of the tenth Maṇḍala of the Rig-veda, see some instructive remarks by Prof. Roth in the third vol. of the Journal of the American Oriental Society, pp. 332–337.

The case is different, however, with another class of stories, which are frequently to be met with in the Itiḥāsas and Purāṇas, in which various adulterous amours, of the Aśvins, Indra, Varuṇa, and Krishṇa, are described.—See the passages from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, iv. 1, 5, 1 ff.; the Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, v. 10, 316 ff., quoted or abstracted in the fifth vol. of this work, pp. 250 ff., and in Indische Studien, i. 198; the Rāmāyaṇa i. 48, 16 ff. (Schlegel's and Bombay ed., Gorresio's ed. i. 49); and the passages quoted from the Mbh. in the first volume of this work, pp. 310, 466 (with note), and 467. In all these cases a licentious character is evidently attributed to the gods.

87 Maithuna-dharmena Virāt-sanjanam purushāṁ nimitaavān |
88 "The Matsya P. has a little allegory of its own on the subject of Brahmā's intercourse with S'atārupa; for it explains the former to mean the Vedas, and the latter the Sāvitrī, or holy prayer, which is their chief text; and in their cohabitation there is therefore no evil: Veda-rāmīḥ amito Brahmo Sāvitrī tad-adhiśkhitā | tas-mān na kaśchid doshāḥ syāt Sāvitrī-gamane vibhoh | "—Wilson's Vishṇu Pur., 2nd ed., vol. i., p. 108, note. See the first vol. of this work, p. 112.
89 Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, however, attempts to explain allegorically not only the dali-

ance of Brahmā with his own daughter, but also the adultery of Indra with Ahalyā.—See the passage quoted from him and translated in Müller's Anc. Sansk.
In the case of Krishna the following is the reasoning by which the author of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa attempts to quiet the scruples of some of the purer-minded among the devotees of the pastoral deity, and to vindicate his morality, by seeking to impart a mystic character to those loose adventures which had been the occasion of scandal to them, though, no doubt, well suited to the taste of his coarser worshippers.

In the Ramāyana i. 49 Indra tells the gods that his adulterous act had tended to their benefit, by exciting the wrath of Gautama and so neutralizing the fruit of those austerities of the saint which threatened danger to the celestials. On this the commentator in the Bombay ed. remarks: Dharma-duhrandharasyapi S'akrasya adhyrme pravrittau vijam garśayitum āha | "What follows is said to show what was the ground of Indra's practising unrighteousness, though he is the supporter of righteousness."

Lit., pp. 529 f. In the Rāmāyaṇa i. 49 Indra tells the gods that his adulterous act had tended to their benefit, by exciting the wrath of Gautama and so neutralizing the fruit of those austerities of the saint which threatened danger to the celestials. On this the commentator in the Bombay ed. remarks: Dharma-duhrandharasyapi S'akrasya adhyrme pravrittau vijam garśayitum āha | "What follows is said to show what was the ground of Indra's practising unrighteousness, though he is the supporter of righteousness."

90 This passage is partly quoted in my Mata-parikshā, published in Calcutta in 1852, p. 87; and in Prof. Banerjea’s Dialogues, p. 383 f.
"The king said: 27. The divine lord of the world became partially \(^1\) incarnate for the establishment of virtue, and the repression of its opposite. 28. How did he, the expounder, author, and guardian of the bulwarks of righteousness, practise its contrary, the corruption of other men’s wives? 29. With what object did the lord of the Yadus (Krishṇa) perpetrate what was blameable? Resolve, devout saint, this our doubt. Sūka said: 30. The transgression of virtue, and the daring acts which are witnessed in superior beings, must not be charged as faults to those glorious persons, as no blame is imputed to fire, which consumes fuel of every description. 31. Let no one other than a superior being ever even in thought practise the same: any one who, through folly, does so, perishes, like any one not a Rudra [drinking] the poison produced from the ocean.\(^2\) 32. The word of superior beings is true, and so also their conduct is sometimes [correct]: let a wise man observe their command, which is right. 33. These beings, O king, who are beyond the reach of personal feelings, have no interest in good deeds done in this world, nor do they incur any detriment from the contrary. 34. How much less can there be any relation of good or evil between the lord of all beings, brute, mortal, and divine, and the creatures over whom he rules? (i.e. since he is entirely beyond the sphere of virtue and vice, how can any of his actions partake of the nature of either?) 35. Since Munis, who are satisfied by worshipping the pollen from the lotus of his feet, and by the force of abstraction have shaken off all the fetters of works,—since even they are uncontrolled, and act as they please, how can there be any restraint upon him (the Supreme Deity) when he has voluntarily assumed a body? 36. He who moves within the gopīs (milkmen’s wives) and their husbands, and all embodied beings, is their ruler, who only in sport assumed a body upon earth. 37. Taking a human form out of benevolence to creatures, he engages in sports such as that those who hear of them may become devoted to himself. 38. The [male] inhabitants of Vṛṣṇi harboured no ill-will to Krishṇa, since, deluded

\(^1\) Comp. Mbh. i. 2785. Yas tv Nārāyaṇo nāma deva-devaḥ saṁśiṣyaḥ | tasyaṁśo mānasahśeṣva asīd Vāsudevaḥ pratīpavān | See further passages to be quoted in chapter ii., sect. v., below.

\(^2\) This refers to the poison drunk by Śiva at the churning of the ocean. See Rāmāyaṇa i. 45, 26, ed. Schlegel, and Wilson’s Vishṇu Purāṇa, note p. 78 (1st ed.). The passage of the Rāmāyaṇa will be quoted further in chap. iii., sec. vi.
by his illusion, they each imagined that his own wife was by his side. 39. When Brahmā's night had arrived, the gods, beloved and gladdened by Kṛṣṇa, departed unwillingly to their own homes."

This passage is followed (v. 40) by an assurance on the part of the Purāṇa, that the person who listens with faith to the narrative of Kṛṣṇa's sports with the cowherds' wives, and who repeats it to others, shall attain to strong devotion to that deity, and shall speedily be freed from love, that disease of the heart (vākriditāṁ Vraja-vadhūbhīṁ idāṁ cha Vīśnoḥ śraddhāveśo 'nuśrīnuvādaṁ aṭha varnayaed yaḥ | bhaktim parāṁ bhagavati pratilabhya kāmāṁ hṛīd-rogaṁ āśe apahinoty achiṣeṇa dhīraḥ). A remarkable instance of homeopathic cure, certainly!

I quote the remarks of the commentator Śrīdhara Śvāmin, on verses 30 ff. of this passage: 30. Paramesvare kaimittika-nyāyena pariharthaṁ sāmānyato mahatāṁ viṣṭam āha 'dharmasyatikramaḥ' iti | 'sāha-sancaḥ dṛiṣṭatam' Pṛajāpatindra-Soma-Viśvamitraṁ | tachcha teshāṁ tejasvināṁ dōshāya na bhavatīti | 31. Tarhi 'yad yad ācharati śreshṭhaḥ iti nyāyena anyo 'pi kuryādy ity āsānkyā āha 'vaitād' iti | 'anīśvaro' dehādi-para-tantro yathā Rudra-yaṭirikto viśam ācharan bhakshayan | 32. Kaṁtha tarhi sadācāryasya prāmāṇyam ataḥ āha 'iśvarāṇām' iti | teshāṁ vaccha satyaṁ atas tad-uktam āchared eva | ācharitaṁ kvačhit satyam atāḥ 'śva-vacho vuktāṁ' teshāṁ vacchaś āya uktam aviruddhāṁ tat tad eva ācharet | 33. Nanu tarhi te 'pi kim evam sāhasam ācharanti tatra āha 'kusa-le' iti | prārabdhā-karma-kshapana-mātram eva teshāṁ kriyaṁ na anyad ity arthaḥ | 34. Prastutam āha 'kimuta' iti | 'kuśalākūsalāntayo' na vidyate iti kim punar vaktavyam ity arthaḥ | 35. Etad eva sputi-karoti | yasya pāda-pankaja-parāgasya nishevanena triptāṁ yadvā yasya pāda-pankaja-parāgasya nishevaṁ to tathā āha te cha te tripiṭācha īti bhaktāḥ īty arthaḥ | tathā jnāninaḥ cha na nityamāṇāḥ bandhanam aprāṇṇuvantaḥ | para-dārataṁ gopināṁ anīṣṭhitam pariḥritam | 36. Idāṁ nam bhaγavataṁ sarvāntaryāmināḥ para-dāra-sevā nāma na kācid ity āha 'gopināṁ' iti | 'yo 'ntāś charaty adhyaksho' buddhy-ādi-sākṣaḥ sa eva kriṣṇanā dehabhāk na tv asmad-ādi-tulyo yena dōshāḥ syād iti | 37. Nanv evam ched āptakāmasya nindītya kutāḥ puraṭītīr īty āha 'anugrahāya' iti | śringāra-rasākṛīdāṁ chetaso 'ti-bahir-mukhān api sva-parāṁ kartum āti bhāvaḥ | 38. Nanv anye 'pi bhinnācārāṁ sva-cheshṭitam evam eva iti vadaṇi tatrāḥ 'nasūyann' iti | evam-bhātu-sivāyaḥbhāve tathā kurvantaḥ pāpaṁ jneyaḥ iti bhāvaḥ |
"In order to refute [the charge of immorality] in regard to the Supreme Deity, by the à fortiori argument, the author states generally the conduct of great persons in the words 'the transgression,' etc. The 'daring acts witnessed' are those of Prājāpati, Indra, Soma, Viśvāmitra, and others; and these are not to be charged to them as faults.

31. Having intimated the doubt that according to the reasoning 'whatever an eminent person does,' etc., etc., there is a danger that another person may do the like,—he says, 'Let no one do the same,' etc.; 'no one other than a superior being,' i.e. no one who is in subjection to a body, etc.; 'as any one separate from Rudra using,' swallowing, 'poison.'

32. Whence, then, is the authority for pure conduct? He tells us in the words, 'of superior beings,' etc. Their word is true; therefore let their declarations be followed. Their conduct is [only] sometimes true [correct]: therefore, let 'their correct words,' viz., that, not being contrary [to right], which is declared by their word, be followed.

33. In answer to the question why these superior beings also thus practise 'daring acts,' he states, in the words 'good deeds,' etc., that they have no other concern whatever than merely to nullify [the consequences of] their commenced works [so as to prevent these works from interfering with their final liberation].

34. He arrives at his main subject in the words 'how much less,' etc.: i.e. [in the case of the supreme Vishnu] there is no such relation of good or evil: What more is to be said?

35. He makes this clear. [The first words here mean either] 'they who are satisfied by worshipping the pollen of the lotus of his feet'; or 'they who are worshippers of the pollen of the lotus of his feet, and are also satisfied, i.e. devotees'; further, who are wise men, not bound,—finding no restraint. The objection that the gopīs were other men's wives is [here] admitted, and obviated.

36. Now he [further] asserts, in the words 'the gopīs,' that in the case of the divine, all-pervading, Being there is no such thing as an attachment to other men's wives [since he pervades, and is one with, everything]. It is 'he who moves within, the ruler,' the witness of the understanding, etc., who in sport takes a body; but he does not resemble such persons as ourselves, so that he should be in fault.

37. The author now, in the words 'out of benevolence,' answers

93 This text, from the Bhagavad Gītā, will be quoted below.
the question why, if the case be so, the Being who has no want unsatisfied should engage in acts which have been censured: the purport is, that he seeks to incline to himself even such persons as are attracted by sensual love, and greatly devoted to external things. 38. But do not others of a very different mode of life represent their own conduct as of this very description? In reference to this he says 'they harboured no ill-will,' etc. The drift is, that those who without such divine character act in the same way are to be considered sinners.'

The following is the passage referred to by the commentator in his annotation on verse 31. It will be seen that it inculcates a doctrine diametrically opposed to that urged in the earlier part, at least, of the argument by which the author of the Bhāgavata endeavours to justify the adulteries of Krīṣṇa, and perfectly coincident with the tenor of the condemnation which the same author (who is inconsistent with himself) had, in an earlier part of his work, pronounced on Brahmā by the mouth of his sons (above, p. 47):


'20. For it was by works that Janaka and other sages attained perfection. You also ought to act, seeking the edification of mankind.'

21. Whatever a person of eminence practises, that the rest of men also [do]. Whatever authoritative example he sets, the people follow.

22. There is nothing in the three worlds, son of Prithā, which I have

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54 I find this sense of the word _bhārīmukha_ in Molesworth's Marathi Dictionary.
55 Compare Raghuvamsa iii. 46. . . . _pathaḥ śucher darśayitvāraḥ śivarāḥ matirnāṁ uddate ya paddhatim_ | 'Our lords, who point out to us the pure way, do not [themselves] pursue an unclean path.'
to do, nor anything unattained which I have to attain; and yet I continue in action. 23. If I were not to continue diligently engaged in works, O son of Prithâ, men would follow my course in every respect. 24. These people would be ruined if I did not practise works; and I should occasion a confusion of castes: I should destroy these creatures. 25. In the same way as the ignorant, who are attached to works, perform them, so let the wise man perform them, without attachment, seeking the edification of mankind. 26. Let not the wise man create a distraction of mind among ignorant persons who are attached to works: let him fulfil all ceremonies with alacrity, while he practises them with abstracted mind."

I quote here some other interesting stories which I have observed in the Satapatha Brâhmaṇa regarding Prajâpati, the creation of the gods, and the manner in which they acquired immortality, and became superior to the Asuras, or to other deities. (Compare the fifth volume of this work, pp. 12–16.) The first extracts tell how Prajâpati himself became immortal, and what difficulties he encountered in the work of creation.

Satapatha Brâhmaṇa, x. 1, 3, 1 (p. 761 ff.)—Prajâpatiḥ praṣāḥ asri-jata | sa urddhvebhyaḥ eva praṣebhyo devān asrijata yo 'vāncaḥ praṇās tebhya martyāḥ praṣāḥ | atha urdhvam eva mṛtyum praṣābhyo 'ttāram asrijata | 2. Tasya ha Prajapater ardham eva martyam āsid ardham amṛtitam | tad yad asya martyam asīt tene mṛtyor abibhet | sa vibhyad imām prāciśad deyam bhūtvā mṛichcha āpaścha | 3. Sa mṛtyur devān abraiv 'kya nu so 'bhūd yo no 'śrishtā' iti | 'tvad bibhyad imām prā- vikshad' iti | so 'braivid 'tam vai anvichhāma tam sambharāma na vai aham tam hiṁśishyāmi' iti | 'tam devāh asyāḥ adhi samabharan | yad asya apsv asīt tāḥ apaḥ samabharann ataḥ yad asyāṁ bīṁ mṛidad | tad ubhayaṁ sambhritya mṛīdancha āpaścha isṭakāṁ akurvaṁ tasmād etad ubhayaṁ

96 The gods are sometimes mentioned in the Rig-veda (see i. 34, 11; i. 45, 2) as being thirty-three in number. Here is an enumeration of them in the S'atapatha Brâhmaṇa, iv. 5, 7, 2: Ashtau Vasavah ekādeśa Rudrāḥ dvādaśa Ādityāḥ ime eva dyāva-prithivi trayastraśiṣyau | trayastraśiṣad vai devāḥ Prajāpatiḥ chastraśiṣiṣaḥ | "There are eight Vasu, eleven Rudras, twelve Adityas, and these two, heaven and earth are the [thirty-second and] thirty-third. There are thirty-three gods, and Prajâpati is the thirty-fourth."
ishtakā bhavati mṛichcha āpāscha । ॥

Telling how Prajāpati became immortal.

4. Tad etāh vai asya tāh pancha
martyās tanvāḥ āsan loma īvan māṁsām asthi majā ātha etāh amrītāh
mano vāk prāṇāḥ chaśkṣuḥ śrotām ॥

6. Te devāḥ abruvann
'amritam imaṁ karavāṁ' iti | tasya etābhyaṁ amritābhyaṁ tānuḥbhyaṁ
etam martyāṁ tanuṁ pariśhyaṁ amritāṁ akurvann ityādi ॥

Tato vai Prajāpatir amrīto 'bhavat ॥

x. 1, 4, 1.-Udbhayaṁ ha etad agre Prajāpatir āsa martyāṁ chaiva
amrītanāha | tasya prānāḥ eva amrītāḥ āstu śarīraṁ martyam | sa etena
karmanā etayā āvriṭa ekadhā 'jaram amritam ātmānam akuruta ॥

"Prajāpati produced creatures. From his upper breaths he formed
the gods, and from his lower breaths mortal creatures. After the crea-
tures he created Death the devourer. 2, Of this Prajāpati, half was
mortal, and half immortal. With that part of him which was mortal,
he was afraid of Death. 3. Fearing, he entered this [earth], having be-
come two things, earth and water. 3. Death said to the gods, 'what
has become of him who created us?' [They answered], 'fearing you,
he has entered this earth.' Death said, 'let us search for, and collect
him. I will not kill him.' The gods then collected him on this [earth].
The part of him which was in the waters, they collected those waters,
and the part which was in this [earth], they [collected] that earth.
Having collected both of these, the earth and the waters, they made a
brick. Hence these two things make a brick, viz. earth and water.
4. Then these five parts of him were mortal, hair, skin, flesh, bone, and
marrow; and these immortal, mind, voice, breath, eye, ear. 6.
The gods said, 'let us make him immortal.' So [saying], having
surrounded this mortal part with these immortal parts, they made it
immortal ॥ Hence Prajāpati became immortal ॥"

x. 1, 4, 1.-"Prajāpati was formerly both of these two things,
mortal and immortal. His breaths were immortal, and his body
mortal. By this rite, by this ceremonial, he made himself uniformly
undecaying and immortal.'

Satapatha Brähmana x. 4, 1: Prajāpatiṁ vai prajāḥ śrījamānam
pāpmā mṛityur abhiprajīghānaḥ | sa tapo 'tapyata sahasraṁ saṁvatsarāṁ
pāpmānaṁ sījihāsann ityādi | 'Misery, death, smote Prajāpati when

97 Comp. Taitt. Sanh. ii. 3, 2. 1. Devāḥ vai mṛityor abbhayaḥ, te Prajāpatiṁ
upādhaman | "The gods were afraid of Death: they hastened to Prajāpati," etc.
See also S'atap. Br. x. 4, 2, 2, quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 69.
he was creating living beings. He performed austerity for a thousand years, to get free from misery.” See the passages to a similar effect, quoted in the first volume of this work, pp. 68 ff., and Satap. Br. xi. 4, 3, 1 ff., quoted in the fifth volume, p. 349; and further the same Brāhmaṇa, iv. 6, 3, 1: Prajāpater ha vai prajāḥ saṣrīyānasya parvāṇi visāraṁsuḥ: “As Prajāpati was creating living beings, his joints became relaxed,” etc.

The next extracts tell how the gods acquired immortality; and the first of them also informs us of a means whereby men may become immortal, after the decay of their bodies. 98

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 4, 3, 1 ff. (p. 787): Esha vai mṛityur yat saṁvatsaraḥ | Esha hi martyānāṁ aho-ṝatrābhhyāṁ āyuḥ kśniotomy atha mṛiyante tasmād esha eva mṛityuḥ | sa yo ha etam mṛityum saṁvatsaram veda na ha asya esha purā. jāraso 'ho-ṝatrābhhyāṁ āyuḥ kśnioti sarvāṁ ha eva āyuḥ eti | 2. Esha eva antakah | esha hi martyānāṁ aho-ṝatrābhhyāṁ āyuṣho 'ntaṁ gachhaty 99 atha mṛiyante | tasmād esha eva antakah | sa yo ha etam antakah mṛityum saṁvatsaram, veda na ha asya esha purā jāraso 'ho-ṝatrābhhyāṁ āyuṣho 'ntaṁ gachhati sarvaṁ ha eva āyuḥ eti | 3. Te devāḥ etasmād antakād mṛityoh saṁvatsarat Prajāpater bibhayān-chakrur 'yad vai no 'yam aho-ṝatrābhhyāṁ āyuṣho 'ntaṁ na gachhād iti | 4. Te etān yajnakrātūṁ tenire 'gnihotram darśa-pūrṇām saṁ chāturmāṅg-yāṇi paśubandhāṁ sañyam adhvaram | te etair yajna-kratubhir yajamāṇāṁ na amṛitatvam ānasire | 5. Te ha apy Agnīṁ chikyire | te 'pari-ṣmūtah eva pariṣritaḥ upadadhur aparimītyah yajushmatiḥ aparimitah lokampriṇāḥ yathā idam apy etarhy eke upadadhiti iti devāḥ akurvann iti te ha na eva amṛitatvam ānasire | 6. Te 'ṛchantaḥ śrāmyantaḥ cherur amṛitatvam avarurutsamanāḥ | tān ha Prajāpatiḥ uvācha 'na vai me sarvāṁ rūpāṁ upadhattha ati a eva rechayatha na va 'bhāyāpayatha tasmād na amṛitaḥ bhavatha' iti | 7. Te ha uvācha | 'tebhya vai nas tvaṁ eva tad brūhi yathā te sarvāṁ rūpāṁ upadiladhama' iti | 8. Sa ha uvācha shashṭiṁ cha trīṇi cha satāṇi pariṣritaḥ upadhatta shashṭiṁ cha trīṇi cha satāṇi yajushmatiḥ adhi shat-trīṁśatam atha lokampriṇāḥ daśa

98 Comp. S'atap. Br. ix. 5, 1, 1 ff., quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 14, note; and the same Brāhmaṇa ix. 3, 3, 2. In S'atap. Br. x. 3, 5, 13, happiness, or gladness, is said to be the soul or essence of all the gods (ānandātmāno ha eva saṁc eva devāḥ).

99 Gachhati=gamayati | 'Comm.
TELLING HOW THE GODS ATTAINED IMMORTALITY.

57

cha sahasrany ashtau cha śatany upadhatta atha me sarvani rūpāny upadāsyatha atha amritāḥ bhavishyatha' iti | te ha tathā devāh upa-
dadhus tato devāḥ amritāḥ āsuḥ | 9. Sa mṛityur devān abravīt ittham eva sarve manushyāḥ amritāḥ bhavishyanty atha ko mahyam bhūgo bhavishyati' iti | te ha udhur 'na ato 'paraḥ kaśchana saha śārīreny amrito 'sad. yadā eva tvam etam bhāgam harāsai | atha vyāvṛitya śārīrenā [śārīram vihāya, Comm.] amrito 'sad yO 'mṛito 'sad vidyayā vā karanā vā' iti | yad vai tad abruvān 'vidyayā vā karanā vā' ity esā ha eva sā vidyā yad Āgnir etad u ha eva tat karma yad Āgniḥ | 10. Te ye evam etad vidur ye vā etat karma 'kurvate mṛitvā punah sambhavanti | te sambhavantāḥ eva amritatvam abhi sambhavanti | atha ye evān na vidur ye vā etat karma na kurvate mṛitvā punah sambhavanti te etasya eva annam punah punar bhavanti |

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, p. 787.—"It is this year which is death; for it wears away the life of mortals by days and nights, and then they die; wherefore it is it which is death. Whoso knows this death [which is] the year,—it does not wear away his life by days and nights before [the time of] his decay: he lives through his whole life. 2. This [the year] is the ender; for it by days and nights brings on the end of the life of mortals, and then they die: hence it is the ender. Whosoever knows this ender, death, the year, it does not by days and nights bring on the end of his life, before his decay: he lives through his whole life. 3. The gods were afraid of this ender, death, the year [which is] Prajāpati, 'lest he should by days and nights bring on the end of our life.' 4. They performed these rites of sacrifice, viz. the āgnihotra, the dārśa and pürṇamāṣa, the chāturmāṣyas (oblations offered at intervals of four months), the pāsubandha, and the saumya adhvara: but sacrificing with these rites they did not attain immortality. 5. They moreover kindled sacrificial fires; they celebrated pariśrits, yajushmatis, lokam- priṇās, without definite measure, as some even now celebrate them. So did the gods, but they did not attain immortality. 6. They went on worshipping and toiling, seeking to acquire immortality. Prajāpati said to them, 'Ye do not celebrate all my forms; ye either carry them to excess, or ye do not fully carry them out; hence ye do not become

100 This seems to be a polemical hit aimed by the author of the Brāhmaṇa at some contemporaries who followed a different ritual from himself.
immortal.' 7. They said, 'Tell us how we may celebrate all thy forms.' 8. He said, 'Perform 63 hundred pariṣītras, 63 hundred and 36 yajushmās, and 10 thousand 8 hundred lokamṛṣṇās: 'ye shall then celebrate all my forms, and shall become immortal.' The gods celebrated accordingly, and then they became immortal. 9. Death said to the gods, 'In the same way all men will become immortal, and then what portion shall remain to me?' They said, 'No other person shall henceforward become immortal with his body, when thou shalt seize this portion [the body]: then every one who is to become immortal through knowledge or work, shall become immortal after parting with his body.' This which they said, 'through knowledge or work,' this is that knowledge which is Agni, that work which is Agni. 10. Those who so know this, or those who perform this work, are born again after death; and from the fact of being born, they are born for immortality. And those who do not so know, or those who do not perform this work, and are born again after death, become again and again his (death's) food.'

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. i. 2, 12.—Martyāḥ ha vai agre devāḥ āsuḥ | sā yadā eva te samvatsaram āpur atha amṛtāḥ āsuḥ | survaṁ vai samvatsaraḥ | survaṁ vai akshayam | etena u ha asya akshayam sukritam bhavaty akshayyo lokah | "The gods were originally mortal. When they obtained the year, they became immortal. The year is all: all is undecaying: by it a man obtains undecaying welfare, an undecaying world."

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 2, 3, 6.—Martyāḥ ha vai agre devāḥ āsuḥ | sa yadā eva te Brahmāna ṣur (vyāptah, Comm.) atha amṛtāḥ āsuḥ | "The gods were originally mortal. When they were pervaded by Brahma, they became immortal" (see the context of this passage in the fifth vol. of this work, p. 388). Comp. Taitt. Br., iii. 10, 9, 1, quoted in the first vol. of this work, p. 71.

The following story describes how the gods became distinguished from, and superior to, the Asuras. Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, ix. 5, 1, 12 ff. (p. 741).—Devāścha Asurāścha ubhayāh prājāpatyāḥ Prajāpateḥ pitar

101 See Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 2, r, 8, quoted in the second volume of this work, p. 388, note 36, for another legend on this same subject, in which the gods are said to have become immortal by another means.
dāyam 102 upeyur vācham eva satyānṛto satyanchaiva aniritancha | te udbhaye eva satyam avadānā udbhaye äñitam | te ha sadriśam vadantaḥ sadriśah eva āsuḥ | 13: Te devāḥ utsṛjjya aniritam satyam anvālebhire | asuraḥ u ha utsṛjjya satyam anритam anvālebhire | 14. Tad ha idaṁ satyam īkṣhānchakre yad asureshv āsa ‘devāḥ vai utsṛjjya anritaṁ satyam anvālapsata hanta tad ayāni’ iti tad devān ājagāma | 15. Anритam u ha īkṣhānchakre yad deveshv āsa ‘asuraḥ vai utsṛjjya satyam anритam anvālapsata hanta tad ayāni’ iti tad aspiren ājagāma | 16. Te devāḥ sarvaṁ satyam avadān sarvam asuraḥ anритam | te devā āsakti 103 satyam vadaṁtāḥ aishāvīratarāḥ iva āśur anādhyatarāḥ iva | tasmād u ha etad yaḥ āsakti satyaṁ vadyāt aishāvīratarāḥ iva eva bhavaty anādhyatarāḥ iva | sa ha tv eva antato bhavati 104 devaṁ hy evānto bhavan | 17. Ātha ha asuraḥ āsakti anритam vadaṁtāḥ āśaḥ iva pipisur 105 ādhyāḥ iva āsuh tasmād u ha etad yaḥ āsakti anритam vadyāt āśaḥ iva eva pipats ādhyāḥ iva bhavati parā ha tv eva antato bhavati parā hy asuraḥ abhavan | tad yat tat satyaṁ trayi sā vidyā | te devaḥ abruvan ‘yajnam kriyā iḍān satyaṁ tanvāmahai’ | ... ... 27. Teshu preteshu tritīya-savanam atavata | tat samasthāpayan | yat samasthāpayams tat sarvaṁ satyam āpnuvāṁ tato ‘suraḥ apapupravīr | tato devaḥ abhavan parā’ suraḥ | bhavaty ātmanā parā’ sya dvishan bhrātrīvyo bhavati yaḥ evaṁ veda |

“The gods and Asuras, both descendants of Brajapati, 106 obtained their father Brajapati’s inheritance, speech, true and false, both truth

102 Compare S’atap. Br., i. 7, 2, 22.

103 Āsakti satyam | āśulam satyam | Comm.

104 Some such preposition as abhi might appear to be wanted here; but Dr. Aufrecht suggests to me that bhavati may be taken in a pregnant sense as meaning, “he really exists, continues, or prevails.” Compare the words at the close of the 27th paragraph of this passage.

105 I am indebted to Dr. Aufrecht for pointing out to me another passage of the S’atapatha Brahmāṇa where the word pisyati occurs, and which throws light on the one before us. The passage in question occurs in pp. 71, 72, of the Brahmāṇa, i. 7, 3, 18: Pesukam vai vāstu pisyati ha prajāya paśubhir yasya evam vidusho ‘nush- tulbau bhavataḥ | “His house becomes flourishing, he increases in progeny and cattle,—that man who, when he knows this, has the two anushṭuṣḥs.” The commentator explains the word pesukam as equal to akshavardhana-śilam, “whose nature is to increase,” and pisyati as meaning ātīrīḍhā bhavati, “he becomes exceedingly augmented.”

106 Comp. Taitt. Br. i. 4, 1, 1. Udbhaye vai ete Prajāpater adhy asriyanta devās cha asuraṁ cha | tāṁ na vyāyāṁ ‘ine anye ime anye’ iti | “Gods and Asuras were both created from Prajāpate. He could not distinguish the one as different from the other.”
and falsehood. They both spoke truth, and both [spoke] falsehood. Speaking alike, they were alike. 13. Then the gods, abandoning falsehood, adopted truth; while the Asuras, abandoning truth, adopted falsehood. 14. The truth which had been in the Asuras perceived this, 'the gods, abandoning falsehood, have adopted truth; let me go to it.' So [saying, truth] came to the gods. 15. Then the falsehood which had been in the gods perceived, 'the Asuras, abandoning truth, have adopted falsehood; let me go to it.' So [saying, falsehood] came to the Asuras. 16. The gods [then] spoke entirely truth, and the Asuras entirely falsehood. Speaking truth exclusively (or devotedly), the gods became, as it were, weaker, and, as it were, poorer. Hence it happens that the man who speaks exclusively truth becomes, as it were, weaker and poorer; but in the end he becomes [prosperous], for the gods became so in the end. 17. Then the Asuras, speaking exclusively falsehood, increased like saline earth, and became, as it were, rich. Hence it happens that he who speaks exclusively falsehood increases like saline earth, and becomes, as it were, rich; but succumbs in the end, for the Asuras succumbed. That which is truth is the triple science' (the three Vedas). Then the gods said, 'Let us, after performing sacrifice, celebrate this truth.'" The gods then performed a variety of sacrifices, which were always interrupted by the arrival of the Asuras. At length, 27. "When these had gone, they celebrated the third Savana, and accomplished it. Inasmuch as they accomplished it, they found it entirely true. Then the Asuras went away, and the gods became [superior, while] the Asuras were worsted. The man who knows this becomes in his own person superior, and his hater, his enemy, is defeated."

Another story relates to the same subject, Sātapatā Brāhmaṇa, v. i. 1, 1 (=xi. 1, 8, 1 f.): Devaś cha vai Asuraś cha ubhyāe prajāpatyāḥ paspidhīre | tato 'surāḥ atimānena eva "hāsin min nu vacayā jhuyāma" iti svesh eva āsyeshu jhuvataḥ cheruḥ | te 'timānena eva parābhabhūvah | tasmād na atimānyeta | parābhavasya hy etad mukhaṁ yaṁ abhimānāḥ |
2. Atha devaḥ anyo 'nyasmin jhuvataḥ cheruḥ | tebhāḥ Prajaḥpatir ātmānām pradadau | yajno 'ha eshām, āsa yajño hi devānām annam | "The gods and Asuras, both of them the offspring of Prajāpati, strove together. Then the Aṣtras, taking themselves to whom they should offer their oblations, 'through presumption went on placing them in
their own mouths; and in consequence of this their presumption they were overcome. Wherefore let no one be presumptuous; for presumption leads to defeat. 2. The gods went on offering their oblations to one another. Prajāpati gave himself to them; sacrifice became theirs; for sacrifice supplies the food of the gods.”

The following is from the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 2, 9, 6 f.: 

The next legend explains how inequality was introduced among the gods. Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, iv. 5, 4, 1 (p. 397 f.).—

The different classes of gods then encompassed it on four sides.

107 Comp. the words ye adhi sūptā vajrayata, R. V. i. 51, 5; and Sayana's comment thereon.

108 Comp. Satap. Br. xi. 3, 2, 1: Sarveshām vai eva dhūtanāṁ sarveshāṁ devānāṁ ātmā yañ yajñāḥ | “Sacrifice is the soul of all beings, 9f all the gods.”

109 Comp. Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 6, 2, 11; vi. 6, 3, 2; xi. 2, 7, 26.
They saw these atigrahyas; \(^{110}\) they offered them over and above. Because they did so, these draughts (or cups) were called atigrahyas. They became superior. As they [became] thus, as it were, superior, so superiority is, as it were, acquired by the man, of whom, when he knows this, they receive these grahas (draughts, or cups).

3. Originally there was not in Agni the same flame, as this flame which is [now] in him. He desired: 'May this flame be in me.' He saw this graha, he took it; and hence there became this flame in him. 4. Originally there was not in Indra the same vigour, etc., etc. [as in para. 3]. 5. Originally there was not in Sūrya the same lustre, etc., etc. [the same as in para. 3]. That man has in himself these forces, these energies, of whom, when he knows this, they receive these grahas."

\(^{110}\) By this name are called “three particular grahas, or sacrificial vessels, with which libations were made in the Jyotishtoma sacrifice to Agni, Indra, and Sūrya.” Prof. Goldstücker’s Diet. The word is explained by Böhtlingk and Roth, as meaning “\textit{haustus insuper hauriendus},” a draught to be drunk over and above; the designation of three fillings of the cup, which are drawn at the Soma offering.
CHAPTER II.


SECT. I.—Passages in the Hymns of the Rig-veda relating to Vishnu.

R. V. i. 22, 16 ff.: 16 ( = S. V. 2, 1024). Ato devāḥ avantu no yato Vishnur vichakrame | prithivyāḥ sapta dhāmabhīḥ | 17 ( = S. V. i. 222; Vāj. S. 5, 15; A. V. 7, 26, 4). Idām Vishnur vichakrame tredhā nidadhē padam | samūlham asya pāṁśure [ pāṁśule | S. V.] 18 ( = S. V. 2, 1020; Vāj. S. 34, 43; A. V. 7, 26, 5). Trāṇī padā vichakrame Vishnur govāḥ adābhyaḥ | ato dharmāṇi dhārayan | 19 ( = S. V. 2, 1021; Vāj. S. 6, 4; A. V. 7, 26, 6). Vishnōh karmāṇi paśyata yato vratāni paspaśe | Indrasya yujyāḥ 1 sakhā | 20 ( = S. V. 2, 1022; Vāj. S. 6, 5; A. V. 7, 26, 7). Tad Vishnōh paramam padaṁ sadā paśyanti sīrayāḥ | divivi chakshur ātataṁ | 21 ( = S. V. 2, 1023; Vāj. S. 34, 44). Tad viprāso vipanyavo jāgrivāṁśah samindhate | Vishnōr yat paramam padam |

16. “May the gods preserve us from the place from which Vishṇu strode 2 over the seven regions of the earth.” 3

16. “May the gods preserve us from the place from which Vishnu strode 2 over the seven regions of the earth.” 3

1 Yujyo vā sakhā vā, R. V. ii. 28, 10; yuj. i. 10, 9; yujyāya, ix. 66, 18.

2 Mbh. Sānti-Parva, v. 13171: Kramayāḥ chāpy ahām Pārtha Vishṇu ity abhisamjñitaḥ | “And from striding, O son of Prithū, I am called Vishṇu.” The A. V. ix. 6, 29, speaks of the steps of Prajāpati being imitated by his worshipper (Prajāpater vai eśa viśramān anuvikramate yah upaharati).

3 Instead of the words prithivyāḥ sapta dhāmabhīḥ, the Sāma-veda reads, prithivyāḥ adhi sānavi: “over the surface of the earth.” This verse, as well as the following ones, is rendered by Professor Benfey, in his translation of the Sāma-veda, as well as in his “Orient und Occident,” i. 30. He understands the place from which Vishṇu strides to be the sun, referring to verse 20. For the sense given by Sāyana to this and the following verses, see Wilson’s translation of the Rig-veda and notes in toco. Compare also Rosen’s Latin version.
his step, was enveloped in his dust. \[4\] Vishnu, the unconquerable preserver, strode three steps, thereby maintaining fixed ordinances. 19. Behold the acts of Vishnu, through which this intimate friend of Indra perceived \[6\] established laws. 20. Sages constantly behold that highest position of Vishnu, like an eye fixed in the sky. 21. Wise men, singing praises, and ever wakeful, light up? [by the power of their hymns?] that which is the highest station of Vishnu."

The 17th verse of this hymn is quoted in the Nirukta, xii. 19; \[8\] where we have the following explanations of its purport, derived by Yaska from two older writers:

\[
\text{Yad idaṁ kincha tad vikramate Vīṣṇuḥ | tridhā nidhatte padam |}
\text{‘tredhā-avāya prithivyām untarikeś divi’ iti Śākapūniḥ | ‘samā-}
\text{rohāne vijnupade gayaśirasi’ ity Aurnavābhāḥ | ‘samudham asya pāṁ-
\text{sure’ | pyāyane ‘ntarikshe pāḍaṁ na drīṣyaṁ | apivā upamārthe syāt |}
\text{samudham asya pāṁsule iva padaṁ na drīṣyaṁ ityādi |}
\]

"Vishnu strides over this, whatever exists. He plants his step in a three-fold manner,—i.e. ‘for a three-fold existence, on earth, in the atmosphere, and in the sky,’ according to Sākapūni; or, ‘on the hill where he rises, on the meridian, and on the hill where he sets,’ according to Aurnavābha. ‘Samudham asya pāṁsura,’ i.e. his step is

\[4\] According to Benfey, translation of S. V., p. 223, note, this phrase, the world is veiled in Vishnu’s dust, means, it is subjected to him. In his "Orient und Occident," he explains it thus: "he is so mighty that the dust which his tread raises, fills the whole earth." Can this dust be understood of the dazzling brightness of the sun’s rays, surrounding his progress, and obscuring his disc from the view of the observer? The prophet Nahum says, i. 3, "The Lord hath his way in the whirlwind and in the storm, and the clouds are the dust of his feet."

\[5\] Adābhya may also mean "who cannot be deceived." The idea of Vishnu being pre-eminently the preserver of the universe, which became current in later times, may possibly have been derived from this verse.

\[6\] Sāyana gives to the root spāś the sense of "hiqdering," or "touching." Benfey, in his S. V., renders paspaśe by "received," and, in the "Orient und Occident," by "firmly fixed." The sense, he says, is this: "Look to the sun, where the terminus lies from which Vishnu started (verses 16, 21), and in which all the powers which work in nature have their source." Roth, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, pp. 138 f., thinks that the sense of "beholding" is suitable in all the texts where forms of the root spāś occur in the R. V.

\[7\] Benfey renders samindhate "glorify." The commentator on the Vāj. S. 34, 44, makes it ḍpayante = upāsaṁta. Roth, under the word, explains "they kindle [Agni?] when Vishnu is in his highest position."

\[8\] Formerly cited in the second volume of this work.
not seen in that prolific region, the atmosphere (pyāyane antarikshe): or the phrase may be metaphorical, 'enveloped in his dust, as it were, his step is not seen,' etc.

The following is the comment of Durgāchārya on this passage of the Nirukta:

Vishnur Ādityah | Katham iti yataḥ aha 'tredhā nidadhe padam' ni-dhatte padaṁ nidhānam padaih | kva tat tāvat | 'prithivyām antarikshe divi' iti Sākapùniḥ | pārthivo 'gnir bhūtvā prithivyām yat kinchid asti tad vikramate tad adhitishhati | antarikshe vaidyutatmanā | divi suryātmanā | yad uktam 'tam ā akriyant tredhā bhewe kam' (R. V. x. 88, 10) iti | 'samārohana' udāya-girāv udyan padam ekaṁ nidhatte | 'vishnupade' madhyandine 'antarikshe | 'gayaśirasy' ustamgirāv ity Āurnavābhaḥ āchāryo manyate |

"Vishṇu is the sun [Āditya]. How so? Because [the hymn] says, 'in three places he planted his step'; i.e. plants his step, [makes] a planting with his steps. Where, then, is this done? 'On the earth, in the firmament, and in the sky,' according to Sākapuṇi. Becoming terrestrial fire, he strides over,—abides in, whatever there is, on earth; in the shape of lightning, in the firmament; and in the form of the sun, in the sky. As it is said (in the R. V. x. 88, 10), 'They made him to become threefold.' Āurnavābha Āchārya thinks [the meaning is] this, 'He plants one foot on the 'samārohaṇa' (place of rising), when mounting over the hill of ascension; [another] on the 'vishnu-pada,' the meridian sky; [a third] on the 'gayaśiras,' the hill of setting.'

It thus appears from the statement of Yāska that the two old writers whom he quotes had proposed two different interpretations of Vishṇu's steps.

First: Sākapuṇi thought that the triple manifestation of the god, in the form of fire on earth, of lightning in the atmosphere, and of the solar light in the sky, was intended in the hymn. This threefold distribution of divine agency is thus referred to in another interesting passage of the Nirukta, vii. 5:

9 Already quoted in the second volume of this work.
10 The Atharvaveda, v. 26, 7 has the following reference to Vishṇu: Vishnur yunakta bahudhā tapāṃsi asmin yajne suṣṇijaḥ svadhā | 11 See Appendix B.
S'AKAPUÑI AND AURNAVĀBHA ON VISHNU'S STRIDES.

Tisrah eva devatāḥ iti Nairuktāḥ Agnik prithivi-sthāno Vāyur vā Indro vā 'ntariksha-sthānāḥ Sūryo dyu-sthānāḥ | tāsām mahābhāgyād ekaikasyāḥ api bahāṇī nāmadheyānī bhavanti | api vā karma-prithaktvād yathā hotā 'dhvaryaḥ brahmā udgātā ity apy ekasya sataḥ | api vā prithag eva syuḥ | prithag hi stutayo bhavanti tathā 'bhiddhanānī ityādi |

“There are only three deities, according to the Nairukta (etymologists), Agni, whose place is on earth, Vāyu, or Indra, whose place is in the atmosphere, and Sūrya, whose place is in the sky. These [deities] each receive many designations, in consequence of their greatness, or from the diversity of their functions, as [the appellations of] hotṛi, adhvaryu, brahman, and udgatṛi are applied to one and the same person. Or [the gods' in question] may all be distinct, for distinct hymns and appellations are addressed to them,” etc. According to S'akapunī, therefore, Vishnu would be the god who is manifested in a three-fold form on earth, in the atmosphere, and in the sky.

Secondly: Aurṇavābha interprets the passage differently. He understands the three steps of Vishnu, not of fire, lightning, and solar light, but of the different positions of the sun at his rising, his culmination, and his setting. According to him, therefore, Vishnu is simply the sun.

Śāyaṇa (see Professor Wilson’s translation, p. 53, note) understands this passage as referring to the three steps of Vishnu in his “Dwarf incarnation,” of which I shall supply details further on. The commentator on the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā annotates thus on 5, 15 (= verse 17 of the hymn before us):

Vishnus trivikramāvatārāṁ krītvā idum eva vīṣvaṁ vichakrame vibhayayā kramate sma | tad eva āha | tredhā padaṁ nidadhā bhumaṁ ekam padamar 12

12 Kai tāa ṣapalo vṛddhātvanu vṛddhātvanu vṛddhātvanu, ἕσεχυθα Prom. Vinct. v. 217.
13 In a previous part of this passage, vii. 4, it is said, Mahābhāgyād devatāyāḥ ekaḥ ātmā bahuḥ sthāyate | ekasya ātmano 'nī deveṇa pratyangānī bhavanti | “From the greatness of the Deity the one Soul is celebrated in many ways. The different gods are members of the one Soul,” etc. Compare Mr. Coplebrooke’s Essays, i. 26 ff.; or p. 12 f. of W. and N.’s ed. It appears from an advertisement in No. 75 of Trübner’s American and Oriental Literary Record, that these Essays are being reprinted under the editorialship of Prof. E. B. Cowell. (August, 1872.)
14 This is the view taken by Prof. Max Müller: “This stepping of Vishnu is emblematic of the rising, the culminating, and the setting of the sun,” etc. Trans. of R. V., vol. i., p. 117.
antarikshe dvitiyaṁ divi tritiyaṁ iti kramād Agni-Vāyu-Sūrya-rupena ity arthaḥ |

"Vishnu, becoming incarnate as Trivikrama (the god who stepped thrice), strōde over,—i.e. stepped by separate strides over,—this whole [universe]. It is this that [the ṛishi] expresses [in the words], 'In three places he planted his step,' i.e. one step on the earth, a second in the atmosphere, and a third in the sky: in the successive forms of Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya.'"

The commentator here combines the view that the Dwarf incarnation of Vishnu is referred to in the hymn, with the conception that his different steps on the earth, in the atmosphere, and in the sky, were taken in the successive characters of Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya, which is the interpretation of Sākapūni, as explained by Durga. There is no trace in the words either of Sākapūni, or of Aūraṃvābha, as handed down by Yāska, of any allusion to such a Trivikrama incarnation of Vishnu.\(^\text{15}\)

I proceed to quote in order from the Rig-veda further texts, relative to Vishnu.

R. V. i. 61, 7: Aṣyed u mātuḥ savaneshu sadyo mahaḥ pitum pāpivān chāru annā | mushāyad Vishnuḥ pachataṁ saktīyān vidhyād vaḥkān viṁ tiro ādirīn astā—"Having at the libations of that great measurer [of the worlds, i.e. Indra], drunk the potion, and [eaten] the pleasant oblations, the impetuous Vishnu straightway stole the cooked mess, pierced the boar and shot through the mountain." See R. V. viii. 66, 10, below, and the quotation from Sāyāṇa's note on that verse.

\(^{15}\) The Brāhmaṇas, as well as the hymns, contain frequent allusions to the three steps or stations of Vishnu. See the Śatap. Br. vi. 7, 4, 7 ff.; Taitt. Sanh. i. 7, 5, 4. The Vājasaneyi Sanhitā has the following additional reference to them. According to the commentator, the interlocutors in the two verses are the brahman and udgāti priests. Vāj. Sanh., xxiii. 49: Prīṭhāmi tvā chitaye devasakha yadi tvam atra manasa jagantha | yeshu Vishnuḥ treshu padesu eshtaṁ teshu viśvam bhuvanam ānivesa | 50 | Agi teshu trishu padesu aṣmī yeshu viśvam bhuvanam ānivesa | sadyaḥ paryam prīthicin uta dyam ekenāgama dīvo asya prīṣṭham | "I ask thee, friend of the gods, that I may know, if thou by thy mind hast reached so far,—did Vishnu, in the three steps (or spheres) in which he is worshipped, pervade the entire universe? | 50. I am even in those three steps, by which he pervaded the entire universe. Straightway I move around the earth and heaven; with one member, (I move) over the surface of this sky."
R. V. i. 85, 7: To avardhanta eva-tavaso mahitvanā ā nākaṁ taṁthur uru chakrice sadaṁ | Vishnu yaṁ ha āvad vṛishṇam mada-chyutaṁ vayo na sādāṁ adhi barhiṣhī priye |

"They (the Maruts), strong in themselves, increased in greatness. They ascended to heaven, and have made [for themselves] a spacious abode. When Vishnu assisted the hero [Indra?] who humbles pride, they sit down like birds on the sacrificial grass which they love."

R. V. i. 90, 5, 9.—Uta no dhiyo go-agrāḥ Pūshan Vishnu eva-yāvaḥ | karta naḥ svastimataḥ | 9. śaṁ no Mitraḥ śaṁ Varunaḥ śaṁ no bhavatu Aryaṁ | śaṁ naḥ Indro Bṛihaspatiḥ śaṁ no Vishnu urukramaḥ |

5. "Pūshan, Vishnu, swift goer, make our prayers to bring us cattle and other possessions: make us prosperous. . . . 9. May Mitra, may Varuna, may Aryaman, may Indra, may Bṛihaspati, may the wide-striding Vishnu, all grant us prosperity."

I now come to a hymn which, with the exception of the last verse (where two gods are alluded to), is devoted exclusively to the celebration of Vishnu’s praises.

R. V. 1, 154 (=Vāj. S. 5, 18; A. V. 7, 26, 1).—Vishnur na kaṁ

16 Though the commentator in loco renders mada-chyutam by mādasya harsha-sya āsektāram, "dispenser of exhilaration" he interprets it in his note on R. V. i. 51, 2 —where it is an epithet of Indra—by śatrūnāṁ mādasya garvasya chīva-vayitāram, "who brings down the pride of his enemies." In R. V., viii. 1, 21, the word mada-chyut is again applied to Indra, and in R. V. viii. 85, 5, to his thunderbolt. [I leave my translation to stand as it was in the first edition. Benfey, however, "Orient und Occident," ii. 248, renders the clause about Vishnu thus: "When Vishnu protects the dropping (Soma) who distils intoxication," and refers to a paper of his own in the Gött. Gel. Anzeigen regarding the relation of Vishnu to Soma. In Böhtlingköth and Roth’s Lexicon the word madachyut, as it is to be understood in this passage, is translated "delightful," "gladdening," "inspiring." Prof. Müller, Translation of R. V., vol. i., renders the clause, "When Vishnu desiried the en- rapturing Soma." In his note, p. 116, he remarks: "Vishnu, whose character in the hymns of the Veda is very different from that assumed by him in later periods of Hindu religion, must here be taken as the friend and companion of Indra." After quoting various texts about the two gods, he adds, "The mention of Vishnu in our hymn is therefore by no means exceptional, but the whole purport of this verse is nevertheless very doubtful, chiefly owing to the fact that several of the words occurring in it lend themselves to different interpretations." He says, p. 118, that "bringing down pride" is a meaning which the word madachyut clearly has not in the Veda. When applied to the thunderbolt, he says it ought to be rendered "wildly rushing down"; and when referred to Indra, his horses, or the Āsūrins, or to horses in general, he would translate it by "furiously or wildly moving about."]
vīryāṇi pravocānam\(^{17}\) yathā pārthivāṇi viname rajāṃsi | yo askabhāyad uttaraṁ sadhastham vichakramānās tredhā urugāyaḥ | 2. (= A. V. 7, 26, 2, 3; Nir. 1, 20): Pra tad Vīṣṇuḥ stavate vīryena mṛgō na bhīmaḥ kucharō giristhāḥ\(^{18}\) | yasyoruhu trishiḥ vikramaṇesu adhikṣiyanti bhuvānāṁ visvā | 3. Pra Vīṣṇavac śūṣham etu maṇna girikśhitē urugāyayaṁ\(^{19}\) vṛishne | yathā idāṁ dirgham prayataṁ sadhastham eko viname trībhīr it padebhīḥ | 4. "Yasya tri pūrṇā madhunā padāṁ akṣhiyamāṇā svadhāyā madānti | yathā u triḍāhūt prīthivim uta dyāṁ eko dādhāra bhuvānāṁ visvā | 5. Tad asya priyam abhi pātho (R. V. iii. 55, 10) aṣyāṁ naro yatra devayavo madānti | urukramāṣya sa hi bandhur ilthā Vīṣṇuḥ pade parame madhvāṁ utsāḥ | 6. (Vāj. S. 6, 3; Nir. 2, 7): Tā vāṁ vāstūni uśmā gamadhyai yatra gāvo bhūri-śringāḥ ayāsah | aṭrāḥa tad urugāyasya vṛishnāḥ paramam padāṁ ave bhāti bhūri |

"I declare the heroic deeds of Viṣṇu, who traversed the mundane regions, who established the upper sphere, striding thrice, the wide-stepping. 2. Therefore is Viṣṇu celebrated for his prowess, terrible like a wild beast, destructive, abiding in the mountains [or, clouds, if this be an epithet of the god]; he within [the range of] whose three vast paces all the worlds abide. 3. Let my insipiring hymn proceed to Viṣṇu, the dweller in the [aerial] mountains, the wide-stepping, the vigorous, who alone traversed with three steps this wide, extended firmament;—4. Whose three [steps, or] stations, replenished with

\(^{17}\) The same form of expression occurs in a hymn to Indra (R. V. i. 32, 1), Indrasya nu vīryāṇi pravocānam, etc. Compare R. V., ii. 15, 1.

\(^{18}\) On this verse the Nirukta remarks: "Kucharaḥ" iti charati karma kutsitam| atha chēd devatābhidhānāṁ kva ayaṁ na charati iti | giristhāḥ giristhāyī girik parvataḥ . . . tat-prakṛti itarāt sandhi-sāmānyāḥ megha-sthāyī megho pi girir etas-mād eva | "Kuchara", is one who does (charati) a blamable action. If the word be a designation of the god, it will mean 'where does he not go?' 'Giristhāḥ' means 'abiding in the mountains'; for girī means 'mountain.' . . . The author then gives various etymologies of the word parvata, "mountain," one of which is that it is derived from parvan, "a joint"; and then proceeds: "From this sense is derived another (owing to the idea of joint being common to both), viz., that of 'abiding in the clouds,' for a cloud also is called girī for the same reason." See Roth's Illusttrations of the Nirukta, p. 17. The same comparison, mṛgo na bhīmaḥ kucharō giristhāḥ, is applied to Indra in R. V., x. 180, 2 (= S. V., ii. 1223, and A. V. 7, 84, 3). Böhtlingk and Roth, s. v., think the word Kuchara may signify "slowly-moving," "slinking." The word mṛgo is applied to Vṛūṇa in R. V. vii. 87, 6.

\(^{19}\) Uragāyasya = prithu-gamanasya adhikastuter vā.—Sāyana on R. V. iii. 6, 4. Uragāyasya = mahāgatēḥ.—Nir. ii. 7.
honey, imperishable, gladden us with food; who alone hath triply sustained the universe, the earth, and the sky, [yea] all the worlds.

5. May I attain to that beloved heaven of his, where men devoted to the gods rejoice; for (such a friend is he) there is a spring of honey in the highest abode of the wide-stepping Vishnu.

6. We yearn to attain to those abodes of you twain, where the many-horned and swiftly-moving cows abide. Here that supreme abode of the wide-stepping, vigorous [god] shines intensely forth.’”


“[The meaning is], Vishnu who formed,—especially constructed,—the terrestrial [regions]; i.e., those connected with prithivī (the earth),—the regions (rajāṁsi),—the things whose nature is to delight (ranjanātmakāni),—existing in the form of Agni, Vāyu, and Āditya, who represent, the three worlds, the earth, etc. Here all the three worlds are intended to be designated by the term prithivī. Thus another text [R. V. i. 108, 9] says: ‘Whether, Indra and Agni, ye are in the lowest world (prithivī), in the middle [word], or in the highest,’ etc. In the Taittirīya also, [we have the words] beginning with ‘thou who with thy life art in this world,’ etc.; [and proceeding] ‘who in the second, or third world,’ etc. Hence the three worlds are intended to be signified by the word prithivī. . . Or, [the meaning may be], the Vishnu who formed the terrestrial [regions], the regions connected with the earth, the seven worlds beneath the earth. The term rajos denotes a world, since Yāṣka says ‘worlds are called rajāṁsi.’ . . . Or [the
sense may be], he made the terrestrial regions, the worlds caused by the earth, i.e. the three worlds, the earth and the others. For as the other worlds are desired to be enjoyed as the rewards of merit acquired on earth, the latter is the cause of the former."

The following is the passage of the Nirukta, iv. 19, referred to by Śāyāna, which gives the meanings of rajas: Rajo rajateḥ | jyotih rajah uchyate | udakāṁ rajah uchyate | lokāṁ rajāṁsy uchyante | asrīg20-ahānī rajasi uchyete | 'rajāṁsi chitrāḥ vicharanti tanyavah' ity api nigamo bhavati |

"Rajas is derived from the root raj. Light is called rajas. Water is called rajas. The worlds are called rajāṁsi. [Blood and day, or] day and night, are called rajasi. There, is also a text (R. V. v. 63, 5), 'Brilliant and resounding [the Maruts] sweep over the worlds.'"—See also Nir. x. 44, and xii. 23, and R. V. i. 90, 7.

In R. V. i. 164, 6, mention is made of six worlds (rājāṁsi): vi yas tastambha śah imā rajāṁsi, "who established these six worlds."

The verb vimāne cannot, I think, have the meaning, which the commentator assigns to it, of "constructing." It occurs not only in verse 1, of the hymn before us, but in verse 3 also, where it must have the sense of "measuring," or "traversing,"21 as it could not fitly be said of Vishūu that he constructed the firmament with three steps. The phrase rajaso vimānāḥ, "measurer of the world," occurs in R. V. x. 121, 5 (above p. 16), and in R. V. x. 139, 5, quoted in the third volume of this work, p. 260. In R. V. i. 50, 7, the participle vimimānāḥ seems to have the same sense: vi dyām eshi rajas pritke ahā mimāno aktubhiḥ | paśyan jāmnāni sūrya | "Sun, thou traversest the sky, measuring the broad space (rajas), and the days, with thy rays,22 beholding created things."

The phrase rajaso vimānāḥ occurs also in R. V. iii. 26, 7 (=Vāj. S. 18, 66), where Agni says of himself that he is arkas tridhātuh rajaso vimānāḥ23 | "the threefold light, the measurer of the world," which the commentator explains thus: tredhā ātmānam vibhajya tatra Vāyavātmanā rajaso 'ntarikshasya vimāno vimāta 'dhishṭhāta 'smi | "Triply

20 Roth conjectures that the word asrīk here is spurious.—Illustr. of Nir., p. 46.
21 See Böhtlingk and Roth s. v. mā-ṇi.
22 The word aktubhiḥ is rendered "nights" by Yāska in his explanation of this passage, Nir. xii. 23, and by the commentator; but the latter explains the same word by rāṁnībhīḥ, "rays," in his annotation on R. V. i. 94, 5.
23 This verse is explained in a spiritual sense in Nirukta Pārisiṣṭa ii. 1.
dividing myself, I am, in the character of Ȳayu, he who abides in the atmosphere.”

Compare, with the phrase before us, Habakkuk iii. 6: “He stood and measured the earth,” etc.

I shall adduce one other passage R. V. v. 81, 3 (=Vāj. S. 11, 6), in which the same phrase occurs, where this function of measuring the world is ascribed to Savitri (the sun): Yasya prayānam anv anye id yayur devāh devasya mahimānam ojasā | yah pārthivāni vimame sa etāso rajāmsi devāh Savitā mahitvanā | “He, the god whose course and whose might the other gods have followed, who measured [or traversed] the terrestrial regions by his power, this god Savitri is a steed.”

This text is quoted and commented on in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, 6, 3, 1, 18: ‘Yasya prayānam anv anye id yayur’ iti | Prājāpatir vai etad agre karma akarat | tat tato devāh akurvan ‘devāh devasya mahimānam ojasā’ iti | yajno vai mahimā | devāh devasya yajñaṁ viryam “ojasā” ity etad | ‘yah pārthivāni vimame sa etāsā’ iti | yad vai kinha asyāṁ tat pārthivam tad esha sarcao vimimite | rasmībhīr hy enad abhyavatano ti | ‘rajāmsi devāh Savitā mahitvanā’ iti | ime vai lokāḥ rajāmsi | asāv Ādityo devāh Savitā | tān esha mahimānam vimimite | “Whose course the other gods have followed.’ Prajāpati formerly performed this rite. The gods afterwards did it, [according to the words] ‘the gods [followed] his [display of] power with vigour.’ Power means sacrifice. This, [then, is said, that] the gods [followed] the sacrifice, the energy, of the god with vigour. ‘He who measured out the terrestrial [regions] is a steed.’ Whatever is on this [earth] is terrestrial. All this he measures out: for he stretches over [all] this with his rays. ‘The god Savitri [measured out] the regions by his power.’ These worlds are the regions: that Āditya (sun) is the god Savitri. He measures them out by his power.”

The author of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa introduces the words pārthivāni vimame rajāmsi, with a part of R. V. vii. 99, 2, at the close of his account of the Dwarf incarnation of Vishṇu, assigning to them, however (whether ignorantly, or knowingly), a different meaning from that which they have in the hymn,—Bhāg. Pur. viii. 23, 29: Pāram mahimnaḥ uru-vikramaṭo grīnāno yatḥ pārthivāni vimame sa rajāmsi martyah | kim jāyamānāḥ uta jātāḥ upaiti martyah ity āḥa mantradrig rishiḥ puru-
shasya yasya | "The mortal who celebrates the utmost limits of this wide-striding (Vishnu's) greatness, computes the [particles of the] dust of the earth. Can 'the mortal who is being born, or has been born,' attain to it? Thus speaks the rishi who saw a hymn regarding this Purusha."

This verse is explained by the commentator thus: Uru bahu vikrama:to Vishnu mahimnah: para: yo gir:na: bhavati sa martyah: par-thivani raj:my: api viname ganitavan | yath: pArthiva-paramanu-gana-nam asakya:na: tath: Vishnu guna-gananam asakya:na: ity artha: | tath: cha mantra 'Vishnu nu ka:ni vIr:ya:ni' iti | etd eva mantranantartha: anantatvena eva aha: ity artha: | tath: cha mantra 'na te Vishnu jayamano na jato: deca mahimnah param antam 'apa' iti | "The mortal who celebrates the utmost limits of the greatness of the wide-striding Vishnu, has computed also the particles of the dust of the earth. The meaning is, as the computation of the atoms of the earth is impossible, so also the enumeration of Vishnu's qualities is impossible. Thus a hymn (R. V. 1, 154) says: 'I declare the heroic deeds of Vishnu,' etc. Alluding to the sense of another verse (R. V. vii. 99, 2), he says the same thing in these words: 'regarding the utmost limit of the full greatness of which Purusha, Vasishtha, the seer of the hymn, thus speaks:' How? 'Can any man being born, or already born, attain it?' No one. By this expression he intimates its infinitude. Thus the hymn says: No one who is being born, or has been born, has attained, O divine Vishnu, to the furthest limit of thy greatness.'

The sixth verse of the hymn before us is thus commented on in the Nirukta, ii. 6, 7: Sarve 'pi ra:smayo gavah uchya:nte | . . . tan:i va:nh va:st:ani kAma:yama:he gamana:ya yatra gavo bhuri:tinghe . . . aya:so 'yanah | tatra tad uruga:yasya Vishnu mahage:teh paramam padam parardhyastham avabhah bhuri | 'All rays are called gavah.' Then, after quoting the verse, the author proceeds to explain it: 'We desire to attain to those regions of you two, where are the many-horned cows, . . . the moving. There the highest abode, situated in the loftiest sphere, of that wide-stepping, large-pacing, Vishnu shines forth brightly.'

The verse is rendered thus, by Roth (Illustrations of Nir., p. 19): "May we arrive at your abodes, where the many-horned, moving,
cattle are; for thence shines brilliantly down the highest place of the far-striding Showerer." Roth then proceeds to remark: "This verse occurs in a hymn to Vishnu; consequently the dual vām ['of you two'] cannot refer to the deity of the hymn. Durga meets the difficulty, as the commentators frequently do with inconvenient duals, by saying vām iti dampaṭi abhipretya, etc. ['vām refers to—the husband and his wife.'] But here we have rather a proof of the fact that, in the arrangement of the Veda, many verses have been inserted in wrong places. The verse is addressed to Mitra and Varuṇa; and, perhaps, belonged to one of the hymns to those two gods which immediately precede this in the Sanhita. The verse has been introduced into the wrong place because Vishnu is referred to in it. Compare verse 3. The inconvenient reading has been already altered in the Vājasaneyi Sanhita (6, 3)," which, instead of tā vām vāstūny uṣmāsi gamadhyai, "we desire to go to these abodes of you two," etc., reads, yā te dharmāṁy uṣmāsi, etc., "to which realms of thine we desire," etc., etc.

In the next hymn Indra and Vishnu are jointly extolled:

R. V. i. 155.—Pra vaḥ pāntam24 andhaso dhīyāyate mahe śūrāya Vishnave cha archata | yā sānuni parvatānām adāhāya mahās tathatvam arvatava sādhunā | 2. Tvesham itthā samaṇaṇam25 śiṃvator Indra-Vishnū sutā-pāḥ vām urushyati | yā martyāya partidhiyāmānam it kriṣāṇor astur asanām urushyathāḥ | 3. Tāḥ vā vardhanti mahi asya paunṣyaṁ ni mātārā navati retase bhuje | dadhāti putro avaram param pitar nāma tritiyām adhi rochane dīvāḥ | 4. Tat tad id asya paunṣyaṁ griṇīmāsi inasāya trātur avṛkasya mīḥushāḥ | yah pārthivāni triḥbir id vigāmahir uru kramishśorugāyāya jīvase | 5. Dev id asya kramanaśvārdṛśaḥ abhikhyāya martyo bhuranyati | tritiyam asya nakūr ā dādhāshati vayaḥ chana patayantaḥ pataṇīnaḥ | 6. Chaturbhīḥ sākam navatīnaḥ nāmabhīś chakraṁ na vṛttīṁ vyatīn avavigat | brihachchhā-ividīṃmanāḥ pikkubhir gya' 'kumāraḥ pātī ati eti āhavam |

"Sing praises to the great hero (Indra), who desires the draught of your soma, and to Vishnu, who both swiftly rose incincible, to the summit of the [aerial] mountains, as if [carried by] an excellent steed. 2. Indra and Vishnu, the drinker of the libation escapes the assault, so fierce, of you two who are violent,—who avert from the [pious]
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mortal that which is aimed at him,—the bolt of the archer Kṛiṣṇa. 3. These [libations, according to Sāyana] augment his virility; he conducts the parents (heaven and earth) to receive the fertilizing seed; the son has the inferior name; the superior belongs to the father; the third is above the light of heaven. 4. We celebrate this virility of him, the strong, the deliverer, the innnoxious, the bountiful, who with three steps traversed far and wide the mundane regions, for the sake of [granting us] a prolonged (lit. wide-stepping) existence. 5. A mortal is agitated when contemplating two of the steps of this heavenly [deity]; but no one dares to attempt his third step, not even the soaring, winged birds. 6. With four and ninety names, he has impelled his steeds, like a rolling wheel. Accoutred by his encomiasts, vast in body, the youthful, full-grown [deity], advances to the combat.”

R. V. 1, 156.— Bhava mitro na śevyo yhrīṭasuir vibhūta-dyumnaḥ evayaḥ u sprathāḥ | adha te Vishṇo vidushā chid ardhyāḥ stomo yajascha rūdhya havishmatā | 2. Yaḥ pūrvyāya vedhase navīyase sumajjānaye Vishṇave dadāsati | yo jātaya asya mahato mahi braved sa id u śravobhir yuṣyāṃ chid abhi asat | 3. Tam u stotāraḥ pūrvyām yathā vido ritasya garbham janāśaḥ piṣptonā | ā asya jānanto nāma chid vivaktana mahas te Vishṇo sumatim bhajāmahe | 4. Tam asya rājā Varuṇas tam Āśvinā kratuṁ sachanta mūrtyasa vedhaḥ | dādhāra daksam uttamam aharvidān vṛjaṁ cha Vishṇur sakhīcān aprornute | 5. Ā yo vivāya sacha- thāya daivyay Indrāya Vishṇuḥ sukrite sukritarāḥ | vedāḥ ajanvat tri- shadhasthaḥ āryam ritasya bhāge yajamanām ā bhajat |

"Be to us beneficent like a friend, worshipped with butter, greatly renowned, swiftly-moving, broadly diffused. Truly, Vishṇu, thy praise is to be celebrated by the sage, and sacrifice is to be performed to thee by the worshipper. 2. He who worships Vishṇu, the ancient, the dispenser [or the wise], the recent, the [god] with the noble spouse,—he who extols the nature of this mighty Being, shall excel

26 Compare R. V. i. 22, 17, 18 (above, p. 63, f.), and R. V. i. 154, 1, 3 (p. 69).
27 Compare R. V. vi. 69, 5 (below).
28 See R. V. vii. 99, 1, below.
29 Sāyana gives two explanations of the word sumaj-jānī. The first makes it svayam evotpamāya, “born by his own power” (in proof of which sense he quotes Nir. vi. 22: Suvat svayam ity arthaḥ | “svayam means svayam, self”). The second meaning is thus stated: Sutārām mādyati iti suvat | tadśi jāya yasya sa . . . | tasmāt sarva-jagan-mādana-śīla-Śrī-pataye |“su-mat means ‘greatly
his friend in renown. 3. Encomiasts, satisfy [with worship], as ye know how to do, him who, by his nature, is the primeval source of sacred rites. Knowing his name declare, 'Vishnu, we enjoy the good will of thee, the mighty one.' 4. King Varuna and the Aśvins have done homage to the power of this ruler [or wise god] who is attended by the Maruts. Vishnu possesses excellent wisdom, which knows the proper day,* and with his friends, opens up the cloud. 5. The divine Vishnu, who has hastened to seek companionship with the beneficent Indra, [himself] more beneficent,—this wise [god], occupying three stations, has gratified the Ārya, and tenders the worshipper a sharer in the sacred ceremony.'

R. V. i. 164, 36 (A. V.; Ṛ, 10, 17; Nir. Par. ii. 21).—Sapta ardha-garbhaḥ bhuvanasya reto Vishnos tiṣṭhanti pradiśā vidharmāni | te dhiṭibhir manasā te vipāśaṅkitaḥ paribhūvah pari bhavanti viśvataḥ | “Seven embryos, the prolific sources of the world, abide by the command of Vishnu in the function of supporting [the universe]. They by thought, and by mind, they intelligent, embracing, comprehend all things.”

I do not attempt any explanation of this obscure and mystical utterance.

R. V. i. 186, 10.—Pro Aśvināv avase kṛiṇudhvam pra Pūshaṇāṁ svatavaso hi santi | advesho Vishnur Vātah Ribhukshāḥ achha sumnaya vavritiya devān | “Dispose the Aśvins, dispose Pūshan, to succour us, for they have power in themselves. Vishnu is free from malice, and so is Vāta (Vāyu) and Ribhukshan. May I incline the gods to be favourable to us.”

R. V. ii. 1, 3.—Tvam Agne Indro vrishabhah satām asi tvam Vishnur gladdening.’ Sumaj-jāni then signifies ‘one who has such a wife.’ The phrase will thus mean, ‘to the lord of Śrī, whose nature it is to gladden the world.’” Dr. Aufrecht thinks that jāni has always the sense of wife, and supposes the wife here alluded to to be the world. Prof. Roth, Illust. of Nir., p. 90, supposes sumat to be derived from su, and to mean “easily,” “gladly.”

* Compare the words yujya vā saṅkha vā in R. V. ii. 28, 10, where yujya is explained by Sayana as = yojana-samarthah pitrādir vā; and R. V. i. 22, 19, where the same word yujya is said to be equivalent to anukula, “friendly.” Compare also anujya in R. V. viii. 51, 2.

29 See the interpretation of the word aharvid given by Sayana on R. V. i. 2, 2. In Böhtlingk and Roth’s Dictionary the word is explained as signifying “long known.”
uruguṇo namasyaḥ | tvam brahmā rayavid, Brahmanaspati tvam vidhartaḥ
sachase purandhyā | “Thou, Agni, art Indra, most energetic of heroes; thou art Vishnu, the wide-stepping, the adorable; thou, Brahmaṇaspati, art a priest, possessor of wealth; thou, sustainer, art associated with sacred wisdom.”

R.V. ii. 22, 1 (S.V. i. 457).—Trikadrakshāḥ mahisho yavasirāṁ tuvi-
śushmaḥ tripat somam api bid. Vishnuṇa sutaṁ yathā 'vaśat | sa im ma-
māda maha karma kartave mahāṁ urun sa enam sa sphad devo devaṁ
satym Indraṁ satyaḥ Induh | “The great [Indra], of mighty force, satiating himself, has drunk the soma, mixed with barley-meal, poured forth by Vishnu at the Trikadruka ceremony, as much as he desired. He [Soma] has stimulated the great and vast [god, Indra] to achieve mighty acts. He, the god, the true Indu (Soma), has attended him, the god, the true Indra.”

R.V. iii. 6, 4.—Mahān sadhasthe dhruve a nishatto antar dyāvā ma-
hine haryamaṇaḥ | aśkre sopatati ajare amrīkte sabardughe urugayasya
31 dhena | “The great [god, Agni] is seated in his firm abode, beloved, between the mighty heaven and earth,—those two cows, joint-wives of the wide-stepping [god], united, undecaying, inviolable, dispensers of water.” Agni himself may be the “wide-stepping god” intended here.

R.V. iii. 54, 14.—Vishnuṁ stonasaḥ puru-dasmam archā bhagasyeva
kārino yānani gmaṇ | urukramaḥ kakuko yasya pūrve na mardhanti
yuvatayo janītrīḥ | “Our hymns and praises have proceeded to Vishnu, the worker of many wonders, like bards proceeding in the train of their lord. He is the wide-stepping, the exalted, whose [will] the numerous, youthful, mothers do not disregard.”

R.V. iii. 55, 10.—Vishnuḥ gopāḥ 32 paramam pāti pāthah 33 priyā
dhāmāni amrītā dadhānāḥ | Agnis ta visvā bhuvanāni veda mahād
dvānāṁ asuravatvaṁ ekam | “Vishnu, a protector, preserves the highest heaven, sustaining the dear, undecaying regions. Agni knows all these worlds: great and incomparable is the divine nature of the gods.”

31 Prithugamanasya adhika-stuter vā; Sāyaṇa, who names Agni as the god; though he makes heaven and earth to be the wives of the sun.
32 Compare R. V., i. 22, 18. The word Vishnu is here regarded by the commentator as an epithet of Agni, and rendered by “pervading.” The hymn is, however, according to the Anukramaṇikā, one addressed to all the gods.
33 Pāthah occurs also in R. V. i. 154, 5. See above.
34 Or, “vast.” The commentator renders the word priya by aparimita, “unmeasured,” in his note on R. V. iii. 32, 7.
R. V. iv. 2, 4.—Aryamaṇaṁ Varuṇaṁ Mitram eṣhāṁ Indrā-Viśṇu Maruto Āsvīna uta | su-asvō Agne su-rathaḥ su-rādhāḥ ā id u-vaha su-

havishe janaiva | “Agni, [do thou, who hast] beautiful steeds, and [bestowest] rich gifts, bring to the pious worshipper from among these [gods], Aryaman, Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra and Viśṇu, the Maruts, and the Āsvins” (comp. R. V. vii. 39, 5, below).

R. V. iv. 3, 7.—Kathā mahe pusṭhim-bhāraya Pūṣṇe kad Rudrāya sumakhāya havir-de | kad Viśṇave uṛu-gāyāya reto35 bravaḥ kad Agne S’arave bhīhatyai | “Why, Agni, [shouldst thou declare our sin] to the great supplier of nourishment, Pūṣṇa? why to Rudra, the vigorous, the giver of oblations? why shouldst thou declare our sin to the wide-

stepping Viśṇu? why to the great Saru (Nirṛiti?).”

R. V. iv. 18, 11.—Ula mātā mahisham anvavenaḥ ami tvā jahati putra devaḥ | Atha abraśīd Viśrtraṃ Indro hanishyan sakhe Viśṇo vitaraṁ viṇrāmasva | “And his mother sought to draw back the mighty [Indra], saying, ‘My son, those gods forsake thee.’ Then Indra, being about to slay Viśrtra, said, ‘Friend Viśṇu, do thou stride vastly.’”

The last words of this verse form the commencement of the 12th verse of the 89th hymn of the 8th Manḍala, which I shall introduce here.

R. V. viii. 89, 12.—Sakhe Viśṇo vitaraṁ viṇrāmasva dyaur dehi lokaṁ vajraḥ viṣhkhāhe | hanāva Viśrtraṃ viṇchheva sindhun Indrasinga yantu prasave viśrīṁśtāḥ | ‘‘Friend Viśṇu, stride vastly;’ Sky, give room for the thunderbolt to descend; let us slay Viśrtra, and let loose the waters; let them, when released, flow by the impulsion of Indra.”36

35 Dr. Aufrecht suggests that the original reading here may have been repas =āgas, “sin.” But as the text stands he would connect retas with sārave, so as to give the sense, “our sin (understood), which is the occasion for the great arrow of destruction.” Bühlingk and Roth render retas by “libation.”

36 The Taittirīya Sanhitā, ii. 4, 12, 2, has the following story about Indra and Viśṇu: Tasmād Indro ’bibhed api Trāṣṭha | Tvishta taamai vajram asinchat | tapo vai sa vajraḥ āśīt | tam udyanuṁ na asaknot | atha vai tarhi Viśṇu anvā devatā āśīt | so ’braśīd “Viśṇav ehi idam āharishāḥo yena ayam idam” iti | sa Viśṇuḥ tredhra atmānām vinyadhatā prthivyām tṛitiyam antarikshe tṛitiyam divi tṛitiyam | abhiparyārtaṁ hy abhimet | yat prthivyāṁ tṛitiyam āśīt tena Indro vajram udāyachad Viśṇu-anushtiḥāḥ | so ’braśīd “mā ma prahāḥ | asti vai idam mayi vīryam | tat te prāduṣyāmi” iti | tad asmai prāyāchhat | tat pratyaṅgṛhītāh “ādāḥ mā” iti tad Viṃsaṅ e’tprāyāchhat | tad Viśṇuḥ pratyaṅgṛhītāh “asmāśa Indra indriyāṁ dadhāte” iti | yad antarikshe tṛitiyam āśīt tena Indro vajram udāyachad Viśṇu-anushtiḥāḥ | so ’braśīd “mā ma prahāḥ | asti vai idam mayi vīryam | tat
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R. V. iv. 55, 4.—Vi Aryāmā Varuṇaḥ cheti panthāṃ ishaḥ-patīḥ su-
vitaṁ gātum Agniḥ | Indra-Vishnū prī-vaṇḍ uṣu stavaṇā ś arma no yam-
tam amavād varāthāṃ | "Aryaman and Varuṇa know the path; so too
Agni, the lord of strength [knows] a prosperous road. Indra and
Vishnū, when ye are lauded, according to human ability, bestow on us
prosperity and strong protection."

R. V. v. 3, 1–3.—Tvam Agne Varuṇo jayate yat tvam Mitro bhavatī
yat samiddhaḥ | tvo viśve sahasas-putra devas tvam Indro dāsushe ma-
-
te prāsāyini" iti | tad asmai prāyaḥcat | tat pratyagriṅhāt | "dvir mā adhāḥ"
iti tad Vishnave astiprayāchcat | tad Vishnūḥ pratyagriṅhād "āsmāv Indraḥ indriyāṁ
dadhāte" iti | yad divi trītyam āsīt tena Indro vajarā udayaḥhād Vishnū-ana-
sūthitaḥ | so bravīd mā me prahāḥ | yena aham, idam asmi "tath te praddhāyim" iti |
"tei" ity abraft | "sandhāṁ tv sarvadhāvhai tvam eva pravisāni" iti |
"yan mām praviṣiḥ kim mā bhūnyāḥ" ity abraft | "tvam eva indihyā tava bhogaya
tvāṃ praviṣeyam" ity abraft | taṁ Vītraḥ praviṣat | udaraṁ vai Vītraḥ | kshut
khātu vai manushyasya bhrātirvihā | yāh evām veda hanti kshudham bhrātrirvihā | 
tad asmai prayāchcat | tat pratyagriṅhāt | "trīr mā 'dhiḥ" iti tad Vishnave
'tripāyaḥchhat | tad Vishnūḥ pratyagriṅhād "āsmāv Indraḥ indriyāṁ dadhāte" iti |
yat trih prayāchcat trih pratyagriṅhāt tat trihādōs trihātutvam | yad Vishnur
anvatisētha Viśnave 'tripāyaḥchhat tasmād Aindrāvaiśnavāṁ havor bhavati |
"Indra was afraid of him, as was also Tvashtri. Tvashtri moistened for him the
thunderbolt: it was heat or austere-fervour (tapas). He could not lift it. Now
there was another deity, Vishnū. Indra said: 'Come, Vishnū, we two will take
thereby who he is this [which he is].' Vishnū divided himself into three parts,
[placing] one on earth, a second in the air, and a third in the sky. For he was
afraid of [Vītra's] development (aṭhiparyāvaratā: vasmaṁ asya Viśrāsya aṭhi-
paryāvaratā sarva-dig-vyāpi-rūpāyaḥ evādham amṛtāya Indro 'ibhēṭh, Comm.). With the
third [of Vishnū], which was on the earth, Indra lifted the thunderbolt, followed by
Vishnū. Vītra said, 'Do not smite me: there is in me this energy: that I will
give to thee.' He gave, and Indra took it, and passed it on to Vishnū. [saying,]
'Thou hast supported me,' Vishnū received it, [saying], 'May Indra impart energy
to us.' Indra then lifted the thunderbolt with the third [of Vishnū] which was in
the air," etc., as before. 'Indra passed it on to Vishnū, saying, 'Thou hast twice
supported me,'" etc. "Indra then, followed by Vishnū, lifted the thunderbolt with
the third [of Vishnū] which was in the sky. Viśrā said, 'Do not smite me; I will
give thee that whereby I am that,[which I am].' Indra agreed. 'Let us make an
agreement; let me enter into thee' [said Viśrā]. "If thou enterest me, wilt thou
eat me?" [replied Indra]. 'I will kindle thee; I will enter thee for thy enjoyment'
[answered Viśrā]. He accordingly entered into him. Viśrā is the belly. Hunger
is man's enemy. He who knows this slays his enemy. So Viśrā gave Indra [that
whereby he was what he was]. Indra took it, [and saying,] 'Thou hast thrice
supported me,' passed it on to Vishnū," etc., etc., as before. "From the circum-
stance that the one god gave, and the other took [what was given], thrice, the
'trihātū' derives its character. And from the fact that Vishnū followed Indra,
and the latter passed on [what he had received] to the former, there is an oblation
called 'Aindrāvaishnava,' i.e. common to both the gods."
yāya | 2. Tvam Aryamā bhavasi yat kaninām nāma svadhāvan guhyam bibharshi | anjanti mitraṁ sudhitaṁ na gobhir yad dampati samanasa kriñoshi | 3. Tava śriye Maruto marjayanta Rūdra yat te jamina chāru chitram | padaṁ yad Vishṇor upamaṁ nidhāyi tena pāsi guhyam nāma gonaṁ |

"Thou, Agni, [art] Varuṇa, when thou art born; thou art Mitra when thou art kindled: son of strength, in thee [reside] all the gods; thou art Indra to the man who sacrifices. 2. Thou art Aryaman when thou, self-sustaining, possessest the mysterious name of the maidens. Men anoint thee, like a benevolent friend, with milk, when thou makest the husband and wife to be of one mind. 3. For thy glory, Rudra, [or, terrible Agni], the Maruts have adorned themselves, such is that beautiful and wondrous birth of thine. Through that which has been fixed as the highest abode of Vishṇu, thou possessest the mysterious name of the cows."

R.V. v. 46, 2-4 (= Vāj. S. 33, 48, 49).—Agne Indra Varuṇa Mitrā devāḥ sārdhāḥ pra yanta Māruta uta Vishṇo | ubhā Nāsāyā Rudro adha gnāḥ Pāśkā Bhagaḥ Sarasvatī jushanta | 3. Indrāgni Mitrā-Varuṇā Aditiṁ svāḥ prīthivīṁ dyāṃ Marutāḥ parvataṁ apaḥ | hue Vishṇum Pūśanām Brahmanaspatim Bhagauḥ nu soṁsaṁ Savitāram utaye |

1. Uta no Vishṇur uta Vāto asridho dravinoḍāḥ uta Somo mayas karaṇ | uta Ribhāvaḥ uta rāye no Āsvinā uta Tvashṭā uta Vishvā anu mānsate |

2. "Agni, Varuṇa, Mitra, ye gods, give us strength, and thou Vishṇu with the Maruts. Both the Āsvins, Rudra, and the wives of the deities, with Pūshan, Bhaga, and Sarasvatī, are pleased. 3. I invoke Indra and Agni, Mitra and Varuṇa, Aditi, Heaven, Earth, Sky, the Maruts, the Mountains, the Waters, Vishṇu, Pūshan, Brahmaṇaspati; I praise Bhaga and Savitṛī, that they may succour us. 4. And may Vishṇu, and the Wind, uninjuring, and Śoma, the bestower of riches, give us happiness. And the Ribhus, Āsvins, Tvashṭṛ, and Vishvyan are favourable to us, so as to [grant us] wealth." 

R.V. v. 51, 9.—Sajur Mitrā-Varunābhyaṁ sajṛḥ Somaṁ Vishṇunā | ā yāhi Agne Atri-vat śute ropaṇa | "Associated with Mitra and Varuṇa,

37 Compare R. V. vii. 3, 5.
38 This refers, Dr. Aufrecht suggests, to the production of lightning in the air at the time of a storm.
associated with Soma and Vishnu, come Agni, and rejoice in our libra-
tion, as [in that of] Atri."

R. V. v. 87, 1 (S. V. ’i. 462).—Pra vo mahe-matayo yantu Vishnave
Marutvate girijah evayamarat [ pra sardhaya prayagyave sukhadaye ta-
vase bhandad-ishaye dhuni-vrataya savase ] . . . 4. Sa chakrame ma-
hato nir urukramah samadnamat sadasa bh evayamarat [ yada ayukta
ptmana svad adhi shubhir vishpardhaso vimahaso jiguti sevridho nribhih ]
. . . 8. Adevsha no Maruto gatum a itana srota havan jaritur evayâ-
marut [ Vishnor mahaul samanyavo yuyotana smad rathyo na daishana
apa dveshâmsi sanutah ]

"May your hill-born (or, voice-born) hymns proceed to the great
Vishnu, attended by the Maruts, O Evayamarat, (swiftly-moving
Marut?); and to the troop [of Maruts], impetuous, wearing beautiful
rings, strong, rushing on exultingly,—to that power which delights in
resounding. . . 4. The wide-striding [god] strode forth from the great
common abode, O Evayamarat; when by himself he has yoked his
emulous and vigorous [steeds], he issues from his own [abode] with
his swift heroes, augmenting our felicity. . . . 8. Maruts, come in a
friendly spirit to our song, hear the invocation of your worshipper,
Evayamarat; of the same mind with the great Vishnu, like men riding
in chariots, drive our enemies away far from us by your might."

The hymn from which these verses are quoted is translated and trans-
lated in Prof. Benfey’s Glossary to the Sâma-veda, p. 39 f.

R. V. vi. 17, 11.—Varbdhan yaân viso Vartha sajoshâ packat satam
mahishan Indra tubhyam | Pushâ Vishnus trimi sarâmsi dhavan vritra-
hanam maâram amsum asmai | “For thee, Indra, whom all the Maruts,
in concert, will magnify, Pushan and Vishnu cooked a hundred Buffaloes.
For him three lakes discharged the Vritra-slaying, exhilarating soma.”

59 To illustrate the last line, Dr. Aufrecht has pointed out to me another passage,
R. V. viii. 66, 4: Ekayya pratiâh’pibat sâkam saraânsi trimisatam | Indrah somasya
kâyukâ | “Indra swallowed at one draught thirty lakes of Soma. . . .” This verse is
quoted in Nir. v. 11. I have not attempted to translate the difficult word kâyumâ,
at the close. See Roth’s Illustr. of Nir. p. 60, f. In a review of Pictet’s Origins
Indo-Européennes, vol. ii, in Kuhn and Schleicher’s Beiträge zur Vergl. Sprach-
forshung, iv. 279, f., Prof. Weber refers to this passage. “Saras, a pond,” he says,
in the sense of cup (R. V. viii. 66, 4 . . .), which reminds us of the ‘weltmeer’
(world-ocean) of our students, is no doubt merely a poetical metaphor.” See also
R. V. vii. 103, 7; viii. 7, 10.” In R. V. v. 26, 7 f., Agni is said to have cooked
three hundred buffaloes for Indra, who ate them, and drank three lakes of soma,
when proceeding to fight with Vritra.
R. V. vi. 20, 2.—Divo na tubhyat anu Indra satra asuryan devebhir dhāyī viścam | Ahiṃ yad Vṛtram apo vavṛvāṃsām hann rjīśīn Viśnuṇā sācānaḥ | “All divine power, like that of the Sky, was completely communicated to thee, Indra, by the gods," when thou, O impetuous [deity], associated with Viṣṇu, didst slay Vṛtra Ahi, stopping up the waters.”

R. V. vi. 21, 9.—Pra utaye Varuṇam Mitram Indram Marutaḥ kris-vavase no adya | pra Pūṣanaṃ Viṣṇum Agnim Purandhiṃ Savitāram oshudhiḥ parvatāṁścha | “Dispose to-day to our help and succour Varuṇa, Mitra, Indrā, the Maruts, Pūṣan, Viṣṇu, Agni, Purandhi, Savitṛi, the plants and the mountains.”

R. V. vi. 48, 14.—Tām raḥ Indram na sukratuṣṇ Varuṇam ica māyinam | Aryamaṇaṁ na mandraṁ sripra-41bhajasam Viṣṇum na stushe ādiśe | “I praise thee, of great power like Indra, wondrous in might like Varuṇa, pleasant like Aryaman, conferring large enjoyment like Viṣṇu, that thou mayest bestow wealth.” 42

R. V. vi. 49, 13.—Yo rajāṃśi viname43 pārthivāni triṣ chīḍ Viṣṇur Manave bādhitāya | tasya te śarmann upadāyamāṇo rāyā madema tanvā tanā čha | “May we, ourselves and our offspring, be gladdened by wealth, under the protection afforded by thee, that Viṣṇu who thrice traversed the mundane regions for Manu [or the Aryan man] when he was oppressed.” 44

R. V. vi. 50, 12.—To no Rudrāḥ Sarasvatī sajōṣaḥ mihlishmanto Viṣṇur mṛilantu Vāyuḥ | Ribhukshāḥ Vājo daiyo vidhātā Parjanyāvacā pipyatām isham ānāḥ | “May these dispensers of blessings, Rudra, Sarasvatī, Viṣṇu, and Vāyu together be gracious to us. May Ribhukshan, Vāja, the divine Vidhātri (or disposer), Parjanya and Vātu replenish our store of nutriment.”

40 Stotribhikh, “worshippers,” according to Sāyana.
41 The word sripri occurs also in R. V. i. 964; i. 181, 3; iii. 18, 5; iv. 50, 2; viii. 25, 5; and viii. 32, 10 = S. V. i. 217. By Yāska, Nir. vi. 17, it is derived from the root srip, “to go” (see Roth’s Illust., p. 83); and is rendered by Sāyana sarpaṇa-dīla, “going,” prasrita, “extended,” etc. (See also Benfey’s Glossary to the S. V.) The word viśva-bhajasam occurs in the preceding verse vi. 48, 13.
42 Such is the sense assigned to ādiś by Sāyana: in Wilson’s Sanskrit Dictionary I find the word pradeṣaṇa rendered “a gift or offering, anything given to the gods, superiors, or friends,” etc.
43 Tribhir eva vikramanaḥ parhitastvaṇ | “measured with three strides.” —Sāyana. Compare R. V. i. 154, 1 above (p. 69, f.), and vii. 100, 4, below (p. 87).
44 Asurair hīṃsitāya | “injured by Asuras.” —Sāyana.
TO VISHṆU, INdra, AND OTHER DeITIES.


“Indra and Vishṇu, I stimulate you twain with this rite and oblation: at the conclusion of this ceremony do ye accept our sacrifice, and grant us wealth, conducting us to our object by secure paths. 2. Indra and Vishṇu, ye who are the generators of all prayers, and are, [as it were,] the bowls which hold the soma-juice, may the words which are now recited gratify you, and the hymns which are sung with praises. 3. Indra and Vishṇu, ye two lords of exhilarating draughts, come to the soma-juice, bringing with you wealth; may the hymns uttered with praises anoint you45 twain with the unguents of our prayers. 4. Indra and Vishṇu, may your steeds, vanquishing foes, and sharing in your triumph, bear you hither. Accept all the invocations of our hymns, and hear my devotions and prayers. 5. Indra and Vishṇu, this deed of you twain is worthy of celebration, that, in the exhilaration of the soma-juice, ye took vast strides;46 ye made the

45 Compare R. V. iii. 17, 1.
46 The commentator remarks on this: Yadyaapi Vīṣṇo eva viśramas tathāpy ekarthatēd ukhayor ity uchyate | “Though ‘striding’ is an act of Vīṣṇu only, yet it is so [described as here] owing to both gods having one and in view.” In R. V. vii. 99, 6 (see below), the epithet urukrama, “far-stopping,” is applied in the same way to both these deities. In the Harivansa, 7418, it is applied to Śiva.
atmosphere wide, and stretched out the worlds, for our existence. 6. Indra and Vishnu, gladdened by our oblation, ye to whom are due the first draughts of the soma, ye to whom offerings should be presented with reverence, and to whom butter is offered, bring us wealth, for ye are the ocean, the bowl in which the soma is held. 7. Indra and Vishnu, workers of wonders, drink this sweet potion; fill your bellies with soma; the exhilarating soma-draughts have reached you; hear my prayers and invocation. 8. Ye two have both conquered, and are not vanquished. Neither of these twain has been vanquished. Vishnu, when thou and Indra strove, ye scattered thrice a thousand [of your foes]."

R. V. vii. 35, 9 (= A. V. xix. 10, 9).—"Śaṁ no Adītīr bhavatv uratebhīh śaṁ no bhavantu Marutaḥ su-arkāḥ | śaṁ no Vishnuḥ śaṁ u Pūṣā no astu śaṁ no bhavitram śaṁ u'asti Vāyuḥ | " May Aditi be propitious to us with her acts; may the well-hymned Maruts be propitious to us: may Vishnu, may Pūshan, may the Air, may Vāyu, be propitious to us."

46* Comp. i. 155, 5, above.

47 The commentator explains this as follows. "Yad yad vaste praty apaspridhethām asurāḥ saha apaspridhethāṁ tredhā loka-veda-vāgātmanā tridhāshtitaṁ sahasram amatāṁ ca vi tad airayethāṁ vyakramethāṁ ity arthaḥ tathā cha brāhmayaṁ ubhaḥ jīgyath(th) ity achchhāvākasya | ubhaḥ hi tau jīgyath(th) na parāyayeth(th) na parājigye iti na hi tayoḥ kataravāhana parājigye 'Indraś cha Vishnuḥ yad apaspridhethāṁ tredhā sahasraṁ vi tad airayethāṁ' iti | Indraś cha vai Vishnuḥ cha aswair yugydhātē tāṁ ha soma jītā uchath(th) "kalpāmahai" iti | te ha tathā ity asurāḥ uchāḥ | so 'bravid Indro "yāvdad evaṁ Viṣṇuḥ trir vikramaṁ tāvād asmākam atα yuṣmākam ātarañ | itarañ | iti | sa śaṁ lokān viśca vīkramaṁ the vedāṁ atu eucmah | tad ahuḥ "kuṁ tāt sahasram" iti | "tāt lokāṁ the vedāṁ atu vāg" | iti bṛjyañ | "airayethāṁ airayethāṁ" ity achchhāvākāḥ ukthye 'bhasyati | Ait. Br. 6, 15 (see Prof. Haug's translation, pp. 403, f.). "In reference to whatever thing ye two strove, i.e. strove with the Asuras, over that, in its three characters, i.e. as existing in its character of word, Veda, and speech, and in number a thousand, and immeasurable, ye strode. Thus a Brāhmaṇa [the Aitareya, 6, 15] says: 'ye both conquered; this is what the Achchhāvāka priest [repeats]: for ye both conquered, ye are not vanquished, neither was vanquished, for neither of these two was vanquished' [the last line of the verse before us is then cited]. Indra and Vishnu fought with the Asuras. Having conquered them, they said, let us divide [the world]. The Asuras said, be it so. Indra said, As much as this Vishnu strides over in three strides, so much shall be ours; the rest yours. He strode over these worlds, then the Vedas, then speech. When people say, what is that thousand? let him say, these worlds, these Vedas, then speech. The Achchhāvāka priest repeats at the Ukthya ritual, ye scattered, ye scattered.'" Comp. Taitt. S. vii. 1, 5, 5.

48 The word bhavitra is explained by Sayana as = bhuvanam antaviksham udakaṁ vā. "The world, or the atmosphere, or water." The word, Dr. Aufrecht informs me, does not occur again in the Vedas.
R. V. vii. 36, 9.—Achha ayaṁ vo Marutāḥ slokāḥ etu achha Vishnuṁ
nishkitā-pām śravobhir ityādi | “Maruts, may this hymn reach you:
may it [reach] Vishnu, the preserver of embryos, with its eulogies,” etc.

R. V. vii. 39, 5.—Ā Agne giro divaḥ ā prithiviyaḥ Mitraṁ vaha
Varuṇaṁ Indram Agnim | Ā Aryamāṇam Aditiṁ Vishnum esāṁ
Sarasvatī Maruṭo mādayantām | “Agni, from heaven and earth bring
Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, Agni, Aryaman, Aditi, Vishnu to the hymns of
these persons;” 49 may Sarasvatī and the Maruts be gratified.”

R. V. vii. 40, 5.—Asya devasya mālhusa va-yāṁ Vishnu eshasya
prabhrīthe havirbhiḥ | vide hi Rudro rudriyam mahīvaṁ yāsīktaṁ
vatir Āsviniṁ iṁravat | “The branches of this prolific and rapid deity
Vishnu [are to be worshipped?] with oblations at the offering. For
Rudra possesses impetuous power. The Āsvins have come to our place
of sacrifice which is provided with food.”

R. V. vii. 44, 1.—Dadhikrāṁ vaḥ prathamam Āsviniṁ Ushasam Agnim
samiddham Bhagam utaye hure | Indram Visñhum Pūshanam Brahmanaspatim
Ādityan dyāva-prithivi aprah śvah | “I invoke you for succour,
first Dadhikrā, the Āsvins, Ushas, the kindled Agni, Bhaga, Indra,
Vishnu, Pūshan, Brahmanaspati, the Ādityas, Heaven and Earth, the
Waters, the Sky.”

R. V. vii. 93, 8.—Etāḥ Agne āśushānāsaḥ ishtir yuwoḥ sahaḥ abhi
asyaṁ vājān | mā Indro no Vishnu Marutaḥ parikhyann ityādi |
“Breathing forth these petitions, may we, O Agni [and Indra], with
[the help of] you twain, obtain food. Let not Indra, Vishnu, and the
Maruts despise us,” etc.

49 Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v. esha, conjecture that in this verse the correct reading
is esāṁ, “the rapid,” as an epithet of Vishnu, and not esāṁ.

50 Sāyaṇa interprets the first words of the verse before us thus, Vishnoḥ sarva-
dvātmakasya asya devasya anye cēvāḥ vayaḥ sākhāḥ iva bhavanti | “Other gods are,
as it were, branches of this god, who is the soul of all the gods.” He explains
eshasya as follows: Prabrīthe havirbhir. havī-rūpair annaṁ eshasya prāpṛanīyasya, “one
who can be brought by oblations of food.” The same epithet esha is applied
to Vishnu in the other two, following passages referred to in Böhtlingk and Roth’s
Lexicon under this word. R. V. ii. 34, 11.—Tām vo mahaḥ Marutaḥ eva-yāvino Vishnoh
eshasya prabhrīthe havimāhe | ityādi | “At the offering of the rapid Vishnu we
invoke you, the great, and impetuous Maruts,” etc. R. V. viii. 20, 3.—Vidma hi
Rudriyānāṁ bhumam ugraṁ Marutāṁ śiṃvīvaṁ | Vishnuḥ eshasya mālhusāṁ |
“For we know the fiery vigour of the sons of Rudra, the impetuous Maruts, of the
rapid Vishnu, [all of them] prolific.”
HYMNS OF THE RIGVEDA

R. V. vii. 99, 1.—Paro mātraya\textsuperscript{51} tanvā vri dahāna te na mahīcam anu ānunvanti | ubhe te vīdma rajāṣi prīthivyaḥ Vishno deva tvam para-
masya vitse | 2. Na te Vishno jāyamāno na jāto deva mahīmnaḥ param
antam āpo | ud astabhnaḥ nākam rishvan brikantaṃ dādharsa prāchīn
kakubham prīthivyāḥ | 3 (Vāj. S. v. 16). Irāvatī dhenumati hi bhūtām suyavasini manushe\textsuperscript{52} daśasyā | Vi astabhnav rodaśi Vishno ete
dādharsa prīthivim abhito mayūkhaiḥ | 4. Uruṇ yanāyā cha khrakathur
u lokāṃ janayantā Sūryam Ushasam Agnim | dāsasya chid vṛiha-
siprasya māyāḥ jaghnathur narā prītanājyesu | 5. Indrā-Vishnū dhīm-
hitāḥ S'ambarsasya nava puro navatiṃ chā śnāthiṣhaṃ | sataṃ varchinaḥ
sahasraṃ-cha sākāṃ hatho aprati asurasya vīrān | 6. Iyam maniṣha
brihata brikanta urukramā tavasa vṛdhanyanti | vāre vām stomaṁ
vidatheshu Vishno pinvatam isho vṛjaneshu Indra | 7. (S. V. 2, 977;
Taitt. Sanh. ii. 2, 12, 4) Vahāṭ te Vishno āsah ā kriṇomi tad me jūhasva
S'ipivishṭa havyam | vṛdhantu tvā sushṭutayo giro me yūyam pāta svasi-
bbīḥ sadā naḥ |

“Thou who, with thy body, growest beyond our measure, [men]
do not attain to thy greatness: we know not both two regions of the
earth; thou, divine Vishnu, knowest the remotest [world].\textsuperscript{52} 2. No one,
O divine Vishnu, who is being born, or who has been born, knows the
furthest limit of thy greatness. Thou didst prop up the lofty and vast
sky; thou didst uphold the eastern pinnacle of the earth.\textsuperscript{53} 3. [Ye two
worlds,] be ye abundant in food, cows, and pastures, through beneficence
to man. Vishnu, thou didst prop asunder these two worlds; thou
didst envelope the earth on every side with beams of light. 4. Ye
(Indra and Vishnu) have provided ample room for the sacrifice, pro-
ducing the sun, the dawn, and fire. Ye, O heroes, destroyed in the
battles the wonderful powers of the hostile (dāca) Vṛihaśipra. 5.
Indra and Vishnu, ye smote the ninety-nine strong cities of Sambara;
[together, ye slew, unopposed, a thousand and a hundred heroes of the
Asura Varchin. 6. This great hymn gladdens you twain, the great, the
wide-striding, the powerful; Vishnu and Indra, I present to you twain
a hymn at the sacrifices. Supply abundant nutriment in our habi-
tations. 7. Vishnu, I utter to thee this invocation from my mouth.

\textsuperscript{51} Compare paro-mātram vṛiḥāsantam Indram; R. V. viii. 57, 1.
\textsuperscript{52} Yajur-veda v. 16 reads manave. \textsuperscript{52} Compare R. V. i. 155, 5, above, p. 74.
\textsuperscript{53} Compare Isaiah xl. 22 xliv. 12, 18.
Sipivishṭa, favourably receive this my oblation. May my laudatory hymns delight thee: do you always preserve us with blessings."

R. V. vii. 100.—

1. *Nū’marto dayate sanishyan yo Vishṇave urugāyāya dāsat | pra yaḥ satrāchā manasā yajāte etāvantāṁ naryam āvivāsūt | 2. Teṭam Vishṇo sumatīṁ viṣvajanyāṁ aprayutāṁ evavāco matīṁ dāḥ | parcho yathānaḥ svitisya bhūrer aśvācaḥ puruṣchandrasya rāyaḥ | 3. Trir devaḥ prithivīṁ eshaḥ etāṁ vi chakrame satarchasam mahītvā | pra Vishṇur astu tavasas taviyāṁ tvēshaṁ hi asya sthāvirasya nāma | 4. Vi chakrame prithivīṁ eshaḥ etāṁ kṣetrāya Vishṇur manushe dasāyan | dhruvāso asya kirayo janaśāṁ urukṣhitīṁ svajanīṁ chakāra | 5. (S. V. 2, 976; Taitt. S. ii. 2, 12, 5; Nir. 5, 9.) Pra tat te adya Sipivishṭa nāma aryāḥ sāṁśāṁ vayunāṁ vidvān | taṁ ṛtvā grīnāṁ tavasam atavyāṁ kṣhayantam asya rajasaḥ parāke | 6. (S. V. 2, 975; Taitt. S. ii. 2, 12, 5; Nir. 5, 8.) Kim it te Vishṇo parīchaksāyaṁ bhūt pra yad vacakshe Sipivishṭo asmi | mā varpo asmad apa gūha etad yad anyarūpaḥ samīthe babhūtha | (The seventh verse is repeated from the last hymn.)

"That man never repents who, seeking [for good], brings offerings to Vishṇu, the wide-stepping, who worships him with his whole heart, and propitiates such a powerful [god]. 2. Vouchsafe to us, swiftly-moving Vishṇu, thy benevolence, which embraces all mankind, thy unpreoccupied regard; that thou mayest grant us abundant good, and brilliant wealth, with horses. 3. Thrice the swift god by his greatness has traversed this earth with its hundred lights. May Vishṇu the strongest prevail over the strong: for awful is the name [nature] of that immovable [being]. 4. The swift Vishṇu traversed the earth to bestow it for a habitation on Manu [or man]. The men who praise him are secure: [the god] of exalted birth has given them an ample abode. 5. I, a devoted worshipper, who know the sacred rites, to-day celebrate this thy name, Sipivishṭa; I, who am weak, laud thee who art strong, and dwellest beyond this lower world. 6. What, Vishṇu, hadst thou to blame, that thou declaredst, 'I am Sipivishṭa'? Do not conceal from us this form, since thou didst assume another shape in the battle."

64 See the note on this word where it occurs in the hymn next following.
65 The Sūma-veda reads parīchakshi nāma.
66 The following illustration of this verse is quoted by Professor Benfey from the commentary on the corresponding passage of the S. V.: "Purā khalu Vishṇuḥ svāṁ
R. V. viii. 9, 12.—Yad Indraṇa sarathyāṃ yātho Āśvinā yad vā Vāyuṇā bhavathāḥ samokasā | yad Ādityebhir Ribhubhiḥ sajoshasā yad vā Vishnuḥ vikramanēṣhu tishṭhathāḥ | “When, Āsvins, ye ride in the same car with Indra, or when ye dwell in the same abode with Vāyu, or when ye are associated with the Ādityas and the Ribhus, or when ye abide in the strides of Vishṇu.”

rūpam parityāyāḥ kriyārṇāṁ rūpāntaraṁ dhīrāyaṁ sangrāmē Vasishthasya sākṣayāṁ chakrāḥ | tam jānann rishir anayāḥ pratyāchāṣhaḥ | “Vishṇu formerly abandoning his own form, and assuming another artificial shape, succoured Vasishṭha in battle. Recognizing the god, the rishi addresses him with this verse.” In Nir. v. 8 and 9, Yāṣka quotes verses 5 and 6 of the hymn before us in inverse order. After telling us (v. 7) that, “according to Aupamanyava, Vishṇu has two names, S'ipivishta, and Vishṇu, of which the former has a bad sense” (S'ipivishṭo Vishnuḥ iti Vishṇor āe nāman bhavaḥ | kutsīcārdhiyam purvam bhavati ity Aupamanyavaḥ), Yāṣka quotes verse 6, on which he observes: Kiṁ te Vishṇo praṇāyataṁ etat bhavaty aprakṛṣṭa-paṇiyan yān na prakṛṣṭaḥ | śepah īva nīrveshtito 'sati ity apratipanna-raśmiḥ | ahi vā praśānaṁ-nāmaṁ abhipreñāṁ syāt | kiṁ te Vishṇo praṇāyataṁ etat bhavati prakṛṣṭa-paṇiyan yād uta prakṛṣṭā | S'ipivishṭo 'sati iti pratipanna-raṇniḥ | śayayā 'tra rāmāyāṁ ucyante | tair āvishṭo bhavati | nā varpa asmad aprāyīha etat | varpaḥ iti rūpā-nūna . . . | yad anya-rūpāḥ saṃjthē saṃgrāmē bhavasi saṃyataraśmiḥ | “What, Vishṇu, is this undeclared thing of thine, not to be declared, which thou tellest not? ‘‘I am enveloped like a private member,’ i.e. with rays obscured. Or, by S'ipivishṭa a laudatory appellation may be intended; ‘what is this declared thing of thine, which is to be declared, that thou tellest?’ I am S'ipivishṭ, i.e. one whose rays are displayed.’ The word ‘s'ipi’ here means ‘rays;’ with these he is pervaded. ‘Do not conceal this form: ‘varpas is a word meaning ‘form.’ . . . That thou art of another form in the battle (samanthe=sangrāmē), with thy rays withheld.’” See Taitt. S., vol. ii., p. 585. On v. 5, Yāṣka remarks: Nir. v. 9: “Tat te'dya S'ipivishṭa nāma aryaḥ saṁsāmī | aryo 'ham asmi īsvaṛaḥ stōnamām | aryaḥ tevam asi iti vā | tām tevā stōnī tāvasan ātāyāṁ tāvasas iti mahāto nāmādhyeyam udito bhavati | vīvasantam-asya rajasaḥ parāke parākrunte | “I, a master, to-day celebrate this thy name, S'ipivishṭa.’ I am aryaḥ, a master of praises. Or, thou art a master. ‘I, weak, praise thee, the strong.’ Tavasa is a word used for ‘great.’ ‘Dwelling beyond (parāke=parākrunte) this lower world.’” From the above quotation, it appears that in the time of Yāṣka, the sense of the word S'ipivishṭa was uncertain. In the Mahābhārata, Sāntiparva, vv. 13229, ff., Krīṣṇa is introduced as explaining the sense of the word thus (‘the writer intended to represent Yāṣka as the Vedic rishi by whom the word was first applied to Vishṇu, he could not have been a particularly good Vedic scheler): S'ipivishṭetī cakhrāyaṁ vīnamanāch ca yo bhavet | tenāvishṭaṁ tu yat kīṃcchī Chhipivishṭeta ca smāritah | Yāskyāṁ rishir avagro natka-yajñeshu gītāvī | S'ipivishṭaṁ tī hy avsād guhya-nāmaṁ-ādhaṁ hy aham | stutvā māṁ S'ipivishṭetī Yāskyāṁ sarahir udāra-dhīḥ | mat-prasaṁūṇad adho nāṣaṁ Niruktaṁ abhijāgnāvin | “A bald man is designated by the word S'ipivishṭa. Anything which is penetrated by that is called S'ipivishṭa. Yāṣka, the serene rishi, celebrated me at many sacrifices. In consequence of this, I bear the mysterious name of S'ipivishṭa. Yāṣka, that rishi of large understanding, having lauded me as S'ipivishṭa, recovered by my favour the Nirukta, which had been destroyed.”
R. V. viii. 10, 2.—...Brihaspatiṃ Viśvārendrān aham hue
Indra-Viṣṇu Aṣvināv āsu-heshasā | "I invoke Brihaspati, the Viśve-
devas, Indra and Viṣṇu, and the Aṣvin with quickly neighing steeds."

R. V. viii. 12, 16 (=S. V. i. 384; A. V. 20, 111, 1).—Yat somam
Indra Viṣṇavi yad vā gha Trita Āptya | yad vā Marutsu mandase sam
indubhiḥ | . . | 25. Yad Indra pritanāyate devas tvā dadhīre purāḥ |
ād īt te haryata hari vavakshatuḥ | 26. Yadā Vṛitraṇa nadi-viśtam
śavasā vajrīṁ abadhiḥ | ād īd ityādī | 27. Yadā te Viṣṇur ojasā trīṁ
pādā vichakrame | ād īd ityādī |

"Whether, Indra, thou [drinkest] soma along with Viṣṇu, or with
Trita Āptya, or with the Maruts art exhilarated by libations. . . .
25. When, Indra, the gods placed thee in their front in the battle,
then thy dear steeds waxed strong. 26. When, thunderer, thou
didst by thy might slay Vṛitra, who stopped up the streams, then thy
dear steeds grew strong. 27. When by thy force Viṣṇu strode three
steps, then thy dear steeds waxed strong."

R. V. viii. 15, 8 (=S, V. 2, 996, f.; A. V. 20, 106, 26).—Tava
dvayur Indra paunśyam prithivi vardhati śravāḥ | tvāṃ āpāḥ parvataścas
cha hinvire | 9. Tvāṁ Viṣṇur brīhan kshayaṃ Mitro grīnāti Varuṇaḥ |
tvāṁ sardho madati anu māraṭaṃ | 10. Tvaṁ viśka janānām maṃ-
histhaḥ Indra jajnīse | satrā viśvā su-apatyāni dadhishe |

8. "Indra, the sky augments thy manhood, and the earth thy renown.
The waters and the mountains stimulate thee. 9. Viṣṇu, who dwells
on high, Mitra, and Varuṇa celebrate thee; the troop of Maruts follows
thee with exultation. 10. Of all beings, thou, Indra, hast been born
the most bountiful hero; thou hast made all things altogether prolific."

R. V. viii. 25, 11.—Te no nāvam urushyata divā-naktaṁ sudānavah |
arishyanto ni pāyubhiḥ sachemahi | 12. Aghnate Viṣṇave vayam arish-
yantaḥ sudānavae | śrudhi svayāvan sindho pūrva-chittaye | 13. (Nir. v. 1)
Tad vāryam vṛṣīmahe varisṭhāṁ gopayaṭyam | Mitro yat pāñti Varuṇo
yad Aryamā | 14. Uta naḥ sīydhur apāṁ tad Marutās tad Aṣvinā |
Indro Viṣṇur mīdhvāṁsaḥ sajosasaḥ |

57 Benfey, in his translation of the Sama-veda, renders kṣaya by "king." Roth,
in his Lexicon, thinks this sense is not established, and renders the words brīhan
kṣayaḥ by "high abode, i.e. heaven, or those who dwelt in the high abode, the gods." He
also conjectures that the correct reading in this passage may be brīhat-kṣayaḥ, "who
dwells on high."
"Do ye, bountiful [gods], preserve our bard night and day. May we, free from injury, receive your protection. 12. Free from injury, we [offer praise] to the innocuous, and bountiful Vishnu. Listen, O self-moving Ocean, [to us] as your first thought. 13. We desire that excellent treasure, worthy to be guarded, which Mitra, Varuna, and Aryaman possess. 14. And may the Ocean of waters, may the Maruts, may the Aśvins, Indra, and Vishnu, all of them prolific, associated together, [bestow] that upon us."

R. V. viii. 27, 8.—A prayāta Maruto Vishṇo Aśvinā Puṣhan mākinaya dhiyā | Indraḥ āyātu prathumah sanishyubhir vrishā yo vritrāhā grīne | "Come hither, ye Maruts, Vishnu, Aśvins, Puṣhan, at my hymn. May Indra come the first, he who is celebrated by those who desire [his blessing], as the vigorous, the slayer of Vṛitra."

The following hymn, in the seventh verse of which Vishnu is mentioned, is interesting from the manner in which the various characteristics of the different gods are succinctly described:


"One is a youth, brown, variable, active. A golden lustre invests him. 2. Another, luminous, has seated himself on the place

58 Dr. Aufrecht tells me that the word nāvam is so accented that it cannot mean "ship." He regards it as a masc. noun from the root nu, "to praise," and assigns to it the sense of "bard," or "hymn." That there is such a word as nāva is proved by its occurrence in R. V. ix. 45, 5: Induṁ nāvaṁ anūshata | where it must mean "the bards, or hymns, celebrated Indu."

59 Soma, as the moon, according to the commentator. M. Langlois thinks the sun is meant. Dr. Aufrecht thinks the troop of Maruts, Marud-gana, may be meant, to whom, he remarks, the epithet babhrur, "dark-brown, tawny," is as applicable as it is to their master, Rudra, to whom it is frequently given.

60 Böhnlingk and Roth understand viṣhunā of the changing phases of the moon.

61 Agni, according to the commentator. Atra yonim iti lingād Agnir uchyate |
of sacrifice, wise, amidst the gods. 3. Another\(^{62}\) holds in his hand an iron axe, steadfast, among the gods. 4. Another\(^{63}\) holds the thunderbolt poised in his hand, with which he slays his enemies. 5. Another,\(^{64}\) bright, fiery, possessing healing remedies, holds a sharp weapon in his hand. 6. Another\(^{65}\) watches the roads like a robber: he knows the treasures. 7. Another,\(^{66}\) wide-stepping, strode three [strides, in the regions] where the gods rejoice. 8. Two [others]\(^{67}\) ride on birds (horses) with one [goddess]: they dwell afar, as if abroad. 9. Two [others],\(^{68}\) the highest, have made their abode in the sky, monarchs, worshipped with butter. 10. Some, worshipping, have meditated a great sāma-hymn, by which they have caused the sun to shine.”

R. V. viii. 31, 10.—Ā śarma parvatānāṃ vṛṇīmahe nadinām ā Vishnuḥ sachi-bhuvah | “We seek for protection from the mountains, the rivers, and Vishnu who is associated with them.”

R. V. viii. 35, 1, 14.—Āgnīṇā Indreṇa Varuṇena Vishnun Ādityaiḥ Rudrāir Vasubhīḥ sachi-bhuvā | sajoshasā Ushasā Suryena cha somam pibatam Aśvinī | 14. Angiraspaita uca Vishnuvantā Marutvantā jaritūr gachhatho havam ityādi | “Aśvins, drink the soma-juice,” united with Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Vishnu, the Ādityas, Rudra, the Vasus, and associated with Ushas and Surya. 14. Attended by Angiras, by Vishnu, and by the Maruts, you come at the invocation of your worshipper.”

R. V. viii. 66, 10.—Viśvā it tā Vishnur abharaḥ urukramas tvā ishitāḥ | satam mahishān kṣirā-pākam odanaḥ varāham Indra emusham | “The wide-striding Vishnu, urged by thee, O Indra, carried off all [these things], a hundred buffaloes, broth cooked with milk, and a fierce (?) hog.”

This verse is considered by Dr. Aufrecht to contain an allusion to

62 Tvashtri.
63 Indra.
64 Rudra. Compare R. V. i. 43, 4, where Rudra is named, and the same epithet, jatāsha-bheshaja, is applied to him, and R. V. vii. 35, 6, where he is called jatāsha, “healing.”
65 Pushan.
66 Vishnu.
67 The Aśvins. In various passages of the R. V., the daughter of the Sun is said to ride on the car of the Aśvins. See the account of these deities in the fifth volume of this work. In R. V. v. 73, 5, the goddess is called Suryā.
68 Mitra and Varuṇa.
some myth (also referred to in R. V. i. 61, 7, quoted in p. 67), in which Vishnu appears to have been represented as carrying off cattle, a hog, and other provisions for the use of Indra. Compare Professor Wilson's note (d) on R. V. i. 61, 7. The same story may be alluded to in R. V. vi. 17, 11, above, p. 81. See also the note there.

Sāyana gives two explanations of the verse (viii. 66, 10), that of the Nairuktaś or etymologists, and that of the Aitihāsikas or recorders of legends. I cite the latter only. The story there told is the same as I have already cited above (pp. 39 f.) from the Taittirīya Śanhitā; but it is here given in a different and conciser version. Part of the following quotation consists of Sāyana's own application of two Vedic texts, R. V. i. 61, 7, quoted above, p. 67, and viii. 66, 10, which has just been given.

Aitihāsika-pakshe | charc̄a-vr̥aḥmaṇaḥ itiḥasāḥ āmnāyate | "Vishnu yajñaḥ | sa devebhyaḥ ātmānām anantaradhūt | tam anya-devataḥ na avindan | Indras tv avet | sa Indram ābravīt 'ko bhavān' iti | tam Indrāḥ prayabravīd 'aham durgānām asurāṇām cha hantā | bhavāṁs tu kaḥ iti | so 'bravīd 'aham durgād āhārtā | tvam tu yādi durgānām asurāṇām cha hantā tato 'yaṁ varūḥo vāmā-mushā ekvimitṣayāḥ purām pāre 'śmanmayiṇām vasati | tasmāṁ asurāṇām vasu vāmam asti | tam imaṁ jahi' iti | tasya Indras tāḥ puro bhittvā hrdiṣyaṁ avidhyat | adhi tatra yad āsīt tad Vishnuḥ āharaṇa" iti | so 'yaṁ itiḥāsō "asya idu mātussaḥ savanesu" "vīśvā iti tā Vishnuḥ" ity ābhyaṁ pratipūḍitaḥ | tayor madhye "asya id u mātur" ity atra Vishnuṇā "he Indra tvam 'durgānām hantā' ity ātmānaṁ kathayasi tarhi vāmā-mushām varāham asurāṁ jahi" ity uktārtho "vidhyad varāḥam" iti pādena pratipaditaḥ | Indreṇa cha 'Vishnu tvam 'durgād āhārtā' iti brūshe | mayā puruṇā jītāny asurāḥ cha ghātītas tasya vāmām vasv ānoya ity uktō Vishnu-mūrtīs tasya Varāhāsurayā dhanam mūmohsa | so 'rtho "mushyad Vishnuḥ pachatam" iti pādena sūcitaḥ | ca kim punar mushitavān iti tad atra ucyata "vīśvā iti tā" iti |

"On the part of the Aitihāsikas a story is recorded in the Charaka Brāhmaṇa (i.e. the Brāhmaṇa of the Black Yajūr Veda): 'Vishnu is the sacrifice. He withdrew himself from the sight of the gods. The other gods did not discover him; but Indra knew [where he was]. He said to Indra, Who art thou? Indra replied, I am the destroyer of castles, and Asuras; but who art thou? He said, I am he who
removes [the spoil] from the castle: but if thou art the destroyer of castles and Asuras, then this Varāha, a plunderer of goods, dwells on the other side of twenty-one stone ramparts; in him abide the wealth and property of the Asuras: slay him. Indra broke through these ramparts, and pierced his heart; and Vishnū carried off all that was found there.' This story is set forth in the two verses, the one beginning 'Having at the libations,' etc. (R. V. i. 61, 7), and 'The wide-striding Vishnū,' etc. (viii. 66, 10). In the fourth quarter of the first of these verses the words 'pierced the boar' (Varāha) refer to the clause of this story in which Vishnū says, 'Thou, Indra, callest thyself a destroyer of castles; slay then the Asura Varāha, the plunderer of goods.' The third quarter of the same verse, 'the impetuous Vishnū stole the cooked mess,' alludes to the other clause of the story in which the being in the form of Vishnū, being addressed by Indra in the words, 'Vishnū, thou callest thyself the being who carries off goods from the castle. I (Indra) have conquered the castles and slain the Asura; now, therefore, bring the treasures plundered, the property of the Asura Varāha.' But what was it that he plundered? That is declared in the words, the wide-striding Vishnū, etc. (viii. 66, 10)." The verse is then explained. The story in the Brāhmaṇa seems to be made up from the obscure hints in the hymns.

R. V. viii. 72, 7 (=Vāj. S. 33, 47).—Adhi na Indra eṣhāṃ Vishnō sajātyānām | ita Maruto Aśvinā | "Remember, Indra, Vishnū, Maruts, Aśvins, us thy kinsmen."  

R. V. ix. 33, 3 (S. V. 2, 116).—Sutāṭh Indrāya Vāyave Varunāya Marudbhyaḥ | somaḥ arshanti Vishnave | "The soma-draughts poured forth, hasten to Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, the Maruts, and to Vishnū."  

R. V. ix. 34, 2.—Sutāṭh Indrāya Vāyave Varunāya Marudbhyaḥ | soma arshati Vishnave | "The soma hastens to Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, the Maruts, and Vishnū."  

R. V. ix. 56, 4.—Tvam Indrāya Vishnave svādur Indo pari srava |, nrīn stotrin pūhi aṁhasah | "Indu, do thou flow, sweet, to Indra, to Vishnū. Preserve from sin the men who praise thee."  

R. V. ix. 63, 3.—Sutāṭh Indrāya Vishnave somaḥ kalāсе āksharat | madhumān astu Vāyave | "The soma, when poured forth, flowed into the vessel for Indra, for Vishnū. May it be honied for Vāyu."
R. V. ix. 65, 20 (S. V. 2, 345).—Apsāh Indrāya Vāyave Varuṇāya Maruddbhyaḥ | somo arshati Vishnave | “Pouring forth streams, the soma hastens to Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, the Maruts, and to Vishnū.”

R. V. ix. 90, 5.—Matsi Soma Varūṇam matsi Mitram matsi Indram Indo pavamāṇa Vishnum | matsi śardho Mārutam matsi devān matsi mahāṃ Indram Indo madāya | “Soma, Indu, purified, thou exhilaratest Varuṇa, thou exhilaratest Mitra, thou exhilaratest Indra, thou exhilaratest Vishnū, thou exhilaratest the troop of the Maruts, thou exhilaratest the gods, and the great Indra, that they may be merry.”

R. V. ix. 96, 5 (=S. V. ii. 293).—Somaḥ pavate janitā matināṁ janitā dīvo janitā prithivyāḥ | janitā Agner janitā Sūryasya janitā Indraṣya janitā uta Vishnoḥ | “Soma is purified [he who is] the generator of hymns, the generator of the Sky, the generator of the Earth, the generator of Agni, the generator of Sūrya, the generator of Indra, and the generator of Vishnu.”

This verse is quoted, and thus explained in the Nirukta-pariśishṭa, ii. 12: Somaḥ pavate | somaḥ sūryaḥ prasavatāt | janitā matināṁ prakāṣa-karmanāṃ āditya-raśmināṁ dīvo dyotana-karmanāṃ āditya-raśmināṁ prithivyāḥ prathana-karmanāṃ āditya-raśmināṁ Agner gati-karmanāṃ āditya-raśmināṁ Sūryasya svikarana-karmanāṃ āditya-raśmināṁ Indraṣya aśvarya-karmanāṃ āditya-raśmināṁ Vishnoḥ vyāpti-karmanāṃ āditya-raśmināṁ ity adhīnacatam | atha adhyātman | somaḥ ātmā apy etasmā eva indriyānāṁ janitā ity arthāḥ | api vā sarvābhivihūtibhir vibhūtata (?) ātmā ity ātma-gatim ādeḥape | “Soma is purified. Soma is ‘sūrya’ (the sun), from generating (prasavatāt). He is the generator of hymns (or thoughts), i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to reveal; of the Sky, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to shine; of the Earth, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to spread; of Agni, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to move; of Sūrya, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to appropriate (svikaraṇa); of Indra, i.e. of those solar rays whose function is sovereignty; of Vishnū, i.e. of those solar rays whose function is diffusion: such is the mythological explanation. Now follows the spiritual interpretation, i.e. that which refers to soul. Soma is also the soul; and for this cause he is the generator of the senses: such is the meaning. Or, he thus declares the course of the soul, that it is variously modified by all its changing manifestations.”
TO VISHNU, INDRA, AND OTHER DEITIES.

R. V. ix. 166, 6 (= S. V. ii. 366).—Pavasva vāja-sātamaḥ pavitre dhārayā sutāḥ | Indrāya Soma Vishnave devēbhya madhumattamaḥ | “Soma, be purified, dispenser of strength, poured out in a stream into the filter, for Indra, for Vishnu, for the gods, most honied.”

R. V. x. 1, 3.—Vishnur itthā paramam asya vidvān jāto bhīhann abhi pāti prītyam | āṣā yad asya payo akrata svam sachetasa abhi achanti atra | “Vishnu, knowing thus his (Agni’s) highest [birth-place], when born, the great being, protects his third [birth-place, on earth]. Men unanimously worship him here, when they offer him their libation face to face.”

R. V. x. 65, 1.—Agnir Indro Varūṇo Mitro Aryāmā Vāyuḥ Pūshā Sarasvātī sajoshasaḥ | Ādityāḥ Vishnur Marutāḥ Svar bhīhat Somo Rudro Aditir Brahmanaspatiḥ | “Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryanman, Vāyu, Pūshan, Sarasvatī, associated together, the Ādityas, Vishnu, the Maruts, the great Sky, Soma, Rudra, Aditi, Brahmanaspati.”

R. V. x. 66, 4, 5.—Aditir dyāvā-prithivi ritam mahad Indrā- Vishnū Marutāḥ Svar bhīhat | devān Ādityān avase havāmahe Vasūn Rudrān Savitāram sudaṇāsasam | 5. Sarasvān dhībhir Varūṇo dhṛita-vrataḥ Pūshā Vishnur mahimā Vāyur Āśvinā | brahma-krito āmrītāḥ viśe-vedasaḥ śarma no yaṁsan trivarūtham aṁhasaḥ |

“We invoke Aditi, Heaven and Earth, the great Ceremonial, Indra and Vishnu, the Maruts, the great Sky, the divine Ādityas, to our succour, the Vasus, Rudras, and Savitṛi, the wonder-working. 5. May Sarasvatī, through our prayers, may Varuṇa, whose ordinances are fixed, Pūshan, Vishnu, the great Power, Vāyu, the Āśvins, the immortals, offerers of prayer, possessors of all wealth, grant us a triple protection from evil.”

R. V. x. 92, 11.—Te hi dyāvā-prithivi bhūri-retasā Narāṣāṁsaḥ chaturango Yamo ‘āditih | devas Tvāṣṭrā Draviṇodāḥ Ribhukshaṇah pra rodasi Maruto Vishnuḥ arhiḥ | “The prolific Heaven and Earth, the four-limbed Narāṣaṁsa, Yama, Aditi, the god Tvāṣṭrī, Draviṇodas, the Ribhukshans, the two worlds, the Maruts, Vishnu have been honoured.”

R. V. x. 113, 1.—Tam asya dyāvā-prithivi sachetasa viśe bhīh devair anu śushnam ācatalam ; yad ait kriṇvāno mahimānam indriyam pitvī somasya kratumān avardhata | 2. Tam asya Vishnur mahimānam ojasā

69 See above p. 66 f.; and the fifth volume of this work, p. 207.
69* The same combination of words, mahimānam ojasā, occurs in R. V. v. 81, 3, above, p. 72.
The concordant heaven and earth, with all the gods, have stimulated that vigour of his. When he went on displaying his energetic greatness, drinking the soma, the powerful god exulted. 2. Vishnu, in his might, bringing the soma plant, [the source of] his greatness, is full of the honied juice. Indra, the opulent, with the gods attending, having slain Vītra, became distinguished.

R. V. x. 128, 2 (A. V. 5, 33).—Mama devāh vihare santu sarve Indravanto Maruto Vishnur Agnir ityādi | “May the gods all attend on my invocation, the Maruts with Indra, Vishnu, Agni,” etc.

R. V. x. 141, 3 (Vāj. S. 9, 26; A. V. 3, 20, 4).—Somaṁ rājānam avase 'gniṁ gīrbhir havāmahe70 | Ādityāṁ Vishnuṁ Suryam brahmānānca Bṛhaspatimitaḥ | 5c (Vāj. S. 9, 27; A. V. 3, 20, 7.) Aryanām Bṛhaspatim Indrām dānāya chodaya Vātsāṁ Vishnuṁ Sarasvatīṁ Savitārānchā vājinaṁ | “We invoke with hymn king Soma, to our aid, and the Ādityas, Vishnu, Sūrya, and the priest Bṛhaspati.

5. Excite Aryaman, Bṛhaspati, Indra, to generosity, and Vātsa, Vishnu, Sarasvatī, and Savitṛi, the heroic.”

R. V. x. 181, 1.—Prathaḥ cha yaśya Prathasaḥ cha nāma ānushṭubhasya havisho hāvīr yat | Dhātur dyutānedit Savitūs cha Vishṇoḥ rathantarām ā jāhāra Vasiṣṭhāḥ | 2. Avindan te atihitaṁ yad āśiḍ yajnasya dhāma paramaṁ guhaḥ yat | Dhātur dyutānedit Savitūs cha Vishṇor Bharadvāja bṛihad ā chakre Agneḥ | 3. Te ‘vīdanda manasaḥ didhyānāḥ yajuḥ skannam prathamaṁ devayānam | Dhātur dyutānedit Savitūs cha Vishṇor Śūryaḥ abharan gharmaḥ ātitaḥ | “Vasiṣṭha has received from the shining Dhātri, from Savitṛi, and from Vishnu, the Rathantara, that which is the offering of the fourfold sacrifice, whereof Prathas and Sarprathas are the names. 2. These [sages] discovered what was very far removed, the supreme and secret abode of sacrifice. Bharadvāja has received the Bṛihat from the shining Dhātri, from Savitṛi, from Vishnu, and from Agni. 3. Contemplating with their minds, these [sages] discovered the descended Yajush, the first path to the gods. From the shining Dhātri, Savitṛi, Vishnu, Śūrya, they brought down Gharma.”

R. V. x. 184, 1 (=A. V. 5, 25, 5).—Vishnur yoniṁ kalpayatu Tvasṭā

70 The Vājasaneyi Sanhitā reads anvārabhāmahe instead of gīrbhir havāmahe.
rūpāṇi pīṇātatu | ā sinchatu Prajāpatiṛ Dhātā garbhān dadhātu te |
“Let Vishṇu form the womb; let Tvāshtṛi mould the forms; let Prajāpati infuse [the seminal principle]; let Dhātri form the embryo.”

SECT. II.—Subordinate position occupied by Vishṇu in the hymns of the
Rig-veda as compared with other deities.

The preceding passages are all, or nearly all, which the Rig-veda contains regarding Vishṇu. In my remarks on R. V. i. 22, 16, ff. (above p. 64 ff.), I have quoted the opinions of two of the most ancient interpreters of the Veda, Śākapūṇi and Aurnavābha, on the character of Vishṇu. The former regards him as a god who, in what are called his three strides, is manifested in a threefold form, as Agni on earth, as Indra or Vāyu in the atmosphere, and as the Sun in heaven. The second writer, Aurnavābha, on the other hand, interprets Vishṇu’s three strides as the rising, culmination, and the setting of the sun. These three strides are also noticed, as we have seen above, in R. V. i. 154, 1, 2, 3, 4; i. 155, 4, 5; vi. 49, 13; vii. 100, 3, 4; viii. 29, 7; while in other places (R. V. ii. 1, 3; iii. 54, 14; iv. 3, 7; iv. 18, 11; viii. 89, 12; v. 3, 3; v. 87, 4; viii. 9, 12; viii. 66, 10; x. 1, 3) the epithet “wide-stepping,” or “wide-striding,” is either applied to this deity, or, at least, some allusion is made to this function, or to this god’s station in the heavens. In R. V. vi. 69, 5, and vii. 99, 6, Indra is associated with Vishṇu as taking vast strides.

As the peculiar divine office of Vishṇu, indicated by his three steps, stages, or stations, was differently understood by the oldest interpreters whose opinions have been handed down to us, it is natural to suppose that it was not so clearly defined or understood as the functions of some of the other gods, as Agni and Indra for example. But the specific character of Ṛṣṇi, I may say most, of the Vedic gods is far from being distinctly determined in the hymns.

Some other acts of even a higher character are attributed to Vishṇu. In R. V. i. 154, 1, 2; vii. 99, 2, 3, he is said to have established the heavens and the earth, to contain all the worlds in his strides; in R. V. vi. 69, 5, and vii. 99, 4, to have, with Indra, made the atmosphere wide, stretched out the worlds, produced the sun, the dawn and fire; in R. V. i. 156, 4, to have received
the homage of Varuṇa; while in R. V. vii. 99, 2, his greatness is described as having no limit within the ken of present or future beings. The attributes ascribed to Viṣṇu in some of these passages are such that, if these latter stood alone in the Rig-veda, they might lead us to suppose that this deity was regarded by the Vedic Rishis as the chief of all the gods. But, as we have already seen, Indra is associated with Viṣṇu even in some of those texts in which the latter is most highly magnified (as R. V. i. 155, 1 ff.; vi. 69, 1 ff.; vii. 99, 4 ff.; viii. 15, 10); nay, in one place (R. V. viii. 12, 27), the power by which Viṣṇu takes his three strides is described as being derived from Indra; in R. V. iv. 18, 11, vi. 20, 2, and viii. 89, 12, he is the associate of Indra; in another text (R. V. viii. 15, 9), Viṣṇu is represented as celebrating Indra's praises; while, in R. V. ix. 96, 5, Viṣṇu is said to have been generated by Soma.

It is also a fact, notorious to all the students of the Rig-veda, that the hymns and verses which are dedicated to the praises of Indra, Agni, Mitra, Varuṇa, the Maruts, the Āśvins, etc., are extremely numerous; whilst the entire hymns and separate verses in which Viṣṇu is celebrated are much fewer, and have all, or nearly all, been adduced in the preceding pages.

The reader will also have noticed that, in a large number of shorter passages which I have cited, Viṣṇu is introduced as the subject of laudation among a great crowd of other divinities, from whom he is there in no way distinguished as being in any respect superior. From this fact, we may conclude that he was regarded by those writers as on a footing of equality with the other deities.

Further, the Rig-veda contains numerous texts in which the Rishis ascribe to Indra, Varuṇa, and other gods, the same high and awful attributes and functions which are spoken of in the hymns before cited as belonging to Viṣṇu. I shall quote a sufficient number of these texts to show that, in the Rig-veda, Viṣṇu does not hold a higher rank than several of these other divinities. E; on the other hand, we look to the large number of texts, in which, as I have just stated, some of the other gods are celebrated, and to the comparatively small number of those in which Viṣṇu is exclusively or prominently magnified, we shall come to the conclusion that the latter deity occupied a somewhat subordinate place in the estimation and affections of the ancient rishis.
I shall first adduce a number of passages in which divine attributes and functions of the highest character are ascribed to Indra.\textsuperscript{71}

R. V. i. 7, 3—\textit{Indro dirghāya chakshase ā sūryaṁ rohayad divi ityādi!}

"Indra has raised up the sun in the sky to be seen from afar," etc.

R. V. i. 52, 8.— \ldots ayachhathāḥ bāheor vajram āyasam adhārayo
divi ā sūryaṁ driśe | \ldots 12. Tvam asya pāre rajaso vyomanāḥ
svabhāty-ujāḥ aśa āhrishan-manaḥ | chakrishe bhūmim pratimānam
ojasaḥ apaḥ svāḥ paribhūr eshi ā divam | 13. Tvam bhuvāḥ pratimānam
prithivyāḥ rishva-virāsya brihataḥ patir bhūḥ | viśvam ā aprāh antar-
riksham mahītvā satyam addho nakir anyas tvāśān | 14. Na yasya
dyāvā-prithivi anu vyacho na sindhavo rajaso antam ānasūḥ | nota svā-
vrishṭim made asya yudhyataḥ eko anyacho chakrishe viśvam ānushak |

"Thou hast grasped in thine arms the iron thunderbolt; thou hast
placed the sun in the sky to be viewed. \ldots 12. [Dwelling] on the
further side of this atmospheric world, deriving thy power from thy-
self, daring in spirit, thou, for our advantage, hast made the earth, the
counterpart\textsuperscript{72} of [thy] energy; encompassing the waters and the sky,
thou reachest up to heaven. 13. Thou art the counterpart of the
dearth, the lord of the lofty sky, with its exalted heroes. Thou hast
filled\textsuperscript{73} the whole atmosphere with thy greatness. Truly there is none
other like unto thee.\textsuperscript{74} 14. Whose vastness neither heaven and earth
have equalled, nor the rivers of the atmosphere have attained its
limit,—not when, in his exhilaration, he fought against the appro-
priator of the rain (?); thou alone hast made everything else in due
succession."

R. V. i. 55, 1.—\textit{Divāś chiś asya varimā vi paprathe Indram na
mahā prithivi chhana prati} | "His vastness is extended even beyond
the sky: the earth is not comparable to Indra in greatness."

R. V. i. 61, 9.—\textit{Asya id eva praririche mahītvām divas prithivyāḥ
pari antarikshat ityādi} | "His greatness transcends the sky, the earth,
and surpasses the atmosphere," etc.

\textsuperscript{71} Compare the additional texts of the same tenor in the fifth vol. of this work,
pp. 99 ff.

\textsuperscript{72} Compare R. V. i. 102, 8? ii. 12, 9; x. 111, 5 (below). The word \textit{pratimānā}
also occurs in R. V. x. 138, 3.—See the second volume of this work, p. 362.

\textsuperscript{73} Compare R. V. i. 81, 5; ii. 15, 2; vi. 17, 7; vii. 20, 4; vii. 20, 4; vii. 98, 3;
and x. 134, 1 (below).

\textsuperscript{74} Compare R. V. i. 81, 5; iv. 30, 1; vi. 30, 4; and vii. 32, 23 (below).
R. V. i. 81, 5.—Ā paprau pārthivām rajo badbadhe rochanā divi | na tvāvān Indra kāśchana na jāto na janīṣhyate ati viśvaṁ vacakshitha | "He has filled the terrestrial region: he has fastened the luminaries in the sky. No one like thee, Indra, hath been born, or shall be born: thou hast transcended the universe."

R. V. i. 102, 8.—Trīvishṭi-dhātu pratimānam ojasas tisro bhūmīr nripate ērīṇi rochanā | ati idaṁ viśvam bhuvanaṁ vacakṣīthā asatrur Indra janushā sanād asi | "The three worlds, O king, the three luminaries are a triple counterpart of [thy] energy. Thou hast transcended this whole universe. By nature, Indra, thou art of old without an enemy." 75

R. V. i. 103, 2.—Sa dhārayat prithivīm paprathachcha vajrenā hatvā nir apāḥ sasārja | ahann Āhim ityādi | "He established the earth and stretched it out; smiting with the thunderbolt, he let loose the waters. He slew Ahi," etc.

R. V. i. 121, 2.—Stambhīd ādyāḥ ityādi | 3. . . tastambhad dyāṁ chatuskhapade nāryāya dvipade | "He has supported the sky, etc. 3. . . . He has propped up the sky for the four-footed [beasts], and for the two-footed race of man."

R. V. ii. 12, 1 (Nirukta, x. 10).—Yo jātaḥ eva prathamo manasvān devo devān kratunā paryabhūshat 76 | Yasya sūṣmād rodasī abhyasetāṁ nṛṁṇasya mahāṁ sa jāṁsāḥ Indrah | 2. Yaḥ prithivīṁ vyathamānāṁ adṛśīḥad yaḥ parvatān prakupitān aramanāt | yo antarikṣam viname varīyo yo dyām astabhāṁt sa jāṁsāḥ Indrah | 9. . . . Yo viścasya pratimānam babhūva yo aĉyuta-ĉyut sa jāṁsāḥ Indrah | 13. Dyāvā chid āsmai prithivī namete sūṣmāc chid āsya parvatāḥ bhayante ityādi |

"He who, immediately on his birth, the first, the wise, surpassed the gods in force; at whose might the two worlds shook, through the greatness of his strength, he, O men, is Indra. 2. He who fixed the quivering earth; who gave stability to the agitated mountains; 76 Compare R.V. viii. 21, 13; x. 133, 2 (below). 75 Kratunā karmanā paryābhavat paryagrihitāḥ parśarakshad atyakrūmad vā . . . nṛṁṇasya mahāṁ balaśya mahattvena.—Nirukta. At the end of the comment the writer adds: iti risher ēṣaṁ tāṣṭasya pritīr bhaveyā ukhyāna-saṁyuktā | "Thus when the rishi has seen the subject [of his hymn], gratification ensues, conjoined with a narrative."
who measured the vast atmosphere; who propped up the sky, he, O men, is Indra. 9. He who has been a counterpart of the universe; who casts down the unskaken, he, O men, is Indra. . . . 13. Even the sky and the earth bow down to him; even of his might the mountains are afraid,” etc.

R. V. ii. 15, 1.—Prā gha nu asya mahato mahāni satyā satyasya karanāni vocham | trikadrakshu api bat sutasya asya madē ahim Indro jaghāna | 2. Avaṁśe dyām āstabhāyaḥ āśiḥtām ā ā apiṇaḥ antariksham | sa dhārayat prīthiśvīm paprathāḥ cā somasya tā madē Indraś chakāra | 3. Sadmeva prācho vi mimāya mānair ityādi |

“I declare the mighty deeds of this mighty one; the true acts of this true one. From the three cups Indra drank of the soma, and in its exhilaration he slew Ahi. 2. He propped up the vast sky in empty space; he hath filled the two worlds, and the atmosphere. He hath upheld the earth, and stretched it out. Indra has done these things in the exhilaration of the soma. 3. He measured with measures the eastern (regions) as an abode,” etc.

R. V. iii. 30, 9.—Ni sāmanāṁ ishirāṁ Indra bhūmim mahim apūrāṁ sadane sasattha | āstabhāν dyām vrishahbo antariksham arshantu āpas tvaycha prasūtāḥ | “Thou, Indra, hast fixed in its place the level, the blooming, earth, the great, the boundless. The vigorous god has propped up the sky, and the atmosphere: may the waters flow, sent forth now by thee.”

R. V. iii. 32, 7.—Yajāma id namasā vriddham Indram brīhantam rishvam ajaraṇu yuvāṇām | yasya priye mamatur yajīyasya na rodaśi mahimānam mamāte | 8. Indrasya karma sukṛtā puṣṭiṇi vratāni devāḥ na minanti viśve | dāḍhārā yaḥ prīthivīṁ dyāṁ utemāṁ jajāna vāryam uṣhasāu sudāṁśaḥ | 9. Adroga satyāṁ tava tad mahītvāṁ sadyo yaj juto apibo ha somam | na dyōcāḥ Indra tavasas te ojā nāhā na māsāḥ śarado varanta |

77 Compare R. V. i. 154, 1, 3, and the other corresponding passages above, p. 69 ff.; and R. V. ii. 15, 3, immediately following. The word here, however, may mean “constructed.” With the first part of the verse compare R. V. x. 149, 1, below (p. 110).
78 Compare R. V. x. 149, 1 (below); and Job xxvi. 7, “He stretcheth out the north over the empty place, and hangeth the earth upon nothing.” See also R. V. x. 111. 5; and vi. 72, 2 (below).
79 Böhtlingk and Roth, s. v., explain ishira as meaning “fresh,” “blooming.”
80 Compare verse 16 of this same hymn, and R. V. viii. 77, 3: Na teḥ brīhantā adrayo varante | “The mighty mountains do not stop thee.”
"We worship, with reverence, the mighty Indra, the powerful, the exalted, the undecaying, the youthful. The beloved worlds (heaven and earth) have not measured, nor do they [now] measure, the greatness of this adorable being. 8. Many are the excellent works which Indra has done; not all the gods are able to frustrate the counsels of him, who established the earth, and this sky, and, wonder-working, produced the sun and the dawn. 9. O innoxious god, thy greatness has been veritable since that time when, as soon as thou wast born, thou didst drink the soma. Neither the heavens, nor the days, nor the months, nor the seasons, can resist the energy of thee [who art] mighty."

R. V. iii. 44, 3.—*Dyām Indro haridhāyasam prithiviḥ harivarpasam| adhārayad ityādi | "Indra upheld the sky with its golden supports, and the earth with its golden form," etc.°

R. V. iv. 16, 5.—*Vavakshe Indro amitam riṣiṣiḥ ubhe ā prarau rodasī mahitvā | atas chid asya mahimā virechi abhi yo viśvā bhuvanā babhāva | "The impetuous Indra hath waxed immeasurably; he has filled both worlds with his vastness. Even beyond this extends the majesty of him who transcends all the worlds."

R. V. iv. 30, 1.—*Nakir Indra tvad uttaro na jyāyān asti Vṛitrahan| nakir eva yathā tvam | "There is none, Indra, higher than thee, or superior to thee, thou slayer of Vṛitra; neither is there any like thee."

R. V. vi. 17, 7.—*Pāpṛatha kṣāṃ mahi daṃso vi uṛvin upa dyām riṣhvo bhrihad Indra stabbhāyaḥ | adhārayo rodasī devaputre pratne mātarā yahṛi ṛitasya | "Thou hast filled the broad earth with thy mighty

° Sāyaṇa explains priye as meaning aparimite, "immeasurable."—See vii. 87, 2.

° Dr. Aufrecht proposes to translate the last clause thus: "his beloved (spouses), heaven and earth, imagine, but do not measure (=comprehend) the greatness of this holy being." He regards the repetition of the root mā "to measure" in two different forms as purposeless, and conjectures that mamatuḥ may be the perfect of man, and used for mamanatuḥ or mammatuḥ. Compare the aorist amatā, and sasavān for sasanvān; see also R. V. vii. 31, 7: Mahān ca iṣya te'nu svadhāvāri sahaḥ | mamanāte Indra rodasi | "Thou art great, (thou) to whose energy the self-supporting Heaven and Earth have submitted themselves."

°° In the hymn from which this verse is taken, the changes are rung on the words hari, hariṣa, etc.

°°° See Bühlingk and Roth's Lexicon under the word riṣishin, and Benfey's note 260, on R. V. i. 32, 6, in his "Oriens und Occident." The verse before us (iv. 16, 5) is translated by the same author in his Glossary to S.V., p. 162. See also his Glossary to the Sāmaveda, s.v. riṣishin.
works; thou, Indra, exalted, hast mightily propped up the sky; thou hast supported the two worlds, of whom the gods are the off-spring, the ancient and mighty parents of holy rites.”

R. V. vi. 30, 4.—Satyam iti tad na tvāvān anyo asti Indra devo na martyo jyāyān ityādi | “This is a truth, there is no other, god or mortal, like the, Indra, or greater than thee,” etc.

R. V. vi. 31, 2.—Tvad-bhiyā Indra pārthivāni viśvā aechyutā chit chyāvayante rajāmsi | dyāvā-kshāmā parvatāso vanāni viśvām dṛilham bhayate ajamān ā te | “Through fear of thee, Indra, all the mundane regions, however steady, totter; heaven and earth, mountains, forests, everything that is fixed, is afraid at thy coming.”

R. V. vi. 38, 3.—Tām vo dhiyā paramāyā purājām ajaram Indram abhi anūshi ahrkair ityādi | “I have lauded with an excellent prayer, and with praises, thee, Indra, born of old, and undecaying.”

R. V. vii. 20, 4.—Ubhe chid Indra rodasī mahītvā ā paprātha ta-vishibhis tvishmahāḥ ityādi | “Thou, powerful Indra, hast filled both worlds with thy mighty deeds,” etc.

R. V. vii. 32, 16.—Tvā iḍ Indra avanān vasu tvam pushyasi ma-dhyamam | satrā viśvasya paramasya rājasi nakti tvā goshu viśvate | . . . . 22. Abhi tvā śūra nonumah adugdāhaḥ iva dhenaivaḥ | iśānam asya jagataḥ svardriśam iśānam Indra taśthuṣaḥ | 23. Na tvāvān anyo divyo na pārthivo na jato na janiṣṭhato ityādi65 |

“Thine, O Indra, is the lowest wealth; thou possessest the middle; verily thou rulest over all the very highest; none resist thee among the cattle. . . . . 22. We, O heroic Indra, like unmilked cows, approach with our praises thee who art the heavenly lord of this moving, and of the stationary [world]. 23. No one, celestial or terrestrial, has been born, or shall be born, like to thee.”

R. V. vii. 98, 3 (=A. V., 20, 87, 3).— . . . . Â Indra paprātha uru antarikshaṁ yudhā deverbhya varivās chakartha | . . . . “Indra, thou hast filled the wide sky: thou hast by battle acquired freedom for the gods.”66

65 This entire hymn is translated in Müller’s Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 543 ff.
66 The words at the close of this verse occur also in R.V. i. 59, 5 (see below). In regard to varivāh, compare R. V. i. 63, 7: aṁhoṛi rājā varivāh Pūrve kaḥ | “Thou affordedst relief to Pūrū from his strait.” The word occurs R. V. ix. 97, 16, in the plural, varivāmbi kriyān. In the Nighantu, 2, 10, it is said to mean “wealth.”
R. V. viii. 3, 6 (=S. V. ii. 938).—Indra mahān ārodasi paprathach
cchavah Indraḥ sūryam arochayat | Indre ha viśvā bhuvanāni yemire
ityādi | “The mighty Indra by his power has spread out the two
worlds; Indra has lighted up the Sun: on Indra all the worlds are
supported,” etc.87

R. V. viii. 21, 13 (=S. V. 1, 399; A. V. 20, 114, 1)—Abhrātrivyom
anā tvam anāpir Indra janushā sanād asi | yudhā īd āpitvam içhase |
“Indra, by thy nature, thou art indeed of old without a rival, with-
out a fellow. By battle thou seekest alliance.”

R. V. viii. 36, 4.—Janitā dīvo janitā prithivyaḥ ityādi | “Generator
of the sky, generator of the earth,” etc. (Indra).

R. V. viii. 37, 3.—Ekarād asya bhuvanasya rājasī ityādi | “Thou
rulest a sole monarch over this world,” etc. (Indra).

R. V. viii. 51, 2.—Aṣṣuṣo asamo nṛbhirk ekaḥ kṛiṣṭīr ayasyah |
pūrār ati pravārīdhe viśvā jātany ojasā ityādi | “Without a fellow,
unequalled by men,[Indra] alone, unconquerable, has surpassed in power
many tribes, and all creatures.”

R. V. viii. 59, 5 (=S. V. i. 278).—Yad dyāvaḥ Indra te sataṁ sataṁ
bhūmir uta syuḥ | na tvā vajrin sahasram sūryāḥ anu na jātam ashta
roday | “If, Indra, a hundred skies, and a hundred earths were thine,
a thousand suns could not equal thee, thunderer, nor could anything
created, [nor] the two worlds.”

This verse is quoted and briefly commented on in the Nirukta paris-
ishaṭa i. 1, ff.: Atha imāḥ atistutayaḥ ity āchakshate api vā sampratyayaḥ
eva syad maḥābhāgyād devatāyaḥ | ... Yadi te Indra sataṁ divaḥ sataṁ
bhūmayaḥ pratīmanāṇi syur na tvā vajrin sahasram api sūryāḥ na dyāva−
prithivyāv api abhyaśnucitām iti | “Now these [which follow] are
what are called exaggerated praises; or they may be expressions of
perfect faith owing to the grandeur of the Deity.” Then, after citing

87 In the 8th verse of this hymn (=S. V. 1, 924; Vāj. S. 33, 97; A. V. 20, 99,
2) the following words occur: asyadh Indro vārīdhe vṛiṣhnyaṁ savo made sutaṣya
vishnave | “Indra increased his fecundating strength, in the exhilaration of this soma,
at the sacrifice.” Vṛiṣhnyam, the word here rendered sacrifice, is the locative
case of vṛiṣhnu. Böhltingk and Roth, s.v., think the word here has this sense,
as the Brāhmaṇas frequently employ the phrase yajno vai Vṛiṣhnu | “Vṛiṣhnu is the
sacrifice.” The commentaries of the Vāj. Sanhitā explains it by sarva-sāvīra−
vyaṇake, “That which pervades the whole body.” Śāyana, too, makes it=krīṣṇa−
dehasya vyāṇake |
passages referring to Agni and Varuṇī, the writer quotes the verse before us, and thus paraphrases it: "If, Indra, a hundred skies, a hundred earths be the counterparts [with which thou art compared], not even a thousand suns, O thunderer, nor heaven and earth, can equal thee."

R. V. viii. 67, 5.—Nakīm Indro nikartave na S'akrah pariśaktave viśvaṁ śrīnīti paśyati | "Indra is not to be overcome, Sakra is not to be overpowered. He hears and sees all things." 88

R. V. viii. 77, 4.—Yoddhā 'si kratvā savasota, daṁsanā viśvā jātā abhi majmanā | ā tvā ayam arkaḥ utaye varartati yaṁ Gotamāḥ ajījanan | 5. (S. V. 1, 312.) Pra hi ririkṣe ojasā dīvo antebhyas pari | na tvā vivyācha rajah Indro, pārthivam anu svadhāṁ vavakṣhitthā | "A warrior, thou surpassest all creatures in power, in vigour, in exploits, in strength. This hymn, which the Gotamas have generated, incites thee to succour us. 5. For by thy might thou hast overpassed the bounds of the sky. The mundane region hath not contained thee: thou hast grown according to thine own will." 90

R. V. viii. 78, 5 (=S. V. ii. 779 f.)—Yaj jāyathāḥ apurvya Mahāvan Vritra-hatyāya | tat prithivim aprathayaḥ tad ustabhnāḥ uta dyām | 6. Tut te yajno ajīyata tad arkaḥ uta haskritiḥ | tad viśvam abhibhūr asi yaj jātaṁ yachcha jantvam | 91

"When thou, O unrivalled Maghavan (Indra), wast born for the destruction of Vritra, then thou didst spread out the earth, and then thou didst establish the sky. 6. Then was thy sacrifice produced; then thy hymn and thy song of praise. Then thou didst transcend all things that have been born, or shall be born."

R. V. viii. 82, 11.—Yasya te nu chid ādiśaṁ na minanti svarājyam na devo na adhṛigur janāḥ | "Whose command, and empire, no one,—whether god, or audacious mortal,—can resist."

R. V. viii. 86, 9.—Na tvā devūsaṁ āsata na martyūso adrivaḥ | viśvā

88 This hymn is translated by Professor Müller, Zeitsch. D. M. G. for 1853, p. 375.
89 Instead of antebhyah the S. V. reads sadohyayah.
90 At the end of the verse the S. V. reads ati viśvam vavakṣhitthā | "Thou hast transcended the universe." On the sense of svadhāṁ, see Roth, Illust. of Nir. pp. 40 f. and 132; and Müller, Transl. of R. V. vol. i. pp. 49 ff.
91 Compare the words yad bhūtaṁ yachcha bhāvyam in the Purusha Sūkta, R. V. x. 90, 2. See the first volume of this work, in the early part of which this entire hymn is translated.
jātāṇi śavasā abhibhūr asi ityādi | 10 (S. V. i. 370). Viśvāḥ pritāṇāḥ abhibhūtaram naraṁ 92 sajus tatakshur Indrāṁ jajauṣ cha rājase | kratvā varishthaṁ vare 93 ṛṃ ṛṃ uta ugram ajīṣṭhaṁ tavanam |

"Thee, O hurler of rocks, neither gods nor mortals have equalled. Thou transcendent in power all creatures, etc. 10. They, united, have formed and generated for dominion the heroic Indra, the vanquisher of all armies, eminent in power, destroyer, fierce, strong, vigorous, and swift."

R. V. viii. 87, 2.—Tvam Indra abhibhūr asi tvāṁ sūryam arochayaḥ | viśvakarma viśvadevo mahān asi | "Thou, Indra, art the most powerful; thou hast kindled the sun; thou art great, the architect of all things, and the lord of all."

R. V. x. 43, 5 (= A. V. 20, 17, 5; Nir. 5, 22).—Kṛtaṁ na śvaghnī vichinoti devane sāṁvargam, yau Maḥavāvā sūryaṁ jayat | na tat te anyo anu vīryaṁ śakad na puraṇo Maḥavān na uta nūtanaḥ | "When Maḥavān has conquered spoils from the sun, he is like a gamester who gathers in his gains at play. 96 No other, Maḥavān, either old or recent, can imitate that thy prowess."

R. V. x. 48, 3.—Mahāvāv śivasita vajram atakshad āyasan mayi devāsa avṛjann api kratum | mama anīkaṁ sūryasya iva dustaram mām āryanti kṛīṇa kartvena cha | "Tvāṣṭri fashioned for me (Indra) an iron thunderbolt; into me the gods have infused force. My splendour is unsurpassed, like that of the sun. Men praise me for what I have done and shall do."

R. V. x. 86, 1 (= A. V. xx. 126, 1).—... viśvasmaḥ Indraḥ uttaraḥ | (Repeated at the close of every verse of this hymn.) "Indra is superior to every other."

92 The Sāma-veda reads narāḥ.
93 The Sāma-veda reads kratve vare sthemany āmūrim. It is difficult to assign a sense to vare in the text.
94 The Sāma-veda reads tarasāṁ.
95 Sayāna explains sāṁvargam as = sāmyād vṛiṣṭer varjyajitāram | "discharger of rain." The word, as Dr. Aufrecht informs me, occurs only once again in the R. V. viz. in viii. 64, 12: sāṁvargam saṁ rayāṁ jaya | and he adds that the translation "spoils" is supported by several passages of the Sū. T. Br. e.g. i. 7, 2, 24 (p. 69): pitor dāyam upeyneḥ... kathaṁ nī inam api saṁvīrījñāhī (Schol. apaharemahi): Ibid. sāṁvīrīnjata, sāṁvīrnkate. Sū. P. Br. i. 9, 2, 34: savaṁ yajnaṁ saṁvīrīya (= saṁapīti-puṛvaṁ saṁhṛtīḥ). In the R. V. Indra is called saṁvīrīk samatsu "the spoiler in battles."
96 The same phrases occur in R. V. x. 42, 9, and A. V. 7, 50, 6; 20, 89, 9.
IN WHICH INdra IS CELEBRATED.

R. V. x. 111, 1.—Maniśiṇāṇaḥ pra bhuradham maniśaṁ yatha yathā matayaṁ saṁti niśām | Indraṁ satyair ā irayāma kriyebhīḥ sa hi viro gīvēvasyād vidināḥ | 2. Ēritaya hi sadaso dhitir adyaut sam gārshṭeyo vrīshabhō gobhir ānāt | ud atishṭhat tavishṇa ravena mahānti chid saṁvivyacha rajāṁsi | 3. Indraḥ kila śrutayai asya veda sa hi jishṇuḥ pathikriti sūryāya | ād menāṁ kriyām aphyuto bhvad goḥ patir divaḥ sanajāḥ apratītāḥ | 4. Indro mahā mahato arṇavasya vratā aminād Angirōbhir griṇānaḥ | purūṇi chid ni tatāna rajāṁsi dādhāra yo dharuṇāṁ satyataṭa | 5. Indro divaḥ pratimāṇam prithivyāḥ viśvā veda savanā hanti Sūṣṇam | mahāṁ chid dyām ā atanot sūryena chāskambha chit skambhanena skabhīyāṁ |

"Sages, present the prayer, according as are the various thoughts of men. Let us move Indra, with his genuine acts, for he is a hero, and loves our hymns. 2. The hymn has shone forth from the place of sacrifice. The bull, offspring of a heifer, has approached the cows; he has arisen with a loud bellowing; he has embraced in himself the vast regions. 3. Indra by hearing is surely aware of this [hymn]. For he, the victorious, has formed a path for the sun, and then creating the female of the bull, became the unshaken, eternal and matchless lord of the sky (compare R. V. i. 51, 13; i. 121, 2). 4. Celebrated by the Angirases, Indra by his power has defeated the designs of the great streaming [cloud-demon]; 97 he has stretched out many worlds, he who has laid a foundation in truth. 5. Indra, [who is] the counterpart of the heaven and of the earth, knows all libations, slays Sūṣṇa; with the sun, he has extended the vast sky, and, [being] a strong supporter, he has supported it with a support." 98

R. V. x. 132, 2 (=S. V. ii. 1151).—Tvam sindhūn avaspiyāḥ adharācho ahann Āhīṁ | aśatrur* Indra jayishe viśvam pushyasi vāryam ātyaṁ | "Thou hast let loose the streams to flow downwards; thou hast slain Ahi. Indra, thou hast been born without a foe: thou possessest all that is desirable," etc.

R. V. x. 134, 1 (=S. V. i. 379).—Ubeḥ yad Indra rodasi āpaprātha

97 That this is the allusion in the word arṇava is shown by the following passage: R. V. x. 67, 2.—Indra mahā mahato arṇavasya vi mārdhānam abhinad Arbudasya ītyādi | "Indra by his power split asunder the śad of ‘he great streaming Arbuda,’ etc.

98 Compare R. V. vi. 72, 2, below.
ushāḥ iva | mahāntaṁ tvā mahinum saṁrājam charshaṁinām | devi janitri ajījanad bhadrā janitri ajījanat

“When thou, Indra, like the dawn, didst fill both the worlds, a divine mother bore thee, the mighty monarch of mighty creatures,—a gracious mother bore thee.”

How great soever the attributes assigned to Indra may be, we see that here he is not regarded as a self-existent being, but as the son of a mother. See the earlier part of the account of this deity in the fifth volume of this work.

The two following texts refer to Indra in conjunction with another god:

R. V. vi. 72, 2.—Indrā-Soma vāsayatha uṣhāsam ut sūryāṁ nayatho jyotishā saba | upa dyām sambhathuḥ skambhanena aprathatam prithivim mātaram vi | “Indra and Soma, ye cause the dawn to shine, ye make the sun to rise with the light. Ye have propped up the sky with a support, ye have spread out the earth, the mother.”

R. V. vii. 82, 5.—Indrā-Varuṇa yad imāni chakrathur viśvā jātāni bhuanasya majmanā ityādi | “Indra and Varuṇa, since ye have made all these creatures of the world by your power,” etc.

The passages next following celebrate the divine attributes of Varuṇa:

R. V. i. 24, 8.—Uruṁ hi rajā Varuṇaś chakāra sūryāya panthām amu-etavai u ityādi | “King Varuṇa hath made a broad path for the sun to follow,” etc.

R. V. ii. 27, 10.—Tvam viśveshāṁ Varuṇa asī rājā ye cha devāḥ asura ye cha martāḥ | “Thou, divine Varuṇa, art king of all, both of those who are gods, and of those who are men.”—Quoted in Müller’s Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 534.

R. V. vi. 70, 1.—Ghrītavati bhuanānām abhiśriyā ūrvī prīthvi maṁhu-dughe supeśasā | dyāvā-prīthvi Varuṇasya dharmāṇā vishkabhite ajare bhūri-retasā | “Full of fatness, the common abodes of creatures, wide, broad, dropping sweetness, beautiful in form, heaven and earth are sustained asunder by the support of Varuṇa, undecaying, abundant in fertility.”

R. V. vii. 86, 1.—Dhārā tu asya mahinā janūṁshi vi yas tastaṁbh ārodasya chid ūrvī | pra nākam rishväṁ nūnude bṛihántaṁ dvītaṁ nakṣatram paprathach cha bhūma | “Wise are his creations who by his power

99 The last line is repeated at the close of each of the five following verses.
100 Compare R. V. ii. 15, 2; x. 111, 5; and x. 149, 1, below.
propped asunder the two worlds, thought vast. He raised up the lofty and wide firmament, and spread out apart the stars and the earth."—This hymn is translated in Müller’s Sansk. Lit., pp. 540 f.

R. V. vii. 87, 1.—Radat patho Varunaḥ sūryāya pra arṇāmsi samudrīyā nadiṁām | sarga100 na sṛṣṭo arvatir ritōyan chakāra mahir avanir ahaḥyāḥ | 2. Ātmā te vāto rajah ā navinot paśur na bhūrṇir yavase savān100 | antar mahī bṛihatī rodasī ime visvā te dhāma Varunaḥ priyāni |

"Varuṇa has opened out paths for the sun, and the courses of the rivers leading to the ocean. Like a troop (of horses) let loose, following the mares, he has made great channels for the days. 2. The wind, thy breath, has sounded through the atmosphere, like an impetuous beast rushing along a pasture. Within [thee?] are these two great and vast worlds; all thy realms, O Varuṇa, are beloved."101

R. V. viii. 42, 1.—Astabhnaḥ dyām Asura viśvavedāḥ amimita varimāṇam prīthivyāḥ | āśidad visvā bhukanāni samrūḍ visvā it tānī Varunasya vratāṇī | 2. Eva vandasva Varunāṁ bṛihantaṁ namasya dhīram amṛitasya gopām | sa naḥ sarma trivarūtham viyaṁsad ityādi |

"The omniscient Spirit (Asura) has propped up the sky; he has measured the expanse of the earth; he has occupied all the worlds, the monarch: all these are the achievements of Varuṇa. 2. Reverence, then, the mighty Varuṇa, bow down before the wise guardian of immortality. May he extend to us triple protection," etc.

The next texts refer to the Sun (Sūrya, Āditya, or Savitri):

R. V. i. 50, 7.—Vi dyām eshi rajas prīthv ahā mimāṇa akṛubhiḥ | paśyan janmāni Sūrya | "Thou traversest the sky, the broad expanse, measuring the days with thy rays; beholding created things, O Sūrya."

R. V. viii. 90, 11, 12 (= S. V. ii. 1138, 9).—Bād mahān asi Sūrya bād Āditya mahān asi | mahas te sato mahimā panasyate adhā deva mahān asi | Bāt Sūrya śravāsā mahān asi satrā deva mahān asi | mahān devānām asuryāḥ purohito viḥu jyotir adābhyaṁ |

"Verily, Sūrya, thou art great; verily, Āditya, thou art great. The majesty of thee who art great is celebrated: certainly, god, thou art great. 12. Verily, Sūrya, thou art great in renown: O god, thou art

100 The word sarga occurs also in R. V. i. 190, 2; iii. 33, 4; vi. 32, 5; vi. 46, 13.
100 In regard to this participle, see the note (82) on R. V. iii. 32, 7, above, p. 102.
101 See note (81) on R. V. iii. 32, 7, above, p. 102.
102 See above, p. 71.
truly great; through thy greatness thou art the divine leader of the gods, the pervading, irresistible luminary.”

R. V. x. 149, 1.—Savitā yantraṁ prāthivīṁ aramnād askambhane Savitā dyām adrśinhat | aśeṣam īva adhukshad dhunim antariksham atānte baddhaṁ Savitā samudram | 2. Yatra samudraṁ skabhito vi-aunad apāṁ napāt Savita tasya veda | atobhūr atah āḥ utthitaṁ rajo ato dyāvā-prāthivī aprathetām |

“Savitri has established the earth by supports; Savitri has fixed the sky in unsupported space; 103 Savitri has milked the atmosphere, which resembles a sounding horse,—the ocean fastened in the impassable expanse. 2. Savitri, the son of the waters, knows the place where the ocean, supported, issued forth. From him the earth, from him the atmosphere arose; from him the heaven and earth extended.”

103 In later times, as is well known, the earth is represented in Hindu mythology as resting on the head of the serpent Śeṣa, or on some other support. Thus it is said in the Vīṣṇu Pur. ii. 5, 19 (Wilson, Dr. Hall’s ed. ii. 212): Sa bibhrat śeṣhari-bhūtam aśeṣhaṁ kṣiti-maṇḍalam [āste pāṭāla-mīla-sthāh Śeṣho śeṣha-svārāchitaḥ] “Śeṣha, worshipped by all the gods, supports the whole region of the earth which forms a diadem on his head, and stands beneath the base of Pāṭāla.” The Siddhāntas, or scientific astronomical works of India, however, maintain that the earth is unsupported. Thus it is said in the Siddhānta-sīromāṇi, iii. 2: Bhūmez pindah saṁśānika-jna-kavi-revi-kujeyārki-nakshatra-kakshā-vṛttair vṛtṛaḥ san mīḍ-anīlā-saḷīla-vyoma-tejomayo 'yam | nāyadhāraṁ sva-saktyaiva viyati niyataṁ tiṣṭhati ityādi | . . . 4. Mūro dhartā cched dhūtryāno tad-Anyosa saśya-prayanaya 'svayam atrānāvastāḥ | antye kalpyā chet sva-saktī kim odye kim no bhūmir ityādi | which is thus translated by the late Mr. L. Wilkinson in the Bibl. Indica (new series), No. 13: “2. This globe of the earth formed of [the five elementary principles] earth, air, water, the ether, and fire, is perfectly round, and encompassed by the orbits of the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, and by the constellations. It has no [material] supporter; but stands firmly in the expanse of heaven by its own inherent force. On its surface throughout subsist [in security] all animate and inanimate objects, Danuṣas and human beings, gods and Daityas.” . . . “4. If the earth were supported by any material substance or living creature, then that would require a second supporter, and for that second a third would be required. Here we have the absurdity of an interminable series. If the last of the series be supposed to remain firm by its own inherent power, then why may not the same power be supposed to exist in the first—that is, in the earth? For is not the earth one of the forms of the eight-fold divinity, i.e. of S'iva?” Ārya Bhaṭṭa, one of the most ancient of Indian scientific astronomers, even maintained that the alternation of day and night is the result of the rotation of the earth on its own axis. His words, as quoted by Mr. Colebrooke (Essays, ii. p. 392), are these: Bha-panjaraṁ strihō bhūr evīryāryeṇa prātīdāvāsikāv udayāyāstamayau sampādayatī nakshatra-grahānām | “The starry firmament is fixed. It is the earth, which, continually revolving, produces the rising and setting of the constellations and planets.”
The first of the preceding verses is quoted by Yāska (Nir. x. 32), and illustrated as follows: Sāvītṛ yantraṁ prthivīṁ aramayat | anāram-bhagye 'ntarikshe Sāvītṛ dyām adṛśihat | avam iva adhukhah ādmun antarikshe megham baddham atūrte baddham atūrne iti vā 'tvaramāne iti vā Sāvītṛ samuditāram iti | kam anyam madhyamād evam avakṣhayat | Ādityo 'pi Sāvītṛ vekhaye. “Savitri by supports has caused the earth to rest; Savitri has fixed the sky in the place which has no basis—the atmosphere. Savitri has milked the cloud fastened in the atmosphere,—the impassable, or the unhastening—(the cloud) sounding as a horse, and that which rises. What other god than the intermediate one (i.e. the deity residing in the atmosphere) would he have thus described? The sun also (whose place is in the sky) is called Savitri.”

Prof. Roth (Illust. of Nir., p. 143) thus translates the verse: “Savitri has fixed the earth with supports, he has fastened the heaven in unsupported space; he has milked the atmosphere shaking itself like a horse, the stream which is confined within limits which cannot be overpassed.” In his Lexicon, however, Prof. Roth gives to dhuni the sense of “sounding” (which is also adopted by Prof. M. Müller, Transl. of R. V. i. 95). He then observes: “According to Yāska the Savitri who is here mentioned must be the intermediate one, on account of his function in causing rain.”

The following passages refer to Agni:

R. V. i. 59, 5.—Divaś chit te bṛihato Jātavedo vaisvānara pra ririche mahitvam | rājā krishṭinām asi mānushināṁ yudhā devebhya varivaś chakartha | “Jātavedas, present with all men, thy greatness surpasses even that of the vast sky. Thou art the king of human creatures; by battle thou hast obtained freedom for the gods” (see R. V. vii. 98, 3, above p. 103). 

R. V. i. 67, 3.—Ajo na kṣaṁ dādahāra prthivīṁūn tathambha dyām mantrebhīṁ satyair ityādi | “Like the moving [sun, or the unborn] he upheld the broad earth; he supported the sky with true texts,” etc.

The next verses celebrate the greatness of Parjanya:

R. V. Īi. 101, 4.—Yasmin visvāṁ bhuvanāṁ tathus tisro dyāvas tredhā sasrur āpah ityādi | 6. Sa retodḥaḥ viṣhabhah ṣaśvatānāṁ tasminn ātmā jagataṁ tastushaścha | (Compare R. V. i. 115, 1.) “He

Comp. R. V. vii. 42, 10:—Yaḥ skambhena vi rodasi ajo na dyām adhārayat |
in whom all the worlds abide, and the three heavens, and [by whom] the waters flowed in three directions, etc. 6. He is the bull that impregnates all [the cows]: in him is the soul of the moving and stationary world” (comp. süryaḥ átmā jāgatas tustushaś cha, R. V. i. 115, 1).

The next passage refers to the god called Gandharva:

R. V. x. 139, 5.—... Divyō Gandharvo rajaso vimānaḥ | “The divine Gandharva, measurer of the world,” etc.

The last set of passages which I shall adduce celebrate the greatness of Soma:

R. V. ix. 61, 16 (=S. V. 1, 484).—Pavamāno ajījanad divās chitraṁ na tanyatum | jyotir vaisvānaram bṛihat | “The purified [Soma] has generated the great light which is common to all mankind, like the wonderful thundering of the sky.”

R. V. ix. 86, 28.—Tvamāṇaḥ prajāḥ divyasya retasas tvam visvasya bhuvanasya rājasī | athēdāṁ visvam pavamāna te vaśe tvam Indo prathamō dhāmādhaḥ asī | 29. Tvam samudro asī visvavit kave tavemāḥ pancha pradiśo vidharmāṇi | tvāṁ dyāṁ ca prithivīṇ chaḥ jāhriše tava jyotiṁshi pavamāna süryaḥ | 30. Tvāṁ pavitro rajaso vidharmāṇi devēbhyaḥ soma pavamāṇa pūyase | tvāṁ Usījaḥ prathamāḥ agrībhnāta tubhyemā viśvā bhuvanāb yemire | “All these creatures spring from thy divine seed; thou art the lord of the whole universe. All this, purified god, is under thy control; thou, Indu, art the first sustainer of the regions. 29. Thou, sage, art an all-containing ocean; all these five quarters of the world are upheld by thee. Thou hast ascended beyond the sky and the earth; thine, O purified god, are the luminaries and the sun. 30. In the filter which is the support of the world, thou, pure Soma, art purified for the gods. The Usījes first gathered thee. To thee all these worlds have bowed.”

R. V. ix. 89, 6.—Vishtambho dīvo dhārunaḥ prithivyāḥ viśvāḥ uta kṣiṭaye haste asya ityādi | “He is the supporter of the sky, the upholder of the earth: all men are in his hand.”

R. V. ix. 96, 5, which has been quoted above (p. 94), should be again referred to here.

R. V. ix. 97, 24.—Pavitrebhiḥ pavamāno nriḥakshāḥ rāja devānām uta marthyānām ityādi,| “[Soma], purified by filters, the beholder of men, is the king of gods and of mortals,” etc.
R. V. ix. 100, 8. — *Pavamāna mahi śravaś chitrebhīr yāśi raśmibhiḥ* 104 | śardhan tarāṇi jighnase viśvāni daśūso grihe | 9. *Tvāṁ dyāṁ cha mahi-vrata prithivīṁ chaṭtī jahhrishe ityādi* | "Thou, pure [Soma], marchest onward to great renown, by thy brilliant rays; daring, thou willest to destroy all darkness in the house of thy worshipper. 9. Thou, achiever of great deeds, hast ascended above heaven and earth," etc.

R. V. ix. 107, 7. — ... *Tvāṁ kavir abhavo deva-vitamaḥ ā sūryaṁ rohayo divi* | "Thou art a sage most pleasing to the gods; thou hast caused the sun to rise in the sky."

R. V. ix. 109, 4 (=S. V. ii. 391). — *Pavasva soma mahān samudraḥ pitā devānāṁ viśvā abhi dhāma* | "Be purified in all abodes, Soma, [who art] a great ocean, the father of the gods," etc.

The preceding texts are amply sufficient to show that Vishṇu is not the only god to whom the highest divine functions are ascribed in the Veda, but that, on the contrary, the same attributes are assigned, and with far greater frequency, to several of the other deities.

The following passage from Professor Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature (p. 532 f.) shows that all the principal Vedic deities are, in their turn, addressed by their worshippers as supreme:

"When these individual gods are invoked, they are not conceived as limited by the power of others as superior or inferior in rank. Each god is to the mind of the suppliants as good as all the gods. He is felt, at the time, as a real divinity, as supreme and absolute, in spite of the necessary limitations which, to our mind, a plurality of gods must entail on every single god. All the rest disappear for a moment from the vision of the poet, and he only who is to fulfil their desires stands in full light before the eyes of the worshippers. 'Among you, O gods, there is none that is small, none that is young: you are all great indeed,' 105 is a sentiment which, though, perhaps, not so distinctly expressed as by Manu Vaivasvata, nevertheless, underlies all the poetry of the Veda. Although the gods are sometimes distinctly invoked as the great and the small, the young and the old (R. V. i. 27, 13), this is only an attempt to find the most comprehensive expression for the divine powers, and nowhere is any of the gods represented as the slave

104 Compare R. V. ix. 4, 1: *Sanā cha Soma jeski cha pavamāna mahi bravaḥ* | and ix. 83, 5: *Jayan śravo bṛihat*

105 R. V. viii. 30, 1, quoted by Müller, p. 531.
of others. It would be easy to find, in the numerous hymns of the Veda, passages in which almost every single god is represented as supreme and absolute. In the first hymn of the Second Maṇḍala, Agni is called the ruler of the universe, the lord of men, the wise king, the father, the brother, the son, and friend of men; nay, all the powers and names of the others are distinctly ascribed to Agni. The hymn belongs, no doubt, to the modern compositions; yet, though Agni is thus highly exalted in it, nothing is said to disparage the divine character of the other gods. Indra is celebrated as the strongest god in the hymns as well as in the Brāhmaṇas, and the burden of one of the songs of the Tenth Book is: Viśvāsmād Indra uttaraḥ | ‘Indra is greater than all.’ Of Soma it is said that he was great, and that he conquers every one. He is called the king of the world, he has the power to prolong the life of men, and in one verse he is called the maker of heaven and earth, of Agni, of Śūrya, of Indra, and of Viṣṇu. If we read the next hymn, which is addressed to Varuṇa (ośvāvōs), we perceive that the god here invoked is, to the mind of the poet, supreme and almighty. Nevertheless, he is one of the gods who is almost always represented in fellowship with another, Mitra; and even in our hymn there is one verse, the sixth, in which Varuṇa and Mitra are invoked in the dual. Yet what more could human language achieve, in trying to express the idea of a divine and supreme power, than what our poet says of Varuṇa: ‘Thou art lord of all, of heaven and earth.’ Or, as is said in another hymn (ii. 27, 10), ‘Thou art the king of all; of those who are gods, and of those who are men,’ etc.

Sect. III.—Viṣṇu as one of the Ādityas.

In the hymns of the Veda the Ādityas, or sons of Aditi, are alluded to as being seven or eight in number; but only six deities, of whom Viṣṇu is not one, are specified by name as belonging to this class.

106 "Tvam viśvāni svanīka patyase | ii. 1, 8.—See Nirukta Pariśishṭa i.
107 ii. 1, 9.
108 x. 86.
109 ix. 59.
110 ix. 96, 10: bhuvanasya rājā.
111 ix. 96, 14.
112 ix. 96, 5.
113 See Böhltingk and Roth’s Lexicon under the word Āditya; Prof. Roth’s dissertation on the Ādityas in his paper “on the principal gods of the Arian nations,” Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. vi., pp. 68 ff.; and the 5th vol. of this work, pp. 54 ff. Śūrya (the Sun) is however called Aditya in R. V. x. 88, 11 (Nir. vii. 29).
The following are the only texts which I consider it necessary to cite on this subject:

R. V. ii. 27, 1 (Nir., xii. 36).—Imāḥ girāḥ Ādityebhyo ghrītasnaḥ sanid rājabhyo juhā juhomi | śrīṇotu Mitro Aryanā Bhago nas tuvijāto Varuno Daksho Aṃśaḥ | “With my tongue I of old offer up these praises, dropping with unctuousness, to the kings, the Ādityas: may Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, the mighty Varuṇa, Daksha, Anśa, hear us.” Yāśka makes tuvijātaḥ to be=bahujātaḥ cha Dhatā, thus understanding it to designate Dhatri, as a seventh Āditya.

R. V. ix. 114, 3.—Sapta diśo nānā-sāryāḥ sapta hotāraḥ ritvijāḥ | devāḥ Ādityāḥ ye sapta tebhiḥ Somābhīrakṣha naḥ | “The seven points of the compass, with their respective suns, the seven hotri priests, and the seven gods, the Ādityas,—with these, O Soma, protect us.”

In another text (R. V. x. 72, 8, 9), which has already been quoted in p. 12 f., it is said that Aditi had eight sons, though she only presented seven of them to the gods, and cast out Martancla, the eighth.

In his explanation of the first text, which I have now quoted (R. V. ii. 27, 1), Śāyaṇa observes of the Ādityas: To cha Taḥtīrīye ‘ashtau prutra Aditer’ ity upakramya spashtam anukrāntah | ‘Mitraśccha Varuṇaśccha Dhatāccha Aryamāccha Aṃśusccha Bhagaśccha Indraśccha Vivasvāṃsc cha etc’ iti | “They (the Ādityas) are distinctly specified in the passage of the Taḥtīrīya, beginning with the words, ‘The eight sons of Aditi,’ as these, Mitra, Varuṇa, Dhātri, Aryaman, Anśu, Bhaga, Indra, and Vivasvat.”

In a passage of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (iii. 1, 3, 3 ff.) quoted above (p. 14, f.), the Ādityas are alluded to as eight in number, in conformity with the text of the R. V. x. 72, 8, 9. In other texts of the same Brāhmaṇa mention is made of twelve Ādityas.

Vishnu, as is remarked by Messrs. Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v., is mentioned along with the Ādityas [of the R. V., and other gods with whom they were afterwards associated] in A. V. xi. 6, 2: Brūmo rājānaṁ Varuṇaṁ Mitranāṁ Vishnun atho Bhagam | Aṃśam Vivavantam brūmas te no munchanti aṃḥasah | 3 | Brūmo devanāṁ Savitaram Dhatāram uta Pusḥaṇam | Tvashṭāram agrīram brūnaḥ | “We invoke King Varuṇa, Mitra, Vishnu, Bhaga, Anśa, Vivasvat. May they free us from calamity. 3. We invoke the God Savitri, Dhātri, Purśan, and Tvashtri the chief,” etc.
The following are two passages of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa in which mention is made of the Ādityas as being twelve in number.

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 2, 8.—Sa manasā eva vācham mithunaṁ samabhavat sa dvādaśa ārapśān garbhī abhavat | te dvādaśa Ādityāḥ asrijyanta tān dikṣu upādadhāt | “With his mind he associated conjugally with Speech. He became pregnant with twelve drops. They were created the twelve Ādityas. Them he placed in the quarters of the horizon.”

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 6, 3, 8 (=Brīh. Ār. Up. iii. 9, 5, p. 646). Katame Ādityāḥ iti | dvādaśa māsāḥ saṁvatsarasya ete Ādityāḥ—ete hi idam sarvam ādadānāḥ yanti | te yad idaṁ sarvam ōdadānāḥ yanti tasmād Ādityāḥ iti | “How many Ādityas are there? There are twelve months of the year. These are the Ādityas. For they go on taking (ādadānāḥ) all this. Since they go on taking all this, they are called Ādityas.”

The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 9, 21, 1, tells a story of the Ādityas: Ādityāḥ cha Angirasāḥ cha suvarga loke 'spardhanta | te 'ngirasaḥ Ādityebhīyo 'mum Ādityāṁ aśvaṁ ścetam bhūtaṁ dakshinām anayan | te 'brvan “yaṁ no 'neshta sa vāryo 'bhūd” iti | tasmād aśvaṁ savarya ity āhvayanti | tasmād yajne varo diyate | yat Prajāpatir ālabdho 'svo 'bhavat tasmād aśvo nāma | yat śvayad-arur āsit tasmād arvā nāma | yat sadyo vājān samajayat tasmād vājī nāma | yat asurāṇāṁ lokān ādatta tasmād Ādityo nāma | “The Ādityas and the Angirases strove in heaven. The Angirases brought that Āditya, who had become a white horse, to the Ādityas as a present. The latter said, ‘He whom you have brought to us has become excellent (varya).’ Hence men call to a horse, o savarya. Hence a boon (vāra) is given at a sacrifice. Inasmuch as Prajāpati when sacrificed became a horse (aśva, which means “pervading,” according to the commentator), he has the name of aśva. Inasmuch as he suffered pain from swelling (so the commentator renders śvayad-aruh, stating that Prajāpati suffered from a swollen eye), he is called arvan. Inasmuch as he conquered riches [or, in races] (vāja), he got the name vājin. Inasmuch as he took (ādatta) from the Asuras their worlds, he is called Āditya.”

The Taitt. Āranyaka, i. 14, 1, also derives Āditya from the root ā+dā: Yo' sau tapann udeti su sarveshāṁ bhūtānāṁ prāṇān ādāya udeti | mā me prajāyāṁ mā paśunāṁ mā mama prāṇān ādāya udagāḥ | asau yo
VARIOUS ETYMOLOGIES OF THE WORD ĀDITYA.

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'etam eti sa sarvēṣhām bhūtānām prānān ādāya āstam eti | mā me prajāyāh mā paśānām mā tvama prānān ādāya āstam gāh | "That [Sun] which rises glowing, rises taking the breath of all creatures. Do not rise [O Sun], taking the breath of my offspring, or of my cattle, or of myself. That [Sun] which sets, sets taking the breath of all creatures. Do not set [O Sun], taking the breath of my offspring, or of my cattle, or of myself."

The Nirukta, ii. 13, gives various etymologies of the word Āditya: Ādityaḥ | kasmād | ādattē rasaṁ | ādattē bhāśaṁ jyotishān | ādipto bhāśā iti vā | Āditeḥ putraḥ iti vā | alpapravagāni tv aṣya etad ārgha-bhyāmnaye | sūkta-bhāk "sūryam āditeyam" Āditeḥ putram | evam anyāsām api devatānām Ādityapravādāhaḥ stutayo bhavanti | tad yatāḥ etad | Mitrasya Varunasya Aryanmo Dakṣāya Bhagasya Aṁsasya iti |

"The Āditya: whence [so called]? He takes up the fluids."114 He takes up the light of the luminaries; he is illuminated (ādiplah) by light; or, he is the son of Aditi. But this [appellation] is seldom applied to him in the text of the Rigveda. Sūrya Āditeyā, Sūrya the son of Aditi, is mentioned in a hymn.115 In the same way there are praises of other deities, addressed to them as Ādityas; as in the case of Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Daksha, Bhaga, Anāsa.”

In the following texts from the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, the Ādityas, though their names are not always uniformly given, are stated or understood to be twelve in number, except in one case where only eleven are specified. Vishuṇa is almost always named as one of them,

114 Sahasra-guṇam uttaraśṭtam ādattē hi rasaṁ raviḥ | “For the sun takes up the fluids [from the] earth, to discharge them again a thousand-fold.”—Raghuvansā, i. 18. In the hymn to the Sun, Mahābh. iii. 166 ff., it is similarly said, v. 179: Tvam ādityāṃsubhis tejo nidāghe sava-dekiniḥ | saraussadhāri-rasaṁ na cha punar varshaśa muncasi | “Having in the hot season taken up by the rays the substance of all embodied beings, and the essence of all plants, thou again dischargest them in the rainy season.” And Manu says: Āṣṭau mūṣān yathā "dītīyā tayāṃ harati raśmibhiḥ | tathā haret karāṁ rāšīṛād nityam arkaṛaṭām hi tat | “As Āditya (the sun) during eight months draws up water by his rays, so let him (a king) extract revenue from his country, for that is his continual solar function.”—Manu, ix. 305.

115 Dr. Aufrecht conjectures that the word sūkta-bhāk should be read asūkta-bhāk “has not a hymn devoted to him”; as he appears to be only mentioned in one verse, R. V. x. 88, 11 (Nir. vii. 29). Durga, however, as quoted by Roth (Illustr. p. 21), says: sūkta-bhāk eva chaśita abhidhānaṁ na havirbhāk | “This appellation has a hymn devoted to it, but no oblation is ordained [to be offered to the god under this name].” By “hymn” Durga may only mean part of a hymn.
and as by the time these works were written, his dignity had become enhanced in general estimation, he is declared to be the greatest of the twelve.

Mahābhārata, i. 2,519, 2,522 ff.—Marīcēh Kaśyapah putraḥ Kaśyapāt tu imaḥ prajāḥ | prajānīre mahābhāgāh Daksha-kanyās trayodaṣa | . . . 2,522. Adityāṁ dvādaśādityāṁ "sambhātāṁ bhuvaneśvarāḥ | ye rājan nāmatas tāṁs te kirtayishyāmi Bhārata | Dhātā Mitro'ryamā Sakro Varuṇas tv Aṁśāḥ eva cha | Bhago Vivasvān Pūṣā cha Savitā daśamas tathā | ekādaśaś tathā Tvāṣṭṛā dvādaśo Vishnu uchyate | jaghanyajas tu sarvēśhām Ādityānāṁ guṇādikāḥ |

"Kaśyapa was the son of Marīchi; and from Kaśyapa these beings were born. There were thirteen eminent daughters of Dākṣa . . . 2,522.

I will recount to thee, by name, king of the race of Bharata, the twelve Ādityas, lords of the world, who were produced from Aditi; 16 Dhātṛi, Mitra, Aryaman, Sakra (Indra), Varuṇa, Anā, Bhaga, Vivavat, Pūshan, and Savitṛi the tenth; the eleventh is Tvāṣṭṛi, and the twelfth is called Viṣṇu, who, though the latest born, surpasses all the Ādityas in his attributes."

Mahābhārata, i. 2,598.—Marīcēh Kaśyapaḥ putraḥ Kaśyapasya Surāsurāḥ | jajnīre nṛpa-sārdula lokānāṁ prabhavas tu saḥ | . . . . 2,600. Dvādaśāvādityaḥ putraḥ Sakra-mukhyāḥ nārādhipa | teshāṁ avarajo Vishnu yatra lokāḥ pratisṭhitāḥ |

"From Kaśyapa, who was the son of Marīchi, were produced, O king, the deities (Suras) and the Asuras; and he was the source from which all beings sprang. . . . 2,600. Aditi had twelve sons, beginning with Sakra. The youngest of them was Viṣṇu, on whom the worlds are supported."

Mahābhārata, xiii. 7,092 f.—Aṁśo Bhagāscha Mitraḥscha Varuṇascha jaleśvāraḥ | tathā Dhātā 'ryamā chaiva Jayanto Bhāskaraḥ tathā | Tvāṣṭṛā Pūṣā tathāvendro dvādaśo Vishnu uchyate | ity ete dvādaśādityāṁ Kaśyapeyāḥ iti śrutīḥ |

"Anā, Bhaga, Mitra, Varuṇa, lord of the waters, Dhātṛi, Aryaman, Jayanta, Bhāskara, Tvāṣṭṛi, Pūshan, Indra, and Viṣṇu, who is called

16 In the hymn to the sun, Mahābh. iii. 166 ff., it is said that that Luminary, dividing himself twelvefold, became the twelve Ādityas (kritvā dvādaśādhi 'tmānaṁ dvādaśādityatāṁ gataḥ).
the twelfth: these are the twelve Ādityas, the sons of Kaśyapa, according to tradition (or the Veda, śruti).”

Mahābhārata, v. 3,501 ff.—Akrṣayaḥ cāvyayaḥ chaiva Brahmā lokā-pitāmaḥ | tathāiva bhagavantau tāu Nāra-Nārāyaṇav riṣhtā | Ādityā-nāṁ hi sarveshāṁ Vishnu ekaḥ sanātanaḥ | ajayayaḥ cāvyayaḥ chaiva sāśvataḥ prabhū śvarāḥ | nimitta-maranaḥs cānye chandra-sūrya-mahi-jalam | Vāyur Agnis tathā ”kāśaṁ grahas tārā-gaṇas tathā | te cha kṣhayānte jagato hitvā lokā-trayaṁ sadā | kṣayaṁ guchhanti vai sarve sṛiṣyante cha punaḥ punaḥ | mukūrta-maranaḥs te anye mānushāḥ mṛiga-pākṣiṇaḥ | “Brahmā, the parent of the world, is undecaying and imperishable; and so too are the venerable Rishis, Nara, and Nārāyaṇa. Vishnu alone of all the Ādityas is eternal, invincible, imperishable, everlasting, potent, the lord. Other beings perish on some occasion, [as at the end of a Kalpa],—117 the moon, the sun, the earth, water,118 air, fire, the ether, the planets, and the stars. At the dissolution of the universe, all these invariably abandon the three worlds, and perish, and are created again and again. Other [creatures], men, beasts, and birds, die after a brief interval (muhurta).”

Vishnupurāṇa, 1, 15, 90 ff. (vol. ii. pp. 26 f. of Dr. Hall’s edition of Wilson’s translation)—Purvamāvatvare śreshṭhāḥ dvādaśaṁ samuṣṭamāḥ | Tushitaṁ nāma te ’nyonyaṁ uchur Vaivasvate ’ntare | upasthite tiyatasaṁ Chakṣhushasyaṁtare Manoḥ | samavayikrītaṁ sarve samāgamyas paraśaram | Āgachhata drutaṁ devaṁ Aditiṁ sampravīṣya vai | Manvantare prasūyamaṁ tan naḥ śreya bhaved iti | evam uktvā tu te sarve Chakṣhushasyaṁtare Manoḥ | Mārīchāt Kaśyapāj jātās te ’dityā Daksha-kanyāya | tatra Vishnuścha Sakraścha jānate punar eva hi | Aryanā chaiva Dhūtātha Trashtā Pūshā tathaiva cha | Viivasvān Savitā chaiva Mitra Varunāḥ eva cha | Aṁso Bhagaḥ cāṭitejāḥ Ādityāḥ dvādaśa smṛitāḥ | Chakṣhushasyaṁtare paurvam āsan ye Tushitaṁ smṛitāḥ | Vaivasvate ’ntare te vai Ādityāḥ dvādaśa smṛitāḥ |

“In the former Manvantara there were twelve eminent and re-

117 I suppose nimitta-maranaḥ is to be understood practically in this sense.—See Wilson’s Vishnu Purāṇa, Di Hall’s ed. i. 113; v. 186, and note. Nārāyaṇa, in his commentary on the Mahābhārata, explains the phrase thus: Nimittam pralayādi-
nimittam maranaṁ naśe yeshāṁ te nimitta-maranaḥ |

118 Water and ether are said in the Rāmāyana to have preceded Brahmā.—See above, p. 33. See also the order of creation described in the Satapatha Brahmaṇa, and in Manu, in section ii., chapter i., above.
nowned deities called Tushitas; who, being assembled together, said to each other in the Chākshusha Manvantara, when the Vaivasvata Manvantara was approaching, 'Come quickly, deities, let us enter into Aditi, and be born in the [next] Manvantara: this will be for our welfare.' Having thus spoken in the Chākshusha Manvantara, they were all born from Kaśyapa, son of Marīchi, and Aditi, daughter of Daksha. In this way Viśnū and Sakra (Indra) were again born, and Aryaman, Dhātṛi, Tvāṣṭṛi, Pūshan, Viivasvat, Savitṛi, Mitra, Varuṇa, Anśa, and the energetic Bhaga: these are known as the twelve Ādityas. Those who formerly in the Chākshusha Manvantara were called the Tushitas, are known as the twelve Ādityas in the Vaivasvata Manvantara.'

The same story is repeated in very nearly the same words in the Harivānsa, verses 171 ff.

The following is another passage from the Harivānsa, verses 11,548 ff.: Ādityāṁ jajnire rājann Ādityāḥ Kaśyapād atha | Indro Viśnur Bhagas Tvāṣṭṛā Varuno 'ṁso ṛyaṁā Raviḥ | Pūskā Mitraśeha varado Manuḥ Parjanyāḥ eca cha | ity e te dvādaśādityāḥ varishṭhāṁ tridivaukṣaṁ | "From Kaśyapa and Aditi were born the Ādityas, Indra, Viśnū, Bhaga, Tvāṣṭṛi, Varuṇa, Anśa, Aryaman, Ravi (the Sun), Pūshan, Mitra, the bestower of boons, Manu, and Parjanya,—these are the twelve Ādityas, most eminent celestials."

In the same work, verses 12,456 f., we read: Aryama Varuno Mitraḥ Pūṣkā Dhātā Purandaraḥ | Tvāṣṭṛā Bhago 'ṁsaḥ Savitā Parjanyāshehi visrutāḥ | Ādityāṁ jajnire devaḥ Kaśyapāl loka-bhāvanāḥ | "The gods, creators of the worlds, known as Aryaman, Varuṇa, Mitra, Pūshan, Dhātṛi, Purandara (Indra), Tvāṣṭṛi, Bhaga, Anśa, Savitṛi, and Parjanya, were sprung from Kaśyapa and Aditi."

Only eleven names occur in this list: that of Viśnū is omitted.

The next is another legend on the same subject from the same work. Here quite a different origin is assigned to the Ādityas, who are said to have sprung from the face of Viivasvat or Māṛṭaṇḍa, the Sun.

Harivānsa, 589 ff.—Tato nirbhāsitāṁ rūpaṁ tejasā samhatena vai | kāntāt kāntātaraṁ drashtum adhikāṁ suśuḥhe taddā | mukhe nirvartitaṁ rūpaṁ tasya devasya gopateḥ | tataḥ-prabhṛiti devasya mukham āsīt tu lohitam | mukha-rōgantu yat pūrvam Māṛṭaṇḍasya mukha-chyutan | Ādityāḥ dvādaśaiveha sambhutaṁ mukha-sambhavāḥ | Dhātā 'ṛyaṁā cha
Mitraścha Varuṇo 'ṁśo Bhagaś tathā' | Indro Vivāsvān Pūśā cha
Parjanyo daśamas tathā | tatas Tvashṭā tato Vishnur ajaghaṇyo jaghaṇyaḥ | harshaṁ lebhe tato devo dṛiṣṭeva "dityān sva-deha-jān | “Then his appearance, illuminated with concentrated lustre, shone forth more brilliantly, fairer than the fairest to behold. This appearance was produced in the face of that god, the lord of rays. Henceforward the face of the god was red: From the previous colour of the face which fell from the countenance of Mārtanda were produced twelve face-born Ādityas: Dhātri, Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa, Anśu, Bhāga, Indra, Vivasvat, Pūshan, Parjanya the tenth, then Tvashṭri, then Vishṇu not the least, though the last born. The god then rejoiced, beholding the Ādityas, sprung from his own body.”

This story is not only in opposition to the ordinary account of the Ādityas being sons of Aditi, but it contradicts itself. Vivasvat is one of the Ādityas, who is produced from Vivasvat; and Tvashṭri was already existing, and playing a part in the former part of the legend. (See Langlois’s note 7, p. 50 of his French version of the Harivansha.) The Vishṇu Purāṇa tells the same story about Vivasvat, but says nothing of the birth of the Ādityas. (See Wilson’s translation, Dr. Hall’s ed., iii. 20 f.)

Bhāgavata Purāṇa, vi. 6, 24 f.—Srīṇu nāmāṁ lokānāṁ mātrīṇāṁ saṁkarāṇi cha | atha Kaśyapa-patnīnaṁ yat-prasūtam idaṁ jagat | Adityaḥ Ditir ityādi | . . . . 36 f. Athātaḥ srūyatāṁ vaṁso yo 'diter anupūrvaśaḥ | yatra Nārāyaṇo devo svāṁśena vātard vibhuḥ | Vivāsvān Aryaṁ Pūṣā Tvashṭā 'tha Savitā Bhagaḥ | Dhātaī Viḍhātaī Varuṇo Mitraḥ Sakraḥ Urukramāḥ |

“Hear now the auspicious names of the wives of Kaśyapa, the mothers of the worlds, from whom this universe was produced; Aditi, Diti, etc. . . . 36 f. Hear now, in order, the race of Aditi, in which the all-pervading god, Nārāyaṇa, descended in a part of himself,—Vivasvat, Aryaman, Pūshan, Tvashṭri, Savitri, Bhaga, Dhātri, Viḍhātri, Varuṇa, Mitra, Sakra, Urukrama (the wide-strider=Vishṇu).”

SECT. IV.—Stories regarding Vishṇu from the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa,
the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, the Panchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, the Rāmāyaṇa,
the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas.

The following story from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (in which Vishṇu is represented as a dwarf, and as having, under the form of
sacrifice, conquered the whole earth), with others of the same tenor, contains the germ of the story of the Dwarf Incarnation:

Satapatha Brahmana, i. 2, 5, 1 ff.—Deväscha vai Asuräscha ubhaye prajápatyāḥ paspridhre | tato devāḥ anuvyam āva āśuh | atha ha Asurāḥ menire ‘asmākam eva idām khalu bhuvanam’ iti | 2. Te ha uāhur ‘hanta imām prithivim vibhājamahai tām vibhajya upaṇēvāma’ iti | tām aukṣhaṇiṣ charmaḥ Maḥiḥ paścāt prāṇccho vibhajamānāḥ abhiyuh | 3. Tad vai devāḥ śuṣruruv "vibhajante ha vai imām Asurāḥ prithivim preta tad esyāmo yatra imām Asurāḥ vibhajante | ke tataḥ syāma yad asyai na bhajemahi’ iti | te yajnam eva Viṣṇuṃ puraskṛitya iyuḥ | 4. Te ha uāhur “ānu no ‘syām prithivyāṃ abhajata astv eva no ’py asyāṃ bhāgaḥ’ iti | te ‘surāḥ asāyantaḥ iti uāhur ‘yāvad eva esha Viṣṇuḥ abhiśete tāvad vo dad-mah’ iti | 5. Vāmano ha Viṣṇuḥ āsa | tad devāḥ na jihādīre ‘mahād vai no ‘dūr ye no yajna-samhitām adūr’ iti | 6. Te prāṇcchāṃ Viṣṇuṃ nipādyā chhandobhir abhiṣaḥ paryāgrīghan “gāyatrena tāv chhandasā parigrīhāmi” iti dakṣīṇatas | “traishṭubhena tāv chhandasā parigrīhāmi” iti paścāt | “jāgatenā tāv chhandasā parigrīhāmi” iti uttaratah | 7. Taṃ chhandobhir abhiṣaḥ parigrīkha agnim purastāt samādhāya tena archantaḥ śrāmyantaḥ cheruḥ | tena imām sarvām prithivīv āmavindanta | tad yad enena imām sarvāṃ samavindanta tasmād vedir nāma | tasmād āhur ‘yāvati vediś tāvati prithiv’ iti | etayā hi imām sarvāṃ samavindanta | evaṃ ha vai imām sarvāṃ sarpatnām saṃvṛṇkite nirbhajata asyai sarpatnām yaḥ evam etad veda | 8. So ‘yām Viṣṇuṃ glānaḥ chhandobhir itaḥ prārāhito ’gniḥ purastād na apakramanām āsa | sa tataḥ eva oshadhinām mūlāny upa mumlocha | 9. Te ha devāḥ uāhur “Ita tu Viṣṇuḥ abhūt kva nu yajna ’bhūḍ’ iti | te ha uāhur ‘chhandobhir itaḥ parigrīhito ’gniḥ purastād na apakramanām asty atra eva anvichhata” iti taṃ khantaḥ ita eva anvishus taṃ tryaṅgule ’nvavindām tasmāt tryaṅgulā vedih syat | tad u ha api Pānchis tryaṅgulām eva saumyasya adhvarasya vedīn chakre | 10. Tad u tathā na kuryād ityādi |

“The gods and Asuras, who were both sprung from Prajāpati, strove together. Then the gods were, as it were, worsted, and the Asuras thought, ‘This world is now certainly ours;’ 2. Then they spake, ‘Come, let us divide this earth, and having divided it, let us subsist thereon.’ They accordingly went on dividing it with ox-hides from west to east. 3. The gods heard of it, [and] said, ‘The Asuras are dividing this earth; come, we shall go to the spot where they are
VISHNU GAINED THE WHOLE EARTH FROM THE ASURAS. 123

dividing it. Who shall we become (i.e. what shall become of us), if we do not share in it?' Placing at their head Vishnu, the sacrifice, they proceeded [thither], 4. and said, 'Put us with yourselves in possession of this earth; let us also have a share in it.' The Asuras, grudging as it were, answered, 'We give you as much as this Vishnu can lie upon.' 5. Now, Vishnu was a dwarf. The gods did not reject that offer; [but said among themselves], 'They have given us much, [these Asuras], who have given us what is co-extensive with sacrifice.' 6. Then having placed Vishnu to the east, they surrounded him with metres; [saying], on the south side, ‘I surround thee with the Gāyatrī metre;’ on the west, ‘I surround thee with the Trishtubh metre;’ on the north, ‘I surround thee’ with the Jagatī metre.’ 7. Having thus surrounded him with metres, they placed Agni (fire) on the east, and thus they went on worshipping and toiling. By this means they acquired the whole of this earth; and since by this means they acquired (samavindanta) it all, therefore [the place of sacrifice] is called vedi (from the root vid, ‘to acquire’). Hence men say, ‘as great as is the altar, so great is the earth;’ for by it (the altar) they acquired the whole of this [earth]. Thus he who so understands this, appropriates all this [earth] from rivals, dispossesses from it rivals. 8. Then this Vishnu, being wearied, surrounded by metres, with Agni to the east, did not advance; but then hid himself among the roots of plants. 9. The gods then exclaimed, ‘What has become of Vishnu? what has become of the sacrifice?’ They said, ‘Surrounded by metres, with Agni to the east, he does not advance; search for him here.’ So digging, as it were, they searched for, and found him at a depth of three fingers; therefore let the altar [have a trench] three fingers deep; therefore, also, Pāṇchī made an altar of this description for the soma sacrifice. 10. But let no one do so,” etc.

The next story from the same work relates how Vishnu became pre-eminent among the gods, and how he lost his head. Here also he is identified with sacrifice:

119 Compare with this story the similar one quoted above in the note on R. V. vi. 69, 8 (p. 84 f.) from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, 6, 15.

120 Pāṇchī soma-yāgaṣyapi vediḥ tryangula-khātām eva mene | “Pāṇchī thought that the altar for the soma sacrifice also should have a trench three fingers deep.” (Commentary.) Pāṇchī is again mentioned in the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 1, 4, 27 (p. 143), along with Āsuri and Mādhuki, where the commentator speaks of them as three munis (Āsuri-prabhṛtayasya tryo āmunayāḥ). See Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 192, 434.
Sapatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 1, 1, 1 ff.—Devāḥ ha vai satraṁ nishedur Agnir Indraḥ Somo Mahākāla Vishnur viśve-devāḥ anyatra eva Aśvibhyām | 2. Teshāṃ Kurukshetraṁ devayajanam āsa | tasmād āhuḥ “Kuru-

kshetraṁ devānāṁ devayajanam” | iti | tasmād yatra kva cha Kurukshet-

rasya nigachhati tad eva manyute “idaṁ devayajanam” iti tad hi devā-

nāṁ devayajanam | 3. Te āsata | “śriyāṁ gachhexā yaśaḥ syāma

annādāḥ syāma” iti | tatho eva ime satram āsate “śriyāṁ gachhexa yaśaḥ syāma annādāḥ syāma” iti | 4. Te ha úcchār “yo naḥ śramena tapasa śrāddhaya yajnena āhutibhir yajnasya udricham pūrvo ‘vagachhāt sa naḥ sreshṭho ‘sat tad u naḥ sarvēṣṭaṁ saha” iti “tathā” iti | 5. Tad Vishnuḥ prathamāḥ prāpa | sa devānām sreshṭho ‘bhavat tasmād āhur “Vishnur devānām sreshṭḥuḥ” iti | 6. Sa yaḥ sa Vishnur yajnav sa | sa yaḥ sa yajno ‘sa sa Adityaḥ | tad ha ādīm yaśo Vishnur na śāsaka saṁyantum | tad idam āpy etarhi na eva sarvaḥ iva yaśaḥ śaknoti saṁyantum | 7. Sa tisri-dhanvaṁ112 aḍayā apachakraṇā | sa dhanur-

ārtaḥ śraṅga upastabhya tathau | taṁ devāḥ anabhidhriṣṇavantaḥ | samantam parinivaśīnta | 8. Tāḥ ha samryaḥ ācuḥ | imāḥ vai 

vamryo yad upadikāḥ | “yo ‘syā yāṃ apyadyāt kim asmai prayachheta” iti “annādāya asmai prayachhema api dhanvaṁ apo dhiyagchet tathā asmai sarvaṁ annādāya prayachhema” iti | 9. Tasya upaparasāritya 

jyām apiyākshus tasyāṁ chhinmāyaṁ dhanur-ārtaṁ vishphurantya 

Vishnoḥ śraṅga prachichhidatūḥ | 10. Taṁ ghrīṇā iti papata | tat 

patīva ‘sāv Ādityaḥ ‘bhavat | atha itaraḥ prāṇa eva prāvṛṣyata | tad | yad ghrīṇā ity apataḥ tasmād ghamah | atha yat prāvṛṣyata tasmād pravargyāḥ | 11. Taṁ devāḥ abīcan | “mahān vata no viro ‘pādi” iti 

tasmād mahāviraḥ | tasya yo rūsa vyaksharat tam pāṇibhiḥ samamārjus 

tasmāt samrāṭ | 12. Taṁ devāḥ abhiṣaṛṣyanta122 yathā vittīṁ veyam-

ānaḥ evam | tam Indraḥ prathamāḥ prāpa | tam uvanam anuvapad-

yata | tam paryagriḥtam tam parigrihyā idāṁ yaśo ‘bhavad yad idam 

Indro yaśaḥ | yaśo ha bhavati ya evam veda | 13. Sa u eva makhāḥ sa 

Vishnuḥ | tataḥ Indro makhavān abhavad | makhavān ha vai tam 

Maghavān ity āchakṣate parokṣam parokṣa-kāmāḥ hi devaḥ | 14.

112 This word occurs also in S'atap. Br. xi. 1, 5, 10; in Taitt. S. i. 8, 19, 1, and 

Taitt. Br. ii. 7, 9, 2, in all which places it is explained by the Comm. tisrībhīr iṣubhīr yuktāṁ (or sahātāṁ) dhanva (or dhruvah).

122 This, according to Böhtlingk and Roth, is the correct reading, in place of abhiṣaṛṣyanta, given in Weber's edition. See a parallel passage, S'atap. Br. iv. 

1, 3, 5.
EMINENT OF THE GODS AND LOSING HIS HEAD.

Täbhya vanribhyo 'mnädyam präyaevhan, | āpo vai sarvam annaṃ tābhir
hi idam abhiknâyam iva adanti | yad idam kiṃvadanti | 15. Atha
imaṅ Vishnuñ yajnān tredhā vyabhajanta | . . . . tena apasirshnā
yajnena devā archantaḥ śrāmyantaś cheruk |

"The gods, Agni, Indra, Somā, Vishnu, Makha, and all the [other]
deities, excepting the Aśvins, were present at a sacrifice. 2. Kuruk-
shetra was the place of their divine worship. Hence, men say that
Kurukshetra is the country where the gods sacrifice. Consequently, to
whatever part of Kurukshetra a man goes, he looks upon it as a place
for divine worship, since it was, the spot where the gods worshipped.
3. They were [there]. They said, 'May we attain prosperity, become
famous, and eat food.' And in the very same way these [men] attend
a sacrifice [saying], 'May we attain prosperity, become famous, and
eat food.' 4. Then [the gods] said, 'Whoever among us, through
toil, austerity, faith, sacrifice, and oblations, first comprehends the
issue of the sacrifice, let him be the most eminent of us: this [shall be]
common to us all.' [To this they consented, saying], 'Be it so.' 5.
Vishnu first attained that [proposed object]. He became the most
eminent of the gods: wherefore men say, 'Vishnu is the most eminent
of the gods.' 6. He who is this Vishnu is sacrifice; he who [is] this
sacrifice is the Āditya. Vishnu could not control [his love of] this fame.123
And the same is the case now, that every one cannot control [his love of]
fame. 7. Taking his bow and three arrows, he departed. He stood,
resting his head on the end of his [bended] bow. Being unable to over-
come him, the gods sat down all around him. 8. Then the ants said to
them (now the ants were the same as upadikās—another name for ants),
'What will you give to him who gnaws the bowstring?' [The gods re-
plied], 'We will give him the enjoyment of food, and he shall find waters
even in the desert; so shall we give him every enjoyment of food.' 9.
[The ants, then], approaching, gnawed his bowstring. When that was
cut, the ends of the bow, starting asunder, cut off the head of Vishnu.
10. It fell, making a sound (ghṛṇā). That having fallen, became that
Āditya. Then the rest of him became extended towards the east.
Since the head fell with the sound of ghṛṇa, hence gharma, ['the

123 It seems as if there were a play of words here, the word yaśah, "fame," having
reference to the words sa yaḥ sa Vishnuḥ, etc., sa yaḥ sa yañah, etc. "He who [is]
this Vishnu," etc. "He who [is] this sacrifice," etc.
sacrificial kettle,' received its ṛāmṛć]; and since he became extended, (prāvṛījyala), the pravargya [received its appellation]. 11. The gods then said, 'A great hero (mahān vīraḥ) of ours has fallen.' Hence arose the name of mahāvīra (a sacrificial vessel). 124 They wiped (samamrījuḥ) with their hands the fluid (blood) which flowed from him. Hence arose the name of samṛāt. 12. The gods rushed towards him (Vishṇu), as men about to obtain property do. Indra first reached him. He came into contact with him limb by limb. He embraced him. Having embraced him, he became this fame, which Indra is. He who so knows this becomes fame. 13. That Vishṇu was indeed Makha. 125 Hence Indra became Makhavat (the possessor or associate of Makha). He is Makhavat: they call him Maghavat esoterically; for the gods love what is esoteric. 14. They (the gods) gave food to those ants. All food is water; for with water men, as it were, moisten the food which they eat: as the common saying is. 15. Then they divided into three portions this Vishṇu, the sacrifice. . . . . With that headless sacrifice (see above), the gods went on worshipping and toiling.'

I am indebted to Professor Weber for the next two passages; the first from the Taittiriya Āranyaka, 126 and the second from the Pancha-

124 A long account is given of the gharma, pravargya, and mahāvīra in Katyāyana's S'rāuta Sūtras, xxvi.

125 In regard to this word I quote the explanation of Böhtlingk and Roth, s. v. 2 c: 'This is the name of a malign mythical being, as is to be conjectured from the following passages, R. V. x. 171, 2: tvam Makhasya dodhataḥ śiro ava tvacho bharah] ('Thou hast smitten off the head, the skin, of the furious Makha'); ix. 101, 13, apa śvānam arūḍhasaṁ hata Makhāṁ vo Bhṛigavah | ('Drive away the niggardly dog, as the Bhṛigus did Makha'). Herewith is to be conjected the mention made of Makha's head in sacrificial formulae, Vaij. Śāhitya, 37, 3: devi dvāvā-prīthivī Makhasya vīṁ adya śiro rūḍhyāsaṁ devayajane prīthivyāḥ | . . . . 4. Devyo vamro bhūtasya prathanayāḥ makhasya vo 'dyā śiro rūḍhyāsaṁ devayajane prīthivyāḥ | ('O divine heaven and earth, may I rightly prepare for you to-day the head of Makha, on the part of the earth where the gods sacrificed. . . . . 4. O divine ants, firstborn of created things, may I rightly prepare for you the head of Makha on the part of the earth where the gods sacrificed'); ibid. 11, 57; Taitt, S. i. 1, 8, 1; iii. 2, 4, 1, namo 'gnaye Makhāghane | Makhasya mā yāśo 'ryūd ity āhavaniyam upatiṣṭhate | yajno vai makhāḥ ('Adoration to Agni, the slayer of Makha. May the fame of Makha come to me. So (saying), he stands by the āhavaniya-fiire. Makha is sacrifice'),' etc.

126 This part of the Tāţita. Ār. has now been printed in the Bibliotheca Indica, pp. 590 ff. The commentary on it will be found in pp. 371 ff.
VISHNU MONOPOLIZED GLORY AND LOST HIS HEAD. 127

viṣṇa Brāhmaṇa, which both relate the same story which has just been given from the Satapathā Brāhmaṇa.

TaittiriyaĀraṇyaka, v. i. 1–7.—1. Devāh vai satram āsata riddhī-parimitau yaśaskāmāḥ | te bruwan “yan naḥ prathamaṁ yaśaḥ rīchhāt sarveśhāṁ naḥ tat saha asad” iti | teshāṁ kuruśhetrauṃ vedir āsit | tasyai Khāṇḍavo dakṣiṇārdhāḥ āsit Tūrghnam uttarārdhāḥ Parināj jaghanārdho Maravāḥ utkaraḥ | 2. Teshāṁ Mahāṁ Vaisrṇavāṁ yaśaḥ ārīchhāt | tad nyakāmayata | tena apākṛmat | taṁ devāḥ anvāyan yaśo ’varurutsamānāḥ | tasya anvāgatasya savyād dhanur ajāyata dakṣiṇād īshavaḥ | tasmād iṣuḥdhanvaṁ puṇya-janma yajna-janma hi | 3. Tam ekaṁ santam bahavo na abhyadhrīśhuṇwan | tasmād ekaṁ iṣuḥdhanvaṁ127 viṇam bahavo ’nisuḥdhanvāḥ na abhidhrīśhuṇvanti | so ’smayata “ekam mā santam bahavo na abhyadhrīśhuṇ” iti | tasya śiṣiṁīyāṇasya tejo ’pākṛmat | tad devāḥ oshadhiśhu nyamṛjūḥ | te śyāmikāḥ abhavan | smayākāḥ vai nāma ete | 4. Tat smayākānāṁ smayākatauṃ | tasmād dikṣhitena apigrihyā smetavyauṁ tejasa dhrītyai | sa dhanuḥ pratiśkaḥbhya atīśhitat | taḥ upadikāḥ abruvan | “varaṁ vṛīṇāmāhāi” atha vah imaṁ randhayāma | yatra kva cha khanāma tad āpo ’bhitriṇādāma” iti | tasmād upadikāḥ yatra kva cha khananti tad āpo ’bhitriṇānti | 5. Vārevītaṁ bh āśām | tasya jyām apyādan | tasya dhanur vipravāmaṁāṁ śiṛah udavarta yat | tad dyāvopṛithivī anuprāvartata | yat prāvartata tat pravargyaṣya pravargyatvam | yad ghrāḥ ity apatat tad ghrāmasya ghrāmatvam | mahato vīram apaptat iti tad mahāvīrasya mahāvīratvam | 6. Yat asyāḥ samabharaṁs tat samrājaḥ samṛūṭvam | tam strītaṁ devatās tṝ̺dhā vyagriṁḥata | Agniḥ prəṭaḥsavanam Indro mādyandāṁ savanom Viṣvedevās tṝ̺ṭiya-savanam | tena apasīṛṣṇā yajnena yajamānāḥ na āśisho ’vārundhata na swargāṁ lokam abhyajayan | te devāḥ Āśvināv abruvan | 7. “Bhishajau vai sthāḥ | idāṁ yajnasya śiṛah pratiḥdattam” iti | tāvä abrūtaṁ “varaṁ vṛīṇāvalai grahaḥ eva nāv atṛāpi grīhyatām” iti | tābhhyāṁ etam āśvinam agrīhyam | tāv etad yajnasya śiṛah pratyadhrittāṁ yat pravargyaḥ | tena saśīrṣṇā yajnena yajamānāḥ ava āśisho’vṛundhata | abhi swargāṁ lokam ajayan | yat pravargyam praviṁakti yajnasya eva tach chhiraḥ pratiḥadhōti | tena saśīrṣṇā yajnena yajamānō ’va āśisho rundhe ’bhi swargāṁ lokōṁ jayati | tasmād eśku āśvina-pravargyāḥ īva yat pravargyaḥ |

127 The Bibl. Ind. reads iṣuḥdhanvaṁ.
"The gods, desirous of glory, were attending a sacrifice complete in every respect. They said, 'Whatever glory first comes to us, that shall be common to us all.' Kurukshetra was their altar. Khāṇḍava was its southern, Tūrgna its northern, and Parīnah its hinder section. The Marus were the earth dug from it. 2. Glory came to Makha Vaishyava among their number. This glory he eagerly desired; with it he departed. The gods followed him, seeking to obtain [this] glory. From the left [hand] of him while thus followed, a bow was produced, and from his right hand arrows. Hence a bow and arrows have a holy origin, for they are sprung from sacrifice. 3. Though many, they could not overcome him, though he was only one. Therefore many men without bows and arrows cannot overcome one hero who has a bow and arrows. He smiled, 'Though they are many, they have not overcome me who am only one.' Strength departed from him as he continued to smile. This the gods put upon the plants. They became śyāmāka grain. For they are smilers (smayākāḥ). 4. Hence this grain derives its name. Wherefore a person who has been consecrated should smile with [his mouth] shut, that he may retain his strength. He stood leaning on his bow. The ants said [to the gods], 'Let us choose a boon; and after that we shall subject him to you. Wherever we dig, let us open up water.' Hence wherever ants dig, they open up water. 5. For this was the boon which they chose. They knewed his (Vishṇu's) bowstring. His bow, starting asunder, hurled his head upwards. It travelled through heaven and earth. From its so travelling (prāvatata), the pravargya derives its name. From its falling with the sound of ghrama, gharma obtained its name. Strength (vīrya) fell from the mighty one (mahataḥ): hence the mahāvīra got its name. 6. As they gathered it (samabharaṇa) from this [earth], a samrāt obtains his appellation. The gods divided him when prostrate, into three parts; Agni [took] the morning oblation; Indra the midday oblation, and the Viśvedevaś the third oblation. Sacrificing with this headless sacrifice, they (the gods), neither obtained blessings, nor conquered heaven. 7. The gods said to the Aśvins, 'Ye two are physicians, replace this head of the sacrifice.' They said, 'Let us ask a boon, let our graha (libation of Soma) be offered here also.' [The gods, accordingly] recognized this Aśvina [libation] for them. [The Aśvins] replaced this head of the sacrifice, which is
the pravargya. Sacrificing with this sacrifice with a head, they obtained blessings, they conquered heaven. When one offers the pravargya, then he replaces the head of the sacrifice. Sacrificing with this sacrifice with a head, a man obtains blessings, and conquers heaven. Hence this pravargya is principally efficacious through texts addressed to the Aśvins.

The Panchavimśā and Aitareya Brāhmaṇas on Vishnu.

Desirous of glory, the gods, Agni, Indra, Vāyu and Makha, were attending a sacrifice. They said, 'Whatever glory comes to us, that shall be common to us.' Glory came to Makha among their number. Taking it, he departed. The others wished to take their share in it. They surrounded him. He stood leaning on his bow. The end of his bow, springing upwards, cut off his head. He became the pravargya. Makha is sacrifice. When men offer the pravargya, they replace the head of Makha.'

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa has these two passages relating to Vishnu, 1, 1: Ågnir vai devānam avamo | Vishnuh paramas | tadantarena sarvāḥ anyāḥ devataḥ. "Agni is the lowest, Vishnu the highest, among the gods; between them both are placed all the other deities." In his Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 390, note, Prof. Müller remarks that "this passage proves nothing as to the relative dignity of Agni and Vishnu."

Again, 1, 30, on quoting R. V. 1, 156, 4, the Aitareya says: Vishnu vai devānam dvārapah sa eva asmai etad dvāram vivrinoti. "Vishnu is the door-keeper of the gods; he opens for him this door." The Taitt. Br. iii. 1, 5, 7, has the following: Vishnu vai akāmayaṇa purāṇam šlokāṃ śrīṆeti na mā pāpi kirtīya agachhet. "Vishnu desired, 'May I hear a holy verse; may no ill renown reach me.'" The Taitt. S. iii, 4, 5, 1, says: Rudrāḥ paśūnām Tevasṭa ṣūpānām Vishnuḥ parvata-

123 Compare the close of the story about the Aśvins quoted from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, iv, 1, 5, 1 ff., in the fifth volume of this work, pp. 250 ff.
nām Marutō gaṇanām adhipatayah. "Rudra is the lord of beasts, Tvashṭri of forms, Vishṇu of mountains, the Maruts of hosts."

The following passage from the Rāmāyaṇa gives the legend of the Dwarf incarnation in its later form:

"Rāmāyaṇa (Schlegel's ed.), i. 31, 2 ff.—2. Iha Rāma mahābūho Vishṇu deva-namaskṛitaḥ | tapaṣ-charaṇa-yogārtham uvāsa sa mahātapaḥ|
3. Eska pūrvāśramo Rāma vāmanasya mahātmanāḥ | eiddhāśramaḥ iti khyataḥ siddhya yatra mahātapaḥ | 4 Abhibhāya cha devendram purā Vairochanir Balīk | trailokya-rājyaṃ bubhūbe balotse-madānvitaḥ | 5. Tato Balau tadā yajñaṃ yajamāne bhayārdītaḥ | Indrādayaṃ suraganāḥ Vishṇuṃ uchur ihaśrame | 6. "Balīr Vairochanir Vishṇo yajate 'sau mahābalaḥ | kāma-daḥ sarva-bhūtanāṃ mahārddhir asurādhipaḥ | 7. Ye chaināṃ abhivartante yācitaṇāṃ itastataḥ | yachhe yaṭra yathāvachche sarvāṃ tebhīyaḥ prayachchhati | 8. Sa tvāṃ sura-hitārthāya māyā-yogam upāśritaḥ | vāmanatvaṃ gato Vishṇo kuru kalyāṇaṃ uttamaṃ" | 9.129 [Etasminn antare Rāma Kaśyapo 'gni-sama-prabhaḥ | Adityā sahitō Rāma dipyamāṇaḥ īvavijāsā | 10. Devi-sahāyo bhagavān divya-varsha-sahasrakam | vratāṃ samāpya vara-daṃ tuṣṭāvā Madhusūdanam | 11. "Tapomayaṃ tapo-rūśīṃ tapo-mūrtiṁ tapo-dhanam | tapasā tvāṃ su-taptena paśyāmi purushottamaṃ | 12. S'arīre lāva paśyāmi jagat sarvaṃ idam prabhō | tvam anādīr anirdeśyas tvāṃ ahaṃ saraṇaṃ gataḥ" | 13. Tam uvācha Hariḥ prītaḥ Kaśyapāṃ dhūta-kalmasam | vāṃ varāya bhadraṃ te varūro 'si nato mama | 14. Tach ohrutva vachanaṃ tasya Māricchā Kaśyapo 'braćit | "putratvaṃ gachchha bhagavam Adityāḥ mama chānagha | 15. Bhṛtā bhava yavīyām tvāṃ S'akrasyāvara-sūdana | 16. Atha Vishṇur mahātejāḥ Adityāṁ samajāyata | chhartā bhikshuka-rūpeṇa kamaṇḍalu-sikhojjvalaḥ | 17. Evam uktah surūr Vishṇu vāmanāṃ rūpam āsthitaḥ | Vairochanin upāgamyān trīn yācitaṇāṃ kramaṃ | 129 The following verses 9–16 seem to be rightly inclosed in brackets by Schlegel, as interpolated. A comparison of verse 8 with verse 17 shows that the latter must originally have followed immediately after the former. It will be seen, however, that in verse 19 of the text of the Bombay edition, as quoted further on, the words at the beginning of verse 17 of Schlegel's edition: Evam uktah'surair Vishṇuḥ ("Vishṇu being thus addressed by the deities"), are omitted, and the appearance of interpolation is avoided. Compare the versions of the story given below from the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, where the dwarf is said to have been the son of Kaśyapa and Aditi. This is also the percentage of Vishṇu as one of the twelve Adityas.—See above, pp. 118 ff.
HOW COULD BALI, THE GODS’ ENEMY, SACRIFICE TO THEM? 131

18. Labdhvā cha trīṇ kramāṇa Viṣṇuḥ, kṛtvā rūpam athādbhutam |
tribhīḥ kramais tāda lokaṁ ājñāhāra tri-vikramah | 19. Ekena hi pada
kṛtsnāṁ prithivīṁ so 'dhyaṭiṣṭhata | dviṣṭenāvyayaṁ vyoma dyāṁ
tṛitiyena Rāghava | 20. Taṁ chāsuraṁ Bāliṁ kṛtvā pātala-tala-
vāsinam | trialokya-rājyam Indrāyā dādāv uddhṛitya kanṭakam |

The readings of this passage, as given in the Bombay edition 130 i.
29, 2 ff., differ occasionally from those of Schlegel’s. I subjoin them
here: 2. Iha Rāma mahābāho Viṣṇur deva-namakṛitaḥ | varṣhāṇi
subahūṁhā tāthā yuga-ṣatāṁ cha | 3 | tapaś-charana-yogārtham uvāṣa
sumahātapāḥ | [verses 3b and 4a correspond,—with only the difference
of hy atra for atra,—with verse 3 of Schlegel’s edition] 4b | etasminn
eva kāle tu rājā Vairochanir Bāliḥ | 5 | nirjītya daivata-ganāṁ sendrān
sahā-marud-ganāṁ | kārayāmāsa tad-rājyaṁ trishu lokeshu viśrutah | 6 |
yajñau cha kākaḥ 131 sumahān asureṇḍro mahākālaḥ | Bales tu yajamāṇasya
devaḥ sāgni-purogamāḥ | samāyanya svayaṁ chaiva Viṣṇum uchur
ihāśrane | 7 | “Balir Vairochanir Vīṣṇo yaje yajnam uttamam |

130 See Prof. Weber’s account of this edition in the Journal of the German Oriental

131 In his note on this passage, the commentator discusses the question how Bāli
could sacrifice to the gods, since he was at enmity with Indra and the rest of them:
Naṁ “asurasya Baler deva-deviḥō yogādyanupapattir yuga-tarpāṇīya-devatābhāavād
Indrādīnāṁ tad-devahyateḥ | naka śabda-mātraṁ devataḥ iti yuktam artha-vāda-
prāmnāyena devatāyāṁ vigrāhavatvasya uttara-mimāṁsāyāṁ siddhāntatvāvad” iti
chet na | karna-deva-ajñāna-deva bhedena devānaṁ devaśvitaḥ | tatra ye karmanā
devatvaṁ prāptas te karma-devāḥ | ajñāna-devās tu yajna-mantrārtha-bhūtaṁ mantreṇa
nyāta-sambhādaḥ karma-devabhāvyāḥ-prāchnāṁ eva | tat-karma-devānāṁ devahyate
’py ajñāna-devānāṁ yajne tarpayate na doshaḥ | vighna-kārtāro ‘py atra karma-devāḥ eva
yajñadyayadhirābẖavo ’py ajñāna-devānāṁ eva svav-yāṣṭavya-devatāntarābhāvāt
karma-devānāṁ tv astya eva | atah eva Indrādīnāṁ yajñādi-bhravānaṁ na anupannam |

“But is there not an absurdity in the idea of sacrifice, etc., being celebrated by
Bali, the enemy of the gods; from there being no deities who could be gratified by it,
since Indra and the rest of them were the objects of his hostility? And it is not
correct to say that a god is a mere name, for in the Uttara Mīmāṁsa the corporeality
of the deities is established on the authority of the Arthāvadas (illustrative passages
of the Vedas). [See the passage of Sankara’s Commentary on the Bhāma or Vedānta
Sūtras, i. 3, 28, quoted in the third vol. of this work, pp. 99 ff., especially p. 102 at
the foot.] If this objection be urged, then I reply, that the case is not so; for the
gods are of two kinds, work-gods, and those who are gods from their birth. (See the
fifth vol. of this work, p. 17, f. note 26, and the S’atap.Br. xiv. 7, 1, 34 f.) Of these
two kinds, the gods who have become such by works of merit are ‘work-gods.’ But
it is those who are gods from their birth that are the objects of the sacrificial formulas,
and eternally connected with those formulas; and they are more ancient than the
‘work-gods.’ Even if the ‘work-gods’ be objects of hostility, no exception can be
taken to the supposition that the gods by birth may be gratified by sacrifice. And in
VISHNU’S DWARF INCARNATION

132


I subjoin the text of the same passage according to Signor Gorresio’s edition:

Rāmaṇaḥ (Gorresio’s ed.), i. 32, 2 ff.—Esha purvāsrāmo Rāma væmānasya mahātmānaḥ | Siddhāsrāmaḥ iti khyātaḥ Siddho yatna mahāyasāḥ | 3. Vishṇur væmāna-rūpena tapyaṃano mahat tapaḥ | trailokyarūjye ‘pakrite Balinendrasya Rāghava | [verses 4, 5, 6 correspond word for word with those of Schlegel’s edition] 7. Taṁ tvāṁ væmāna-rūpena gatvā bhikṣhitum arhasi | vikramāṁs trīṇ mahābāho dātā hi niyataṁ sa te | 8. Bhikṣito vikramān etāṁs trīṇ virya-bala-darpitāḥ | paribhūya jaganātathāṁ tubhyāṁ væmāna-rūpine | 9. Ye hy enam abhiyāchante lipsa-mānāḥ svam īpsitam | tān kāmār īpitaṁ sarvān yojaṭy aturesvāraḥ | 10. Sa tvāṁ trailokyā-rūjyaṅ no hṛitam bhūyo jagat-pute | dātum arhasi nirjīlya vikramair bhūribhīs tribhīḥ | 11. Ayam siddhāsrāmo nāma siddha-karma bhavishyati | tasmin karmāṇi saṁsiddhe tava satya-pākrama | [Gorresio’s edition does not contain any verses corresponding to those marked by Schlegel as spurious, viz. lines 9–16 of his edition.] 12. Evam uktāḥ surair Vishṇur væmānaṅ rūpāṁ āsthitāḥ | Vairochanim upāgamya trīṇ ayāchata vikramān | [The remaining verses are word for word the same as in Schlegel’s recension.] the case before us it is the ‘work-gods’ who are the disturbers of the sacrifice. Further, it is the gods by birth who are incapable of performing sacrifice, because there are no other deities to whom they could offer it. | [See the first vol. of this work, p. 365, note 163] Whereas the ‘work-gods’ can perform sacrifice. Wherefore the tradition that Indra and the rest performed sacrifice is not absurd.” It is strange for readers of the Vedic hymns to be told that Indra is not an object of worship by sacrifice.
The following is a translation of the passage according to Schlegel's edition:

Visvāmitra speaks: "2. In this place, O large-armed Rāma, Viṣṇu, the great ascetic, reverenced by the gods, dwelt for the purpose of practising austerity, and contemplation. 3. This, Rāma, was the former hermitage of the magnanimous dwarf, renowned as the 'Hermitage of the Perfect,' where the great ascetic was perfected. 4. Formerly, Bali, the son of Virochana, after conquering the chief of the gods (Indra), enjoyed the empire of the three worlds, intoxicated with the increase of his power. 5. When Bali was then celebrating a sacrifice, Indra and other gods, disturbed with apprehension, addressed Viṣṇu in this her age. 6. 'That mighty Bali, son of Virochana, O Viṣṇu, is now peric from ing sacrifice,—he who grants the desires of all creatures, the prosed lord of the Asuras. 7. Whatever suppliants wait upon him from every quarter, he bestows on them in a proper manner all whatever, of any sort of thing, [they wish]. 8. Do thou, O Viṣṇu, assuming a magical state for the benefit of the deities, take the shape of a dwarf, and bring about our highest welfare.' [9. At this period, O Rāma, the divine Kaśyapa, luminous as fire, glowing, as it were, with splendour, attended by the goddess Aditi, (10) having completed an act of austerity which had lasted for a thousand years of the gods, celebrated [thus] the praises of the boon-bestowing Madhusūdana: 11. 'Through intense austerity I behold thee, the supreme Spirit, whose essence is austerity, who art a congeries of austerity, the impersonation of austerity, who art rich in austerity. 12. In thy body, lord, I behold this whole universe; thou art unbeginning and ineffable; to thee I have resorted as my refuge.' 13. Then Hari, gratified, spake to Kaśyapa, whose taint of sin had been purged away: 'Ask a boon; may good attend thee; thou art regarded by me as deserving a boon.' 14. Hearing these words of his, Kaśyapa, son of Marīchi, replied: 'Sinless lord, become the son of Aditi and myself. 15. Slayer of the Asuras, become the younger brother of Sakra (Indra). Thou oughtest to succour the gods who are oppressed with grief.' 16. Viṣṇu, of mighty energy, was accordingly born of Aditi, shaded by an umbrella, in the form of a mendicant, resplendent with a drinking gourd, and a lock of hair on the crown of his head.] 17. Thus addressed by the deities, Viṣṇu took the form of a dwarf, and approaching the son of Virochana,
begged three of his own paces. 18. Having obtained three paces, the thrice-stepping Vishnu assumed a miraculous form, and with three paces took possession of the worlds. For with one step he occupied the whole earth, with a second the eternal atmosphere, and with a third the sky, O Rāghava. Having then assigned to the Asura Bali an abode in Pātāla (the infernal region), he gave the empire of the three worlds to Indra, after removing his enemy.”

I subjoin a translation of those parts of the Bombay text which are different from Schlegel’s:

2. “In this place, O great-armed Rāma, Vishnu, the great ascetic, chakrereed by the gods, dwelt very many years and hundreds of yugas, for the purpose of practising austerity and contemplation. [Verses 42 and 4a are almost identical with the reading of the other edition.]

But at this very period the renowned King Bali, son of Virochana, having conquered the hosts of the deities, including Indra and the Maruts, ruled in their stead over the three worlds. 6. This very great and potent lord of the Asuras celebrated a sacrifice. While he was doing so, the gods, headed by Agni, assembled, and addressed Vishnu in this hermitage. 7. ‘Bali, the son of Virochana, O Vishnu, is celebrating a grand sacrifice. Let his rite remain incomplete; and let our object be attained. [Verses 8-15a correspond very nearly with 7-14a of the other edition.] 15b-16b. O boon-bestowing, holy, deity, be well pleased, and bestow the boon which Aditi, the gods, and I solicit. [Verses 16b and 17 agree with 14b and 15 of the other ed.] 18a. This by thy favour shall be called Siddhāśrama (the hermitage where the work was accomplished). The work being accomplished, depart hence, O king of the gods.” 19. Then the glorious Vishnu was born of Aditi. Assuming the form of a dwarf, he approached the son of Virochana. 20. Then having begged for three paces of ground, and having occupied the earth, he, desiring the worlds, devoted to the good of all creatures, having stalked over the worlds, (21) restored them to Mahendra (great Indra), having overcome Bali by his might. This glorious being made the three worlds again subject to Sakra (Indra).” (See note 129 above.)

I add a translation of those parts of Gorresio’s text which differ from Schlegel’s:

2. This, Rāma, is the former hermitage of the magnanimous dwarf,
called the 'Hermitage of the Perfect,' where the illustrious Vishnu was perfected, (3) when performing a great act of austerity in the form of a dwarf, [at the time] when the empire of the three worlds had been taken away from Indra by Bali. [Verses 4–6 correspond word for word with those of Schlegel's edition.] 7. 'Now thou shouldst go in the form of a dwarf, and beg three paces, O large-armed. 8. For, proud of his valour and strength, after his victory over the lord of the world (Indra), he, when supplicated, will certainly give these three paces to thee [appearing] in the form of a dwarf. 9. For that lord of the Asuras fulfils the desires of all those persons who supplicate him for their accomplishment. 10. Thou, lord of the world, oughtest to give us back the empire of the three worlds which has been taken away from us, after thou hast conquered it by three vast strides. 11. This which is called Siddhasrama (the hermitage where the work was fulfilled), shall be [a place] where this work is fulfilled, when this work has been accomplished by thee, O possessor of real might.' Thus addressed by the deities, Vishnu assumed the form of a dwarf, and approaching the son of Virochana, begged for three paces.' (The rest corresponds with Schlegel's edition, except, as above stated, in the omission of verses 9–16 there given.)

The following are two brief notices of the dwarf incarnation from the Mahabharata:

Mahabharata, Santiparva, vv. 12943 ff. — Virochanasya balavan Bалиḥ putro mahāswaḥ | abadhyah sarva-lokānām sa-devaśura-rakshaśām | bhavishyati sa S'akranche sva-rājyād chārayishyati (=chārayishyati ?) | trailokyas prakrite tena vimukhe cha S'achipatau | Adityaṁ dvidaśādityāḥ sambhavishyāmi Kaśyapāt | tato rājyam pradāsyāmi S'akrayāmit-t-ejase! devataḥ sthāpayishyāmi sveshu sthāneshu Nārada | Balinchaiva karishyāmi pātāla-tala-rūsinam | Dānavanche Balim śreshṭham abadhyam sarva-daivataiḥ |

After referring to his Boar, and Man-lion incarnations, Vishnu says to Nārada: "The great Asura Bali, the strong son of Virochana, shall be indestructible by all beings, including gods, Asuras, and Rakshasas. He shall oust Sākra (Indra) from his kingdom. When the three worlds have been taken by Bali, and the lord of Sachi (Indra) has been put to flight, I shall be born in the form of the twelve Ādityas, the

131* The participle siddha means both "perfect" and "accomplished."
son of Kaśyapa and Aditi. I will then restore his empire to Sakra of boundless energy; will reinstate the gods in their several positions; will place Bali in Pātāla, the eminent Dānava Bali, indestructible by all the gods.”

Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, vv. 484 ff.—**Aditer api putratvam etya Yādava-nandana | tvāṁ Vishnuḥ iti vikhyātaḥ Indrād uvārajo vibhūḥ | śiśur bhūteśa divāṁ khanche prithivîṛchha parantapa | tribhir vibramanyāḥ Kṛishṇa krāntavān asi tejasa | samprāpya divam ākāśam āditya-sadane sthitāḥ | utyārohaśeṣaḥ bhūtātmam bhāskaraṁ svena tejasa | prādurbhāva-sahasresha tesu tesu tvayā vibho | adharma-ruchayāḥ Kṛishṇa nihatāḥ śataśo' surāḥ** | “And thou, Kṛishṇa, of the Yādava race, having become the son of Aditi, and being called Vishnu, the younger brother of Indra, the all-pervading, becoming a child, O vexer of thy foes, hast by thy energy traversed the sky, the atmosphere, and the earth, in three strides. Having attained to the sky and the ether, and occupied the abode of the Ādityas, thou, O soul of all beings, hast overpassed the sun by thine own lustre. In these thousands of thy manifestations, O all-pervading Kṛishṇa, thou hast slain hundreds of Asuras who delighted in iniquity.”

The next passage is a short notice of the same incarnation from the Vishnu Purāṇa:

Vish. Pur. iii. 1 (p. 265 of Wilson’s translation; vol. iii., p. 18, of Dr. Hall’s ed.).—**Manvantare tu samprāpte tathā Vaivasvate dvija | vāmanāḥ Kaśyapād Vishnuḥ Ādityāṁ śambhūraḥ ha | Tribhir kramair imān lokān jītvā yena mahātmāna | Purandarāya trailokyāṁ dattaṁ nihata-kāntakam | “So when the Vaivasvata manvantara had arrived, Vishnu was born as a dwarf, the son of Aditi and Kaśyapa. By this great being, after he had conquered these worlds by three paces, the three worlds were given to Purandara (Indra), his enemy being destroyed.”

The story of Vishnu’s incarnation as a dwarf is told in a greatly developed form in the fifteenth and following sections of the eighth Book of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. As the whole narrative is too long to be quoted here in extenso, I shall give an abstract of the contents of these sections, translating in full some of those portions which appear the most important. The story commences thus:

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The king asks: “Why did Hari, the lord of creatures, ask, like a poor man, three paces of land from Bali? and why, when he had obtained his object, did he bind him? 2. This we desire to know; and we have a great curiosity; — and also why an innocent being was bound by the perfect lord of sacrifice?” The sage Suka replies (verses 3 ff.) that after Bali had been deprived of life by Indra, he was restored by the Brahmans of the race of Bhrigu, who consecrated him for supreme dominion, and celebrated for him a Visvajit sacrifice, which had the virtue of enabling him to conquer all his enemies. He then sets out (verse 11), attended by a host of Daityas, to attack the capital of Indra, which is described with all its splendours and attractions. When Bali had invested the city (verse 23), Indra inquires of his spiritual preceptor how it is that his enemy has acquired this tremendous power, which appears altogether irresistible.


“I know, Mahāhavān, the cause of the exaltation of this your enemy to be the might imparted to their pupil by the Bṛhigus, the declerers of the Veda. 29. No one such as you, not even you yourself, [nor any one] excepting only Hari the lord, is able to stand before him, as men [are unable to confront] death. 30. Wherefore do ye all, abandoning heaven, disappear, expecting [the operation of] time, from which [shall come] the overthrow of your enemy. 31. He now reaps the fruits of Brahmanical power, and thus his prowess has become augmented. Through contempt of these same Brahmans, he shall perish with all his dependents.”

33 The word nilaya, however, may also mean “abode,” in which case the sense will be “abandoning heaven, your abode, depart,” etc.
(The prophecy here uttered in regard to the fall of Bali as a result of his disregard of the Brahmans will hereafter be found to be fulfilled. See below, sect. 20, vv. 14 ff., p. 145.)

Following the advice of their preceptor, Indra and the other gods abandoned heaven, and Bali took possession of the celestial capital, when the Bhūgus celebrated for him a hundred asvāraedhas (or horse-sacrifices).

The sixteenth section opens with an account of the distress of Aditi, the mother of the gods, at the discomfiture of her sons by the Daityas. She receives a visit from her husband the Prajāpati Kaśyapa, who makes various conjectures about the cause of her apparent unhappiness, of which (verse 15 f.) he receives an explanation. He then replies:


18. "Being thus entreated by Aditi, Kaśyapa (Kaśyapa) answers her, as it were smiling, 'O, the power of Viṣṇu’s illusion! this world is bound by affection. 19. Where is this elemental body, which is not soul? and where is soul, which is superior to matter? (i.e. how great is the superiority of soul to the body!) Who are the husband, or the sons, or other relatives, of any person? (i.e. there are no such things

134 For an explanation of this word see above, p. 15, note 43. Here it stands for Kaśyapa.

135 Compare for this idiom the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 2: Kva sūrya-prabhavo vamśāḥ kva chālpā-vishayā matiḥ | "Where is the race descended from the Sun, and where is my mind of which the (proper) objects are so small?" i.e. the disproportion between the two things is great.

136 This sentiment appears to be here intended as orthodox: but similar observations, when made in the Rāmāyaṇa (Schlegel’s and Bombay editions), ii. 108, 3 f., are spoken of as dharma-peta, which the scholiast in the Bombay edition interprets as dharma-mārga-viddhāṁ lokāyatika-mātāvalambanam, i.e., "opposed to righteousness, and derived from the tenets of the Lokāyatikas." The words there are: kaḥ kasya puruṣo bandhuḥ kim āpyaṁ kasya kenachit | eko hi jāyate jantu eva eva vinaśyati | 4 | tasmād mātā pitaḥ cheti āṁsa sajñeta yo naraḥ | uṁmatāḥ iva sa jneyo nāsti kaścid hi kasyachit | 3. "What person is the relation of any (other) what affinity has any one with another? For a creature is born alone, and perishes alone. 4. Whosoever,
as real relations); delusion alone creates them. 20. Betake thyself to Purusha, the divine Janārdana, who dwells in the heart of all creatures, Vasudeva, the preceptor of the world. 21. Hari, who compassionates the afflicted, will fulfil thy desires: devotion to the lord, and that alone, is never fruitless; such is my judgment."

Aditi then asks how she is to worship Vishṇu in such a way as to obtain her desire, and receives from Kaśyapa an account (extending to the end of the section) of the milk ceremonial (payo-vrata) which she is to perform.

She accordingly celebrates the prescribed rite (sect. 17 ff.), when Hari, the primeval Purusha, appears to her in yellow vesture, with four arms, bearing his shell, discus, and club. She implores his succour, and receives an assurance that he has been gratified by her service, which shall not remain unfruitful. He goes on to say:


"'Worshipped by thee with the milk ceremonial for the deliverance of thy offspring, and lauded according to my attributes, I shall, with a portion of myself, become thy son, and deliver thy children, presiding over the austerity of Mārīca (Kaśyapa). 19. Wait, virtuous female, upon thy husband, the sinless Prajāpati, meditating on me, who in therefore, is attached to any person, (thinking 'this is my') father or mother,' is mad. No one is anything to any other.' The word āpyām in verse 3, which I have rendered by "affinity," according to the Vedic sense of the term, is explained by the commentator as =prāpyām, "to be obtained." The clause, according to him, would thus mean: "What is to be obtained by any one person from any other?" The word may here, however, perhaps have the Vedic sense, although it is unusual; if not elsewhere unknown, in modern Sanskrit. Gorresio's edition, ii. 116, 12, has kāryaṁ instead of āpyaṁ, thus making the meaning to be, "What has any one person to do with any other?"
this form abide within him. '20. This must not in any way be disclosed by thee to any one, even though thou art asked. The secrets of the gods, O goddess, issue in good [only] when they are kept concealed.' 21. When the deity had said so much, he disappeared on the spot. Aditi, having obtained the [boon], so hard to obtain, that Hari, the lord, should be born of her, waited on her husband with the greatest devotion, like one who had obtained her object. 22. Kaśyapa with certain intuition understood by the power of contemplation that a portion of Hari had entered into him. 23. With contemplative mind, he impregnated Aditi with the generative fluid which he had accumulated by long austerity, as the wind forces fire into wood.'

We have already seen 'that Vishṇu, in his character as one of the Ādityas, also, was the son of Kaśyapa and Aditi (see above, p. 118 ff.). The connexion with the old legend is therefore preserved here, as well as in the story given in the Bombay edition of the Rāmāyāṇa, above, pp. 132 and 134.

The eighteenth section relates how Hari was born of Aditi, to the great delight of all creatures, and how he then took the form of a dwarf:

(Sect. 18, v. 12).—Yat tad vapur bhāti-vibhāśanāyudhāir avyaktachid vyaktam adhārayad Hariḥ | babhūva tenaiva sa vāmāno baṭuḥ sam-paśyator divya-gatir yathā naṭuḥ | "With that body which Hari, the invisible spirit, had assumed, and which was manifested by splendour, by its ornaments, and by weapons,—with that same body, he, whose ways are supernatural, became, while [his parents] were looking on, a dwarfish Brahmanical student, as an actor [changes his character]."

He afterwards went to attend the aśvamedha sacrifices celebrated for Bali by the Bhrigus on the banks of the river Narmadā.137 Bali welcomes the young Brahman dwarf with respect, offers him a seat, and washes his feet. The narrative then proceeds:

(Sect. 18, v. 28 ff.).—Tat-pāda-sauchaṁ jana-kalmashāpahaṁ sa dharma-vid mūrdhny adhāt sumangalam | yad deva-devo Girīśaḥ chandra-maulir dadhāra mūrdhṇā parayā cha bhaktyaḥ | 29. Balir uvācha | svāgataṁ te namas ṛṭhibhuvr brahman kiṁ karavāma te | brahmashrīnāṁ tapaḥ sākshād manye tv ārya vapur-dharam | . . . . 32. Yad yad baṭo vānchhasi tat pratichha me tvām arthinam vipra-sūtānātyaṁ | gāṁ

137 It is to be noticed that the scene of this sacrifice is on earth, though Bali, as we were told above, had taken possession of Indra's heaven.
kāṁchanaṁ guṇavad dhāma mṛishtaṁ tathā 'nu-peyam uta vā viprakanyāṁ | grāmān samṛiddhāṁs'turāgaṁ gajān vā rathāṁs tathā 'rhattama sampratīcchha | 28. "Acquainted with duty, he placed upon his head the auspicious water with which the Brahman’s feet had been washed, which removes the sins of men, and which Giriśa (Siva), the god of gods, who wears the moon for a frontal ornament, bore on his head, with supreme devotion. 29. Bali said: ‘Welcome to thee, reverence to thee, Brahman, what can we do for thee? honourable man, I regard thee as the visible, impersonated austerity of Brahman-sages. . . .

32. Ask of me, student, whatever thou desirest; son of a Brahman, I conclude that thou art a suppliant; ask, most venerable youth, a cow, pure gold, an embellished house, food and drink, or a Brahman’s daughter, flourishing villages, horses, or elephants, and carriages.’"

In section nineteenth the dwarf answers Bali in a speech complimentary to himself and his ancestors, and craftily, with a hypocritical pretence of moderation not very creditable to a god, ends with the seemingly modest demand of three paces of ground:

(Sect. 19, v. 16 ff.)—


27. Tasmāt triṇī padāṇy eva vrinte tvad varadarashabhāṁ | etāvataiva siddho 'ham viitāṁ yācāt prayaṇam | 28. Sūkha uvācha | ity uktāḥ sa hasanā āha vānchhitam pratigrihyatām | vāmanāya mahīṁ dātuṁ jagrāha jala-bhājanam |

"Wherefore I ask from thee, the chief of the bountiful, a small portion of ground, three paces, lord of the Daityas, measured by my step. 17. I desire nothing more from thee, the generous lord of the world. A wise man incurs no sin when he asks [only] as much as he needs.
18. Bali answered: 'Thy words, son of a Brahman, are such as beseech
an old man. Thou art a youth, with the mind of a stripling, and like
one ignorant regarding his own interest. 19. He is not wise who, having
by words reverenced me, the sole lord of the worlds, asks me, the bestower
of continents, for three paces of ground. 20. It is not fit that a man
should come to me and make repeated requests: wherefore freely ask me
for ground sufficient for thy subsistence.' 21. The deity replied: 'All
the desirable objects in the three worlds cannot, O king, satisfy the man
whose senses are unsubdued. 22. He who is not contented with three
paces of ground will not be satiated even with a continent, and its nine
divisions (varshas), since he will desire the gift of the seven con-
tinents.138 . . . . 27. Wherefore I desire from thee, who art the chief
of the bountiful, only three paces of ground. With so much as suffices
for my maintenance I am complete.' 28. Being thus addressed, Bali
said, smiling, 'take what thou desirest;' and with the view of giving
the land to the dwarf, he took a vessel of water.'

Ušanas,139 however, Bali's priest and preceptor, recognizing Vishnu
in the dwarf, and knowing the god's designs, here interposes, and
warns the monarch against granting the ground solicited:

(Sect. 19, v. 29 ff.)—Vishnave kshmām pradāsyantam Uśanā asure-
śvaram | jānanē chikirśitaṁ Vishnoḥ śishyam prāha vidāṁ varah | 30.
Sukrāchāryaḥ uēcha | Esha Vairochane sākshād bhagavān Vishnur
avyayāḥ| Kaśyapād Aditer jāto devānāṁ kārya-sādhakah | 31. Pratiśrutaṁ
tvayaitasmai yad anartham ajānatā | na sādhu manyo daityānāṁ mahāṁ
upagato nāyaḥ | 32. Esha te sthānam aśivarāṁ śrīyāṁ tejo yaśaḥ
śrutam | dāsyaty āchhidya Śakrāya māyā-māṇavako Hariḥ | 33. Tribhiḥ
kramair imān lokān visca-kāyaḥ kramishyati | sarvasvāṁ Vishnave dattvā
mūdha vartīshyase katham | 34. Kramato gāṁ padaikena dvitiyena
divaṁ vibhoḥ | kham cha kāyena mahatā tārtiṣyasya kuto gatiḥ | 35. Nish-
thām te nareke manyo hy apradātuh pratiśrutam | pratiśrutasya yo
niśāḥ pratipādayitum bhavān | 36. Na tad dānam praśānsanti yena
vrittir vipadyate | dānāṁ yajnas tapāḥ karma loke vrittimato yataḥ | 37.
Dharmāya yaśase ‘rthaṁ kāmāya svajanāya cha | panchadhā vibhajan
vittam ihāmutra cha modeṣe | 38. Atrāpi bahvrichair gitaṁ śrīnu me

138 See the first volume of this work, pp. 489 ff. for an account of these continents
and varshas.
139 See the second volume of this work, p. 386, note 65.
COMPLYING WITH THE DWARF'S REQUEST.

'sura-sattama | satyam om iti yat proktaj yan nety ahunritaḥ hi tat 
39. Satyam pushpa-phalaṁ vidyād ātma-vrikshasya jivataḥ | vrikshe 
jivatai tan na syād anritaṁ mūlam ātmanāḥ | 40. Tad yathā vrikṣaḥ 
unmūlaḥ sushyaty udvartate 'chirāt | evaṁ nashtānritaḥ sadyāḥ ātma 
sushyed na saṁśayāḥ | 41. Parāgriktam aparṇāṁ vai akṣharaṁ yat 
tad "om" iti | yat kincid "om" iti bruyāt tena rīchyeta vai pumān |
42. Bhikhave sarvam om kurvan nūlaṁ kāmena chātmane | athaitat 
purāṇam abhyātmaṁ yach cha nety anritaṁ vachoḥ | 43. Sarvāṁ nety 
anritaṁ bruyāt sa duskhīrthī śvasan nrītaḥ | strīṣhu narma-vivāhe cha 
viṛty-arthe prāṇa-sankaṭe | go-bṛghunārthe hiṁsāyāṁ nānritaṁ syāj 
jugupṣitaṁ |

29. "Uśanas, chief of the wise, knowing Viṣṇu's intention, thus 
addresses his pupil, the chief of the Asuras, who was about to give the 
earth to that deity: 30. 'This, O son of Virochana, is manifestly the 
divine, undecaying Viṣṇu himself, born of Kaśyapa and Aditi, [to be] the fulfills 
of the purposes of the gods. 31. That ill-advised 
promise which thou, unwittingly, hast made to him, is not, I con-
sider, to the advantage of the Daityas;—a great error has been com-
mitted. 32. This illusory dwarf, having bereft thee of thy place, 
dominion, prosperity, splendour, renown, and sacred knowledge, will 
give them to Sakra. 33. He whose body is the universe, will traverse 
these worlds in three strides; fool, where shalt thou abide, when thou 
hast given all thy possessions to Viṣṇu? 34. Where shall there be 
room for the third pace of the all-pervading being when he has 
traversed the earth with one pace, the sky with a second, and 
[occupied] the heaven with his vast body? 35. I think that thy 
abode shall be in hell, when thou art unable to give all that thou hast 
promised, since thou shalt not be master (so as to bestow it) of what 
you hast engaged to give. 36. Men do not approve that gift by 
which [the donor's] livelihood is ruined: for [it is understood] in the 
world that gifts, sacrifices, austerities, ceremonies, are only performed 
by those who have the means. 37. The man who divides his pro-
erty into five parts destined severally for purposes of religion, renown, 
personal interest, pleasure and family support, is happy in this world 
as well as in the next. 38. Hear from me, most excellent of the

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The drift of verses 38 ff., which are founded upon a passage of the Veda quoted 
by the commentator, is thus explained by him: Nanu tarhi pratiśrutya “na” iti
Asuras, what has been sung on this subject by teachers of the Rigveda: to say "yes" is to be true; to say "no" is to be false. 39. Know that truth is celebrated as the flower and fruit of that tree, one’s self, while it is alive; but this cannot be the case unless the tree lives; [therefore, when it tends to our preservation], falsehood is the root of one’s self. 40.

The words of the passage here referred to, from a Bahvriiha-Sruti (Rigveda Brāhmaṇa or Upanishad, which is unknown to me), as quoted by the commentator in his notes on verses 40, 41, and 42 of this passage, are as follows: "Om" iti satyaṁ "na" ity anṛitaṁ | tad etat pushpam phalam vācchō yañ satyaṁ | sa ha īśvaro yāsasvi kalyclā-phālir bhavītā | pushpaṁ hi phalaṁ vācchō satyaṁ vadati | atha etad mulaṁ vāccha yañ anṛitaṁ | tad yathā vrikkhaṁ āvīrmaṁ śushyati sa udvartate evam anṛitaṁ vadānā āvīrmaṁ ātmānaṁ karoti sa śushyati sa udvartate | tasmād anṛitaṁ na vaded dayeta te enena | [anena tv anṛitena "dayeta" sankāteṣu ātmānanāṁ rakṣed iti śruti-arthaḥ | [Comm.] parāg vai etad riktam akṣharam yañ etad "om" iti | tad yat kineha "om" ity āha atra eva asmai tad richeyate | sa ya satyaṁ "om" ity kuryād richeyād ātmānaṁ sa kāmebhyo nālāṁ syat | Atha etat pūrṇam abhyatmaṁ yañ "na" iti | sa ya satyaṁ "na" ity brūyat pāpikaṁ "śryāt" kīryaṁ jayeta | sā ēnma tatra eva hanyat | Tasmāt kāle eva dadyat kāle na dadyat tāt satyāṇīte mithunākarotā | "Yes" (om) is true, 'no' is false. Truth is the flower, and the fruit, of speech. He shall be lord, famous, of excellent renown: for he utters truth, the flower, and the fruit, of speech. Again, falsehood is the root of speech. Just as a tree, the root of which is exposed, dries up, and falls, so a man, uttering a falsehood, exposes his own roots, dries up, and falls. Wherefore let no man utter falsehood, but let him protect himself by it.” [Such is the sense assigned to dayeta te enena by the commentator, who adds “in straits.”] “This word, ‘yes,’ denotes removal and emptiness. Therefore by every ‘yes’ which is uttered, emptiness is occasioned. The man who says always ‘yes’ will empty himself, and not have sufficient for his wishes. Again, the word ‘no’ denotes fulness in one’s own interest. He who says always ‘no’ will acquire an evil reputation, which will straightway destroy him. Wherefore he combines truth and falsehood by [the rule] let a man give and withhold at the proper times.”
Wherefore, as a tree, when uprooted, dries up and falls, so too we ourselves, if we abandon falsehood, shall undoubtedly become dried up. 41. The word "yes" denotes removal, evacuation, and emptiness; whenever, then, any person says "yes," he will be emptied out. 42. By continually saying "yes" to anapplicant, a man does not retain enough to satisfy his own desires; whilst a false "no" [preserves our] full [property] for ourselves. 43. The man whose every "no" is false, is infamous, and dead even while he breathes. But falsehood is not blamable when addressed to women, or in jest, or in reference to a marriage, or for subsistence, or when life is in danger, or on behalf of cows and Brahmans, or when one is exposed to violence.''

Bali, however, refuses (sect. 20, vv. 2 ff.) to break his promise, whatever consequences to himself may result. He is thereupon cursed by his preceptor for his disobedience:

(sect. 20, vv. 14 ff.)—Evam aśraddhitam śishyam anādeśa-karaṁ guruḥ | śāśāpa daiva-prahitaḥ satyasandham manasvinam | 15. "Dridham pandita-mañī ajnah stābho'sy asmad-upakshayā | māch-ghauṣanātīgo yas tvam achirād bhraṣyase śriyāḥ" | 16. Evam saptah svā-guruṇā satyād na chalito mahān | vāmanāya dādāv enām architvodaka-pūrvekam | 17. Vindhyāvalis tadā"gatya patnī jālaka-mālini | 18. Yajamānāḥ svayaṁ tasya śrimat-pāda-yugam mudā | avanijyāvahad mūrdhni tad-apo viśva-pāvanih | 14. "The preceptor, impelled by fate, cursed his disciple, thus devoid of faith and disobedient, yet wise and true to his promise; [saying], 15. 'Though thou regardest thyself as extremely learned, thou art ignorant and stubborn in thy contempt of us: but thou who transgressest my commandment, shalt soon fall from thy prosperous state.' 16. Though thus cursed by his preceptor, this great [monarch], who would not depart from truth, gave this [earth] to the dwarf, after making an obeisance and pouring water [on his hand]. 17. Then his wife Vindhyāvali, wearing a necklace of pearls, approaching, brought a golden vessel filled with water for ablution. 18. Next the offerer of the sacrifice, after himself washing with delight the blessed feet [of the Brahman], bore upon his head the world-purifying water which had been so employed.''

This magnanimous act of Bali is applauded by the celestials, and

141 Jālakaṁ muktiḥbharanaviśeṣāḥ | Comm.
142 Avanejanīnāṁ apāṁ | Comm.

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rewarded by them with a shower of flowers, and by strains of music. Immediately, however, the body of the dwarf begins to expand:

(Sect. 20, v. 21.)—Tad vāmamānāṃ rūpam āvardhatāddhutaṃ Harer anantaśya guṇa-trayātmakam | bhūḥ khaṃ dīśo dyauro vīvarāḥ payodhayās tīryan-,nri-,devāḥ rishayo yad āsata | “That dwarfish body of the infinite Hari, consisting of the three qualities, increased miraculously, [that body] in which were comprehended the earth, the air, the points of the compass, the sky, the abysses, the oceans, brutes, men, gods and rishis.”

A further account of this vast body, of the effect which the appearance of it produced on the Asuras, and other beings, is given in verses 22–32; and at length the strides of the deity are thus described:

(Sect. 20, v. 33.)—Kośhitim padaikena Baler vichakrame nabhāḥ śarīrenā diśaśca bāhubhiḥ | padaṁ dvitiyaṃ kramataś trivishṭapān na vai trilīyāya tādiyam aye api | dvukramasyāṅghrir upary upary upary atha maharjanābhyaṁ tapasaḥ paraṁ gataḥ | “He traversed the earth of Bali with one pace; and [occupied] the air with his body and the points of the compass with his arms. His second pace, as he strode, [filled] the heaven; and not even the minutest fraction of it remained for a third pace. The foot of the wide-striding deity rose upwards and upwards, and then reached beyond the Mahar-, Jana-, and Tapo-lokas.”

The gods assemble (sect. 21) to do homage to Hari on his victory, which they celebrate with great rejoicing, and which is proclaimed by the king of the bears:


victory, the occasion of great festivity; with sound of kettledrums, in all the regions. 9. Beholding the whole earth taken from their master when consecrated for sacrifice, by an artful request for three paces of ground, the Asuras, greatly incensed, exclaimed: 10. ‘This is certainly not a petty Brahman, but Vishnu, the chief of magicians; disguised under the form of a twice-born man, he seeks to accomplish the purposes of the gods.’ 11. By this enemy, in the form of a suppliant student, has been taken all the property of our master, who had laid down his sceptre on the sacrificial grass. 12. Untruth cannot be uttered by one who is always devoted to truth—especially when he is consecrated,—by one who is pious and compassionate. 13. Wherefore it is our duty to slay him (the dwarf), and obey our master:’—so saying, the Asuras, followers of Bali, seized their weapons. 14. Against the wish of Bali, they all ran, infuriate, pikes and axes in hand, to slay the dwarf.”

This attack of the Asuras is, however, derided by the followers of Vishnu, who kill some of them, and they are at length restrained by Bali, who points out that time and fate are at present unfavourable to his cause. Bali is then bound in the chains of Varuna, and reproached by Vishnu for failing to fulfil his promise:


145 It will be observed that here the dwarf is still represented as having that shape, though he had been above described as assuming a superhuman form and filling all the worlds. Yet though he is spoken of as a Brahman dwarf, he is said to have had followers who easily defeated the Asuras of Bali.

145 The reading given of this line is that of Burnouf’s edition. The Bombay edition has instead of it: pratiṣṛtasyādātena yo ’rthinaṁ vipralambhate | “who deceives a suppliant by not giving him what had been promised.”
labdho dadāmiti tvayā 'haṁ chāḍhya-māṁinā | tad-vyalīka-phalam bhunksha nirayaṁ katichit saṁah | 26. "Then Virāṭ (Garuḍa), the son of Tārkshya, knowing the purpose of the lord, bound Bali with the bonds of Varuṇa at the sacrifice on the day of the Soma libation. 27. A great lamentation arose in all the quarters of the two worlds (heaven and earth), when the Lord of the Asuras was seized by the puissant Vishṇu. 28. Him bound with the bonds of Varuṇa, whose prosperity was destroyed, but whose understanding was firm, and whose renown was vast, the divine dwarf thus addressed: 29. 'Asura, three paces of ground were given to me by thee: with two paces the entire world has been traversed: find a place for the third. 30. This world of thine extends as far as that [sun] warms with his beams, as far as the moon shines with the stars, as far as Parjanya rains. 31. With one pace I traversed the region of the earth, and [occupied] the air and regions with my body; and whilst thou wast looking on, I [traversed] the sky with a second [pace, filling] thy possessions with myself. 32. As thou hast not given what was promised, it is my pleasure that thou shalt dwell in the infernal regions; enter therefore thither, with the approbation of thy preceptor. 33. That man's desires are frustrated, and he falls downward, far from heaven, who, after promising to a Brahman, does not deliver to him what he had solicited. 34. I have been deluded by thee, thinking thyself wealthy, when thou saidst "I give." Endure the infernal regions for some years as the penalty of that deceit.'"

Bali answers as follows (sect. 22):

(Sect. 22, v. 2).—Yady uttama-sloka bhavān mameritāṁ vacho vyalīkaṁ sura-varya manyato | koromy ritaṁ tad na bhavet pralambhanam pādaṁ tritiyaṁ kuru śirṣṇi me nijam | 3. Bibhemi nāhāṁ nirayat pada-chyuto na pāśa-bandhād vyasanād duratyayāt | uacvārtha-krichkrād bhavato vinigrahāt asādhu-vādād bhṛśām udeviye yathā |

2. "If, renowned chief of the gods, thou considerest the word which I uttered to be deceitful, I now make it good,—and here there can be no deception,—place thy third step on my head. 3. Fallen from my position, I fear not the infernal regions, nor binding in bonds, nor mis-

146 See Manu, viii. 82; ix. 308. In R. V. vii. 65, 3, Mitra and Varuṇa are said to be bhuri-pāśāv anritasya setaḥ | "barriers against falsehood, furnished with many nooses."—See Roth's article on the principal gods of the Arian nations, "Journal of the German Oriental Society," vol. vi. p. 73, and the fifth volume of this work, pp. 57, 65.
fortune difficult to escape, nor lots of wealth, nor thy restraint, so much as I am afflicted by a bad name.”

He then goes on to express his sense of his conqueror’s superiority, and submission to his fate. He is now visited and consoled by his grandfather Prahrada. His wife Vindhyāvali nexts worships Vishnu; and then Brahma intercedes in behalf of the Asura monarch. Vishnu, after making some general reflections, replies as follows:

(Sect. 22, v. 28).—Esha dānava-dāityānām agrāṇīḥ kīrti-vardhanāḥ | ajaishid ajayām māyāṁ sidann api na muhyati | 29. Kṣiṇa-rīkṣhaḥ chyutatḥ sthānāt kṣipta baddhaḥca satrubhīḥ | jnātiḥbhīṣca parītyakto yātanām anuyāpitaḥ | 30. Guraṇā bhartisitaḥ sapto jahau satyaṁ na suvratāḥ | chhalair ukto mayā dharmaḥ [quere dharmaṁ?] nāyam tyajati satyavāk | 31. Esha me prāpitāḥ sthānāṁ dushprāpam amvarai api | Sāvarner antarasyāyam bhavitendro mad-āśrayak | 32. Tāvat sutalam adhyāstāṁ Viśvakarma-vinirmitam | yan nādhayo vyādhayascha klamas tandrā parābhavaḥ | nopesargāḥ nivasatāṁ sambhavanti mame-chhayaḥ | 28. “This chief of the Dānavas and Daityas, and enhancer of their renown, has conquered unconquerable Delusion: though dispirited, he is not bewildered. 29. Having lost his prosperity, fallen from his place, cast down and bound by his enemies, abandoned by his relations, involved in suffering, 30. reprehended and cursed by his preceptor, still, faithful to his obligation, he has not abandoned truth. [Though] duty has been inculcated by me in a deceitful fashion, this truthful being does not swerve from it.” 31. He has [therefore] been elevated by me to a position to which even the immortals with difficulty attain: he shall be the Indra, supported by me, of the Sāvarṇi Manvantara. 32. Meanwhile let him occupy Sutala, formed by Viśvakarman, where, by my will, neither mental nor bodily pains, nor fatigue, nor weariness, nor discomfiture, nor diseases afflict the inhabitants.”


147 If we should read dharmam instead of dharmah, the sense would be: “Though deceitfully addressed by me, he does not abandon duty.”
thee succeeds in effecting the object of the devout man who seeks thee; seeing that thy favour, such as has not been before attained by the immortal guardians of the worlds, has been bestowed on me, a degraded Asura.' 3. Having thus spoken, and bowed down to Hari, to Brahmā, and to Bhava (Śiva), Bali, being released, entered Sutala with joy, along with the Asuras.” Vishṇu now addresses Uśanas, the priest of Bali:

(Sect. 23, v. 13).— Athāhośanasām rājan Harir Nārāyaṇo ’ntike | āśīnam rītvījām madhye sadasi brahma-vādinām | 14. Brahma santanu śishyasya karma-chhidrāṃ vitanvataḥ | yat tat karmasu vaishamyam brahma-drishṭaṁ samam bhavet | 15. S'ukraḥ wācha | Kutās tat-karma-vaishamyāṁ yasya karmeśvāro bhavān | yajneśo yajnapurushaḥ sarvabhāvema pūjitāḥ | 16. Mantratas tantratis cchhidrāṃ desa-kālārha-vas- tutaḥ | sarvāṁ karoti niśchhikdrām anusāṅkirtanaṁ tava | 17. Tathāpi vadato bhūman karishāmy anuśāsanam | etach chhreyah param puṁsāṁ yat tavājnāṇypālanam | 18. S'ukhaḥ wācha | abhinandyā Harer ājnām Uśanaḥ bhagavān iti | yajna-chhidrāṁ samādhatta Baler viprarshibhiḥ saha | 19. Evam Baler mahīm rājan bhikshītvā vāmano Hariḥ | dadau bhrātre Mahendrāya tridivaṁ yat parair hritam | 13. “Hari Nārāyaṇa then approaching Uśanas sitting among the priests, in an assembly of expounders of the Veda, thus addressed him: 14. ‘Brahman, rectify the irregularities of thy pupil in performing the ceremonial: whatever fault there is in any rite is removed if it be seen by a Brahman.’ 15. S’ukra (Uśana) replied: ‘How can there be any irregularity in that ceremony of which thou art the lord, the lord of sacrifice, the sacrificial Man, adored in every aspect? 16. Whatever defects there may be in respect of texts, of order, of place, of time, of persons, or of materials,—the mere celebration of thee obliterates them all. 17. Nevertheless, great being, I shall fulfil the injunction which thou utterest: this is the highest happiness of men, to obey thy commands.’

18. Having assented to the order of Hari, the divine Uśanas, with the ’Brahman-rishis, rectified the irregularities of Bali’s sacrifice. 19. Having in this manner begged the earth from Bali, the dwarf Hari gave [back] to his brother Mahendra the heaven which had been taken from him by his enemies.”

148 Vishṇu is called Upendra (the inferior or younger Indra), the brother of Mahendra, the great Indra.—See above, p. 133, line 6 from the bottom.
REFERENCES TO THE HARIVAṣṭA, AGNI AND MATSYA PURĀṇAS. 151

Though the whole tenor of this legend, and, indeed, of the entire Bhāgavata Purāṇa, represents Viṣṇu, of whom the dwarf was an incarnation, as the supreme deity, it is now rather strangely said that Brahmā and the other deities made the dwarf governor of all things:

(Sect. 23, v. 20).—Prajāpati-patir Brahmā devarshi-pitri-bhūmipaiḥ| Daksha-Bhrigv-Angiro-mukhyaḥ Kumārena Bhavena cha | 21. Kaśya-pasyāditeḥ prītyai sarva-bhūta-bhavaya cha | lokānām loka-pālaṇām akarod vāmanam patim | 22. Vedānām sarva-devānāṁ dharmasya yaśasaḥ śriyah | mangalāṇām vratānānca kalpaṁ svargapavargayoḥ | 23. Upen-draṁ kalpayānchakre patim sarva-vibhūtaye | tadasa sarvānī bhutāni bhṛisam mumudire nṛpa | 20. “Brahmā, the lord of the Prajāpatis, together with the gods, rishis, pitris, with Daksha, Bhrigus, Angiras, and other lords of the earth, with Kumāra, and Bhava, 21. with a view to the gratification of Kaśyapa and Aditi, and the good of all creatures, made the Dwarf master of the worlds and of the guardians of the worlds. 22, 23. He made Upendra (Viṣṇu) master of the Vedas, of all the gods, of righteousness, renown, prosperity, blessings, and ceremonies, and lord of heaven and final liberation, in order that he might have command of all things. Then all creatures rejoiced exceedingly.”

The section concludes with the verse I have already quoted above (p. 72) in glorification of Viṣṇu, followed by a statement of the benefits resulting from hearing the story of the Dwarf incarnation.

This incarnation is also briefly related in the Agni Purāṇa, iv. 58–11, and is either referred to, or narrated more or less diffusely, in the Harivaṃśa, verses 2725; 4159; 4166; 12195–12204; and 12900–14390. In the last-mentioned verses the story is told at length, with the various conflicts between the gods and Asuras by which it had been preceded. The incarnation itself and its results are related in vv. 14039–14390. Sections 231–233 of the Matsya Purāṇa are devoted to the same subject.149 I give an abstract of the 47th section, in which Viṣṇu’s incarnations are enumerated.150 It is here stated that it was in consequence of a curse pronounced by Bhrigu (as we shall

149 See Prof. Aufrecht’s Catalogue, p. 426. The Matsya Purāṇa has been lithographed and published at Bombay, with a Mahratti explanation; but the portion containing the sections in question has not yet reached me.
150 In verse 9 it is said that Kaśyapa was a portion of Brahmā, and Aditi of the Earth (Brahmaṇaḥ Kaśyapaḥ te aṁśaḥ Pṛthivyaḥ te Aditis tatha).
see further on) that Vishṇu assumed most of these forms (v. 37). There were twelve conflicts between the gods and Asuras (vv. 39–52). It is related (vv. 58 ff.) that on one occasion when Prahrāda had been overcome, and Indra had gained the empire of the three worlds, Sukra, the priest of the Asuras, left them and went to the gods. They, however, entreated him not to desert them, when he reassured them by the promise of his support (vv. 60 ff.). They were nevertheless attacked by the gods, and again resorted to Sukra; when their assailants left them. Sukra then referred to their former discomfits, counselled them to wait for a favourable turn of fortune, and declared his intention to resort to Mahādeva and obtain certain sacred texts which would insure their victory (vv. 65 ff.). They then promised to the gods to desist from hostilities and betake themselves to austerities (vv. 73 ff.). Sukra accordingly went to Mahādeva and asked for texts more powerful than those possessed by Bṛhaspati, the priest of the gods; when the deity directed him to perform a painful rite, imbibing the smoke of chaff (kauṇa-dhūma) with his head downward for a thousand years. This he agreed to do (vv. 78 ff.). Hearing of this, and taking advantage of the defenceless state of the Asuras, the gods went to attack them. The Asuras remonstrated, and in the absence of Sukra, resorted to his mother for help, and were reassured by her (vv. 83 ff.). The gods, however, followed, and assailed them, when the goddess (Sukra’s mother—her name is not given), by her magical power, rendered Indra helpless, and then the other gods took to flight (vv. 91 ff.). Vishṇu, however, now interposed, and desired Indra to enter into him (Vishṇu). This provoked the goddess, who threatened to burn them up. Indra called upon Vishṇu to slay her before she could carry her threat into effect. Vishṇu, though hesitating to kill a female, cut off her head with his weapon (vv. 95 ff.). Vishṇu was hereupon doomed by a curse of Sukra to be born seven times in the world of men; and in consequence of this he appears for

159 Compare Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa; vii. 5, 20: Uṣaṇā vai Kaṇva 'surāṇām purohitāḥ āsīt | tām devāḥ kāmadūpāhāhīr (kāma-dūgādāhāhīr gobhīh) | Comm.) uṣā- mantrayahanta | tasmāi etāṃ aṣṭaṇāṃ praṇayachana | kāmadūpāhāh vai aṣṭaṇāni | "Uṣānas Īskrā was the priest of the Asuras. The gods invited him with milch cows. They gave him these Ausāna texts. Ausāna texts are milch cows."

151 I have to thank Prof. Aufrecht for pointing out an explanation of this phrase given by the commentator on the Kaśi Khaṇḍa of the Skanda Pur. 16, 2, viz. Kauṇaḥ khaṇḍitās tadālauṭuṣṭās taṇjaṇaṃ dhāman |
the good of the world when unrighteousness prevails: 152 (vv. 102

103 | yasmät te jānato
dharmam abadhyā stri nishūditaḥ | tāsam tvam saptakritveha mānusheshvapapatsyasi | 104 | tatas tenābhiśāpena nāshṭe dharme punah punah | lokasya cha hitarthaḥ jāyate mānusheshv iha). Sukra then sprinkled

his mother with water, and restored her to life, an act and result
which were applauded by all creatures (vv. 105 ff.). Indra now, with
the intention of counteracting Sūkra’s austerities, sent his daughter
Jayantī to the saint to wait upon and soothe him by her assiduous
and affectionate attentions and services, till the conclusion of his
painful performances (vv. 111 ff.). She found him in the act of being
thrown down into the pit of fire by the Yaksha who had prepared it,
and drinking in the smoke of the chaff, with his head downward, and
though enfeebled, yet tranquilly meditating on the form of Mahādeva
(vv. 116 ff. tāṃ drishtvā tu pibantaṁ sā kaṇadhūmaṁ avāmukham |
yakṣeṇa pātyāmānaṁ cha kūṭa-dhārene pāṭitam | drishtvā cha tām
pātyāmānaṁ devi Kārayam avasthitam | svarūpa-dhyāna-sāmyantaṁ
durbalam bhūtim āsthitam); lauded him with endearing language, and
rubbed his limbs with her gentle touch (v. 118). At the conclusion
of his austere rite, continued for a thousand years, Mahādeva applauded
him as the only person who had ever performed it; and granted him a
variety of boons, including superiority to the gods. Sukra lauded the
god in a hymn of 41 stanzas, consisting of an enumeration of his
attributes (vv. 119 ff.). Mahādeva, gratified, touched the saint with
his hand, granted him a vision of his form, and then disappeared
(v. 167). Sukra then noticed Jayantī standing beside him, expressed

152 I have not elsewhere met with an explanation of Vishnu’s incarnations so dis-

honourable to the god. Yet even here he is said to be born for the good of mankind
when righteousness has declined, with a view to its restoration—a singular result of a
curse! Compare the passage from the Bhagavadgītā given above, p. 53, and vv. 7
and 8 of the 4th sect. of the same work: ‘Yadā yadā hi dharmasya glānir bhavati
Bhūrata | abhyutthānam adharmasya tadā ”tmānāṁ srijāmy aham | paritrāṇāya
sādhineṇa vināśaya cha dushkṛitāḥ | dharmo-maṣṭhānaṁ aññarthāya sanbhavāmi yuge
yuge | “Whenever righteousness declines, and unrighteousness arises, then I create
myself. For the deliverance of the good and the destruction of the wicked, I am
born in every Yuga.” See also the 32nd verse of the hymn to Vishnu in the 10th
Canto of the Rāguvaṁśa: Anavāptam avaptavyaṁ na te, kīchetvā vidyate | lokā-
tyagrahaṁ evaiko hetu te jāmā-karmānoḥ | “Thou hast nothing unobtained to
obtain. Kindness to men is the only cause of thy birth and of thy action.”
himself gratified by her devoted attentions, asked her what she wished, and promised to bestow it. She replied that he, in virtue of his transcendent knowledge, should know what she wished. Her desire was, he said, to live in his company for ten years. This he granted, and took her home and married her. They lived together, rendered invisible to all eyes by his magical power, for ten years (vv. 168 ff.). The Asuras, however, learning the success of their preceptor's austerities, came to his abode, but failed to see him. Brihaspati, the preceptor of the gods, knowing that Sukra would be occupied with Jayanti for ten years, at the instigation of Indra, took advantage of this circumstance to assume his form, and summoning the Asuras, passed himself off to them as their spiritual guide, and offered to act as their teacher, an offer which they gladly accepted (vv. 177 ff.). As the fruit of Sukra's ten years' cohabitation with Jayanti, a daughter, Devayānī, was born. Sukra then resolved to visit his pupils, and informed Jayanti of this intention, the fulfilment of which she admitted to be a duty, and said she would not stand in the way of its performance. He accordingly went and found that the Asuras had been deluded by Brihaspati, who had assumed his (Sukra's) form. He told them that he was Sukra; and when they were bewildered by the sight of the two sages identical in appearance, he repeated that he was their genuine preceptor, and that the other was Brihaspati, and demanded that they should forsake the latter, and follow him. They, however, were unable to distinguish between the two; and Brihaspati asseverated that he was the genuine Sukra, and that the other was Brihaspati. The Asuras, considering that the person who had taught them for ten years was their real preceptor, made obeisance to him, and angrily rejected the claim of Sukra to be their Guru. They were in consequence doomed by the curse of the incensed sage (Sukra) to lose their senses and incur defeat (vv. 183 ff.). Satisfied with this result, Brihaspati reassumed his own proper form, and disappeared. Seeing that they had been deluded, the Asuras, headed by Prahrāda, followed Sukra, and appeared before him with downcast looks. Though at first angry, he was at length pacified by their entreaties, reassured them by saying that they would regain their senses and gain one victory over the gods, though after that they should have to descend to the infernal regions, the period of their dominion de-
clared by Brahmā having then expired. 'In the Sāvarṇi Manvantara, however, they were destined to regain supremacy, and Bali, grandson of Prahrāda, would become lord of the worlds. Another boon was destined for Prahrāda, which Brahmā had forbidden Sūkra to reveal (vv. 201 ff.). Elated by this prediction of their future ascendancy, the Asuras desired to anticipate the time of its realization, and challenged the gods to battle. A combat ensued, which lasted for a thousand years, at the end of which the Asuras were victorious. The gods then took counsel together, and invited Saṅḍa and Marka (who are mentioned in verse 39, and appear to be the pupils of Bṛhaspati alluded to in v. 221) to abandon the Asuras, and aid them (the gods) in their sacrifice. If they, succeeded in obtaining this aid, they were confident they should overcome the Asuras. Saṅḍa and Marka accepted the invitation, and the gods conquered the Asuras; who, being forsaken by these two priests, and undergoing the consequences of Sūkra's curse, were expelled by their adversaries from the upper world, and entered, the infernal regions [226. Yajnenopāh-vayāmas tau tato jeshyāmahe 'surān | tadopāmantrayan devaḥ Saṅḍā-markau tu tāv ubhau | 227. yajne chāhuya tau prktau “tyajetām asurān devijau | vayaṁ yuvām bhajishyāmaḥ saha jītvā tu dānavān” | 228. evaṁ kriyābhīsandhi tau Saṅḍāmarkau surās tathā | tato devaḥ jayam prāpur dānavās cha parājitāḥ | 229. Saṅḍāmarka-parityaktāḥ dānavāḥ hy abalās tathā | evam dāityāḥ purā Kāvya-sāpenābhīhatās tādā | 230. Kāvya-sāpūbhīhītās te nirādharās cha saraśāḥ | niraśyāmanāḥ devais cha vīvīsus te rasātattam | ] (vv. 223 ff.). In consequence of Sūkra's curse, which operated periodically, Vishnu was born time after time, (see above, p. 152), after a decline of righteousness, which he re-established, destroying the Asuras. For Brahmā had decreed that all those Asuras who should be disobedient to Prahrāda should be slain by men (231. tataḥ-prabhṛiti śāpena Bṛigor naimittikena tu | 232. jajne punah punar Vishnuḥ dharme prasātihilo prabhuh | kurvan dharma-vyavasthānam asurāṅgam prañāsanam | 233. Prahrādasya nideśe tu na sthāsyantī asurāḥ cha ye | manushya-badhyās te sarve Brahmeti vyā-harat prabhuh | Vishnu's incarnations are then enumerated (verses

133 See the fifth volume of this work, p. 230, note.
134 Regarding Prahrāda, or Prahlāda, see Wilson's Vishnu Purana, Dr. Hall's ed., vol. ii., pp. 30-68.
234–245) viz. (1) a portion of him sprung from Dharma, (2) the Narasinha, or Man-lion, and (3) the Dwarf, incarnations, which are called the celestial manifestations, the remaining seven being the human incarnations caused by Sukra's curse (v. 238. Etās tisraḥ smṛitās tasya divyāh sambhūtayato dvijāh | mānushāh saptā yānyās (sic.) tu sapajās taḥ nibodhata). These seven are (4) the Dattatreya, (5) Mandhātri, (6) Parasurāma, (7) Rāma, (8) Vedavyāsa, (9) Buddha, (10) Kalki, incarnations. (Eight instead of seven are obtained if, with the Mahratti expounder, we understand the beginning of verse 243 to refer to Kṛishṇa.) The Bhāgavata Purāṇa gives twenty-two incarnations (i. 3, 1 ff.) viz.: Those in the forms of (1) Purusha, (2) Varāha or the Boar, (3) Nārada, (4) Nara and Nārāyaṇa, (5) Kapila, (6) Dattatreya, (7) Yajna or Sacrifice, (8) Rishabhha, (9) Prīthu, (10) Matsya or the Fish, (11) Kūrma or the Tortoise, (12 and 13), Dhanvantari, (14) Narasinha or the Man-lion, (15) Vāmana or the Dwarf, (16) Parasurāma, (17) Vedavyāsa, (18) Rāma, (19 and 20) Balarāma and Kṛishṇa, (21) Buddha, and (22) Kalki. These last two are represented as future. But the incarnations of Vīṣṇu are innumerable, like the rivulets flowing from an inexhaustible lake. Rishis, Manus, gods, sons of Manus, Prājāpatis are all portions of him (verse 26. Avatārāh āy asankheyyāḥ Hareḥ sattva-nidher dvijāḥ | yathā 'vidāsinaḥ kulyāh sarasāḥ syuḥ sahasrāsāḥ | 27. rishayo manavo devāḥ manu-putrāḥ mahāyājasāḥ | kalaḥ sarve Harer eva soprajāpatayās tatha).

SECT. V.—Vīṣṇu as represented in the Nirukta, Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, and Purāṇas.

From the passages adduced in the preceding pages, it is clear that Vīṣṇu is not regarded as the supreme god either in the Rig-veda, or in the Brāhmaṇas. In these ancient works he is considered only as one of the gods, and not as superior to the rest. It is also manifest from the passage I have cited from the Nirukta (xii. 19) in p. 64 that neither Yāska himself, nor Śākapūṇi and Aurnavābha, the ancient interpreters of the Veda, whose opinions he quotes, assigned to Vīṣṇu any higher rank than they did to the other members of the Indian Pantheon. From another text of the Nirukta (vii. 5) which I have cited in p. 66, it appears that the old expounders of the Veda regarded the deities worshipped in the Veda as mainly represented by three gods
of primary consequence, and that of these Vishnu is not one. As the passage from which this latter extract was made is of great interest and importance, I shall quote it here at length:

Nir. 7, 4.—Tad ye ’nādishta-devatāḥ mantras teshu devatoparākshāḥ | yad-devatāḥ sa yajno vā yajnāṅgaṁ vā tad-devatāḥ bhavanti | atha anyatra yajnāt prājyapatiḥ iti yājnikāḥ | nārāśoṁsaḥ iti nairuktāḥ | api vā sa kāma-devatā syāt prāya-devatā vā | asti hy āchāro bahulaṁ loke deva-devatyam atīthi-devatyam pṛiti-devatyam | yājna-daivato mantraḥ iti | api hy adevatāḥ devatā-vaṭ stūyante | yathā ’śva-prabhritīṇy oshadhī-paryantāṁ athāpy ashtau dvandeśāṁ | sa na manyeta āgantūṁ iva arthān devatānāṁ prayākṣha-drīṣyam etad bhavati | mahābhāgyād devatāyāḥ ekaṁ atāṁ bahudhā stūyate | ekasya atāmaṁ. ’nye devāḥ pratyangāṁ bhavanti | api cha sattvānāṁ prakṛiti-bhumabhiḥ rishayaḥ stuvanti ity āhuḥ | prakṛiti-sārvanāṁyāḥ cha itaretara-janmāṇo bhavanti itaretara-prakṛityāḥ karma-janmāṇaḥ atma-janmāṇaḥ | atmaṁ eva ēkaṁ ratho bhavati atmaṁ ’śvāḥ atmaṁ ’yudham atmaṁ ishavaḥ atmaṁ savaṁ devasya | 5. Tisraḥ eva devatāḥ iti naiyuktāḥ Agniḥ prithivī-sthāno Vāyur vā Indro vā ’nitarikṣa-sthānaḥ Śūryo, dyu-sthānaḥ | tāsāṁ mahābhāgyād ekaikasyāḥ api bahūṁ nāmaṁdevyāṁ bhavanti | api vā karma-prithikante vāytaḥ hota ’dhvaryaḥ brahmaḥ udgata ity api ekasya sataḥ | api vā prithag eva suyukṣaḥ prithag hi stutayo bhavanti tathā ’bhidhānāṁ | yatḥo etat—’karma-prithikatvāḥ‘ iti bahavo ’pi vibhajya karmaṁ kuryukṣaḥ | tatra saṁsthaṅkavitvaṁ sambhoṅkavitvaṁ cha upekṣhītyam | yathā prithivyāṁ manushyaṁ paśavo devaḥ iti sthānaṅkavitvaṁ | sambhoṅkavitvaṁ cha drīṣyate yathā prithivyāḥ Parjanyaḥ cha Vāyuc-Ādityāḥbhūyāṁ cha sambhoga’gniāṁ cha itarasya lokasya | tatra etad nara-rāṣṭram iva | 6. Atha ākāra-chintanāṁ devatānāṁ | puruṣa-viḍhāḥ syut ity ekam | chetanācād-vad hi stutayo bhavanti tathā ’bhidhānāṁ | athāpya puruṣa-viḍhikair angaḥ saṁstūyante | ’risvā te Indra sthavirasya bāhū” (R. V. vi. 47, 8); ’yat saṁgrhiṁbhāḥ maghavan kāśīṁ iti te” (R. V. iii. 30, 5) | athāpya puruṣa-viḍhikair dravya-saṁyogaiḥ, | ’ā devābhyaṁ haribhiṁyā Indra yūhi” (R. V. ii. 18, 4); ’kalyāṇir jāyā suraṇaṁ grihe te” (R. V. iii. 53, 6) athāpya puruṣa-viḍhikair dravya-saṁyogaiḥ, | ‘ā deśbhyaṁ haribhiṁyā Indra yūhi” (R. V. x. 116, 2); ’āśrutkaraṇa śrutaddhi havan” (R. V. i. 10, 9) | 7. Apuruṣa-viḍhāḥ syut ity aparām | api tu yat drīṣyate puruṣa-viḍhāṁ tat | yathā ’gnir vāyur aśityaḥ prithivīt chandrānāṁ iti | yatho etat “chetanācād-vad hi stutayo bhavanti” ity achatanāṁy
apy evam stuyante yathā 'ksa-prabhritiny oshadhi-paryantāni | yatho etat "paurusha-vidhikair anagāḥ saṃstūyante" ity achetaneshe apy etat bhavati | "abhi krandanti haritebhir āsabhī" iti grāva-stutīḥ | yatho etat "paurusha-vidhikair dravya-sāvyogair" ity etat api tādṛśam eva | "sukham ratham yuyuṣe sindhur aśvinam" iti nadi-stutīḥ | yatho etat "paurusha-vidhikaiḥ karmabhī" ity etat api tādṛśam eva | "hotoṣ chit pūrve havir adyam āśata" iti grāva-stutīr eva | api cha ubhaya-vidhāḥ syuh | api vā paurusha-vidhānāṃ eva satāṃ karmātmānaḥ ēte syuh | yathā yajno yajamāṇasya | esha cha ākhyāna-samayaḥ | 8. Tisṛaḥ eva devatāḥ ity uktam purastāt | tāsāṃ bhakti-sāhacharyaṁ vyākhyāṣyāmāḥ | atha etāni Agni-bhaktiṁ aṣayān lokaḥ prātāḥ-savanaṁ vasanto gāyatri trīṛṣī- stomo rathāntaraṁ sāma, ge cha deva-gaṇāḥ saṃmāṇātāḥ, prathame sthāne 'gnāyī prithivī īlā iti striyaḥ | atha asya karma vahanaṁ cha havishām āvahanaṁ cha devatānantā yach cha kinchid darśaṁ-vishyakam Agni-karma eva tat | atha asya, saṃstāvīkāḥ devāḥ Indraḥ Somo Varuṇaḥ Parjanyāḥ rītvaḥ | Āgni-Vaishnavāṁ havir na tu ṛk saṃstāvīkiṁ daśatāyishuvīdyate | atha apy Āgni-Paśupāṁ havir na tu saṃstavaḥ | tatra etāṃ vibhakti-stutīṃ rīčham udāhariani (R. V. x. 17, 3) 9. “Pūṣāḥ tvā itāḥ chaṣyavayatu pra vidvān anashṭapasur bhuvanaṣa gopāḥ | sa tvā etebhyāḥ paridadat pitṛībhya Agni devēbhyāḥ suvidātriyebhyaḥ” | “Pūṣāḥ tvā itāḥ prachyāvayatu vidvān anashṭapasur bhuvanaṣa gopāḥ” ity esha hi sarveshām bhūtānām gopāyitā Ādityāḥ | “sa tvā etebhyāḥ pari dadat pitṛībhya” iti sāṃsāyikas trīśūryāḥ pādayaḥ | Pūṣāḥ purastāt tasya anvādeṣāḥ ity ekam Āgni uparistāt tasya prakṛtānā ity aparām | “Āgni devēbhyāḥ suvidātriyebhyaḥ” | suvidatram dhanaṁ bhavati vindates va ekopasaṅgaḥ dadāter va syād dvyaṁpasargāt | 10. Ataḥ etāni Indra-bhaktiṁ antarikṣa-loko mādhyāṇāṁ savanaṁ grīṁhas trīśūr ṁanchadāsya-stomo bṛhiḥ-sānaḥ ye cha deva-gaṇāḥ saṃmāṇātāḥ madhyame sthāne yāṣcha striyaḥ | atha asya karma rasānaprādānaṁ Vṛitra-vadho yā cha kā cha bala-kriyā Indra-karma eva tat | atha asya saṃstāvīkāḥ devāḥ Agniḥ Somo Varuṇāḥ Pūṣāḥ Brihaspatīr Brahmapaśpatiḥ Parvataḥ Kutso Vīṣṇuṛ Vāyuḥ | atha api Mitro Varuṇena saṃstūyate | Pāṣṇā Rudreṇa cha Somaḥ | Āginiḥ ca Pāṣṇaḥ | Vātena cha Parjanyāḥ | 11. Ataḥ etāni Āditya-bhaktiṁ asau lokas trīśūr-savanaṁ varṣhāḥ jāgati saṃtadaśa-stomo vairūpaṁ sāma ye cha deva-gaṇāḥ saṃmāṇātāḥ utame sthāne yāṣcha striyaḥ | atha asya karma rasādānaṁ rasāmbhiḥ cha rasādhrāṇaṁ yach cha kinchit pravahitaṁ
4. "We shall now inquire who are the deities in those hymns in which no deity is indicated. They are addressed to the god to whom the sacrifice or part of a sacrifice [in which they are employed] is offered. The hymns which are unconnected with a sacrifice are, according to the ritualists (yājnikāḥ), addressed to Prajāpati; according to the etymologists (nairuktāḥ), they are spoken in praise of men.  

Or in such cases the deity may be an optional one, or a class of deities: for it is a very prevalent practice to [classify rites] as those which have a god, a guest, or a progenitor, respectively, for their deity. In reference to what has been said that hymns are sacrificial, and addressed to a god, [it is to be remarked that] beings other than gods are lauded as gods, as e.g. the objects beginning with horses and ending with herbs (see Nighanta, 5, 3, and Nir. ix. 1–28), and also the eight pairs (see Nighanta, 5, 3, and Nir. ix. 35 ff.). But let him [the student] not regard any matters relating to the gods as if they were accidental: this may be clearly seen. Owing to the greatness of the deity, the one Soul is lauded in many ways. The different gods are members of the one Soul. And [the learned] say that the rishis address their hymns according to the multiplicities of natures in the [celestial] existences; and [further] from the universality of their nature [these existences] are produced from each other, and possess the natures of each other (compare Nir. xi. 23, quoted above, p. 13); they are produced from works; they are produced from soul. It is soul that is their car, soul their steeds, soul their weapon, soul their arrows, soul is a god's all.

155 Professor Roth refers to Nir. ix. 9, where the word nārāśāṃsa is thus defined: Yena nārāḥ prasāsayante sa nārāśāṃso mantrāḥ | "A hymn in which men are eulogized is a nārāśāṃsa hymn." As an instance of this kind of hymn Yāska quotes R. V. i. 126, 1.

156 This is the sense assigned to prāyo-devatā by Roth, Illustrations of Nirukta, p. 102, see note 1 there: but may not the word mean a being who has something of the character of a god?
5. "There are three deities according to the etymologists (nairuktāḥ), viz. Agni, whose place is on earth, Vāyu, or Indra, whose place is in the atmosphere, and Sūrya (the Sun), whose place is in the sky. These [deities] receive many designations in consequence of their greatness, or from the diversity of their functions, as [the appellations of] hotṛi, adhvaryu, brahman, and udgāṭri, are applied to one and the same person. Or the gods in question may all be distinct, for the praises addressed to them, and also their apppellations, are distinct. As [regards the view that] this [diversity of appellation] arises from difference of function [and not from distinctness of personality, it may be objected that] a plurality of individuals also may each fulfil their separate allotted functions. In this latter case, a community of locality, and of possession, must be remarked. Thus men, beasts, and gods, occupy the earth; here is community of place. Community of possession, too, is seen in such instances as that of the joint occupation of the earth both by Parjanya, and by Vāyu, and Āditya, and of the rest of the world by [Vāyu, Āditya, and] Agni. Here the case is like that of a kingdom and its inhabitants (i.e. the one realm is occupied by different classes of persons).

6. "We have now to consider the forms of the gods. One [mode of representation in the hymns makes] them resemble men: for they are praised and addressed as intelligent beings. They are also celebrated with members such as those of men. Thus R. V. vi. 47, 8: 'Huge, O Indra, are the arms of thee who art strong'; iii. 30, 5, 'when thou didst grasp the two worlds, they were but as a handful to thee.' They are also [celebrated] with the accompaniment of material objects such as those belonging to men. Thus it is said, R. V. ii. 18, 4, 'Come, Indra, with thy two tawny steeds'; iii. 53, 6, 'A handsome wife and pleasure are in thy house.' And further, they are celebrated with functions of a similar character to the human. Thus R. V. x. 116, 2, 'Eat, O Indra, and drink from the bowl;' R. V. i. 10, 9, 'Thou whose ears hear us, listen to our invocation.'

7. "Another [mode of representation makes them] unlike men. But further, that which is seen [of them] is unlike what is human, as Fire, Air, Sun, Earth, Moon. As [regards the assertion] that 'they are

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157 Compare Taitt. Sāh., vi. 6, 8, 3: Indra-Vāyu hi sayujau | "For Indra and Vāyu are closely united."
praised as intelligent beings,'—it is also true that senseless things are in like manner praised, as the objects beginning with dice and ending with herbs (Nigh. 5, 3; 'Nir. 3, 7 ff'). Again, as [regards the remark] that the gods are 'celebrated with members such as those of men,'—the same thing is done in the case of senseless objects, as stones are celebrated in the words, 'They cry with their ruddy mouths' (R. V. x. 94, 2). Further, the same is the case as [regards the remark] that the gods are [celebrated] 'with the accompaniment of material objects such as those possessed by men;' for a river is praised in the words, 'The Sindhu has yoked his beautiful car drawn by steeds' (R. V. x. 75, 9). And the same thing applies to the remark that the gods are described with 'functions similar to those of men;' for stones are lauded in the words, 'Even before the priests they have eaten food of melted butter' (R. V. x. 94, 2). Or the gods may be described under both forms (either as having, or as not having, a human form). Or, again, when they are described as similar to men, this may be merely in their character of actors in a particular function, as sacrifice is only the [temporary] act of the man who offers it. This is the condition of all narrations. 158

8. 'It has been declared above (par. 5) that there are three deities. We shall now declare the various objects which are associated with their provinces. Now these which follow are connected with Agni's domain: viz. this world, the morning oblation, spring, the gāyatrī metre, the trivṛt stoma, the rathantara sāma, the classes of gods who in the Nighaṇṭu are enumerated in the first sphere, with the goddesses Agnayī, Pṛthivī, and Ilā. Then Agni's function is to carry away the oblations, and to bring the gods: and whatever has reference to things visible is the work of Agni. Then the deities who are lauded along with him are Indra, Soma, Varuṇa, Parjanya, and the seasons. There is an oblation made to Agni and Viṣṇu in common; but in the ten books [of the R. V.] there is no Rich which praises these two gods together. There is also an oblation made to Agni and Pūshan in

158 The commentator Durga (as I learn from Prof. Roth's note, Illust. of Nir. p. 104) refers this observation to the Mahābhārata, and adduces, as illustrations of the remark in the text, the appearances of the Earth in the form of a woman to request a Brahman to relieve her of her load, and of Agni in the form of a Brahman to ask aid from Vasudeva and Arjuna respecting the Khāṇḍava wood, and in the form of a man, and of fire, to burn the wood in question. See Williams's Indian Epic Poetry, p. 101; and the Yanaparvan, verses 8079 ff.
common, but no conjoint laudation. Here the following verse containing separate praise [of these two gods] is quoted, viz. R. V. x. 17, 3: 9. 'May Pūshan, the wise, the preserver of the world, he who loses none of his cattle, convey thee away hence: may he deliver thee to these fathers; and may Agni [entrust thee] to the gracious gods.' The words, 'May Pūshan, the wise, etc.,' refer to the Sun, who is the protector of all creatures. The sense of the third quarter of the verse beginning, 'May he deliver thee, etc.,' is dubious: on the one hand it may be a repetition of the reference to Pūshan, who had been named before;\(^{169}\) or, on the other hand, it may be a celebration of Agni, who is mentioned afterwards. Suvidatrac (from which suvidatriyebhyah in the fourth clause, 'May Agni,' etc., comes) means 'wealth,' and is either derived from vid, 'to find,' with one preposition (su), or from da, 'to give,' with two prepositions (su and ev).

10. 'The following are the objects connected with Indra’s domain: viz. the atmosphere, the midday oblation, summer, the trishṭubh metre, the panchadaśa stoma, the bṛihat sāma, the classes of gods and the females who are enumerated in the second sphere. Indra’s function is to bestow moisture, to slay Vṛitra: and all exortions of force are the work of Indra. The deities lauded along with him are Agni, Soma, Varuṇa, Pūshan, Bṛhaspati, Brahmānaspati, Parvata, Kutsa, Vishṇu, and Vāyu. Further, Mitra is lauded along with Varuṇa, Soma with Pūshan and Rudra, Pūshan with Agni, and Parjanya with Vāta.

11. 'The following are the objects connected with Āditya’s (the Sun’s) domain: heaven, the third oblation, the rainy season, the jagatī metre, the saptadaśa stoma, the vairūpa sāma, the classes of gods and the females who are enumerated in the highest sphere. The function of Āditya is to draw up moisture, and to retain it by his rays: and whatever is mysterious is the work of Āditya. He is praised along with the Moon, the Air (Vāyu), and the Year.

'[The student] is to class the remaining seasons, metres, stomas, and prishṭhas (particular sāma formulas) under [one or other of] the [three] spheres above mentioned. Autumn, the anushṭubh metre, the ekavinsa stoma, and the vairāja sāma, belong to the sphere of earth. The early winter, the pankti metre, the triṇava stoma, and the sākvara sāma, belong to the atmospheric sphere. The later winter, the ati-

\(^{169}\) I have translated the clause as referring to Pūshan.
chhandas metre, the trayasrinśa stoma, and the raivata sāma, are connected with the celestial sphere.”

It will be observed that in the preceding classification of the gods, the principal places are assigned to Agni, Vāyu, or Indra, and Sūrya, who appear therefore to have been regarded in the time of Yāṣka as the triad of deities in whom the supreme spirit was especially revealed. Vishnu is only alluded to as one of the divinities who were worshipped conjointly with Indra; and Rudra is only mentioned as worshipped along with Soma. If we may judge from his silence regarding it, the conjunction of Brahmā, Vishnu and Rudra as the triple manifestation of the deity (trimūrti) would appear to have been unknown to Yāṣka.

It is true that his object in the passage I have cited, as well as in other parts of his work, is to classify the Vedic deities; and it may be urged that the Puranic mythology (of which the trimūrti of Brahmā, Vishnu and Śiva is a part) might have grown up along with the Vedic. It may, however, be objected to this view, that if Yāṣka had been cognizant of any other than the Vedic mythology’ (at least if he had attached any authority to any other), he would not have failed to make some reference to the latter, and would have endeavoured to blend and reconcile it with the former. As we find no attempt of this kind in his work, we may perhaps conclude, either that the Puranic mythology had no existence in his day, or that he regarded it as undeserving of any attention.

The following passages from the Brihaddevatā, in which the views of Yāṣka are repeated, are derived from Weber’s Ind. Stud. i. 113 f.:

Brihaddevatā, i. 13.— Bhavad-bhūta [sya bha] vyasya jangama-sthāvar-asya cha | asyaīke sūryem evaikam prabhavam pralayaṁ viduh | asatas-cha sataś chaiva yonir esha Prājāpatiḥ | yad aksharaṁ cha vācyāṁ (?) cha yathaiva Brahma śāsavatam | kritvaisha hi trīdhā ‘tmanam eshu lokeshu tīśṭhāti | Ibid. i. 14 . . . tirṣaḥ evaḥ devatāḥ | etasāṁ eva māhātmyād narmāṇyavāṁ vidhiyate | tach cha sthūna-vibhāgena tatra tatreḥa driṣyate | i. 13: “Some consider Sūrya (the Sun) to be the only cause of the production and destruction of this [universe], present, past, and future, moving and stationary. And this lord of creatures (Prajāpati) is the source of non-entity and entity, which is undecaying and describable (?) like

160 The above passage is translated by Prof. Roth in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, pp. 101 ff.
the eternal Brahma. He, having made himself threefold, abides in these worlds. i. 14: . . . There are but three deities; and from their greatness, a variety of names is assigned [to each of them]. This is seen in different instances according to the distinction of places."

From the passage cited above (p. 30 f.) from Manu, it appears that the word Narayana is there applied to Brahma, and that no mention whatever is made of Vishnu, as concerned in the creation. In fact Vishnu is only once mentioned by Manu, viz. in the following verse xii. 121:

'Manasindum disah-srotre krante Vishyun bale Haram | 
va\'\'chy Agnim 
Mitram utsarge prajane cha Praj\=apatim | 
"[He may contemplate] in his mind the Moon (Indu), in his hearing the regions, in his stepping Vishnu, in his strength H\=ara, in his voice Agni, in excretion Mitra, and in procreation Praj\=apati." Vishnu is not spoken of here as in any way superior to the other gods with whom he is associated.

In the text quoted above (p. 33) from the older recension of the Ramayana too, it is Brahma who is spoken of not only as the creator, but also as the god who raised up the earth from the bottom of the ocean.

Again, those texts of the Mahabharata and Puranas (see above, pp. 118 ff.) where Vishnu is described as one of the twelve Adityas, confirm the conclusion that he must have been originally looked upon as a deity of no more elevated rank than the other sons of Aditi; and the circumstance that he is in some of those passages distinguished from the rest of the gods by epithets expressive of some higher characteristics is easily explicable, as I have already remarked, by the supposition that those passages have been composed or modified at a period when his superiority had come to be recognized.

In some of the earlier passages of the Ramayana also, where Vishnu is introduced, though he is treated as a deity of higher rank than Indra and others (with whom he had been originally, at most, on a footing of equality), yet he is not designated by the same sort of epithets which are applied to him in the Vishnu and Bhagavata Puranas, and in some parts of the Mahabharata, and other portions of the Ramayana itself (unless we suppose these to be later interpolations), or identified with the supreme deity, as in these first-named works. In proof of this I adduce the following passage from the Ramayana, i. 14, 1 ff. (Schlegel's

Lassen, Ind. Ant., 1st ed., i. 777, note; or 2nd ed., p. 918.
QUOTATION FROM THE RÂMÂYÂNA REGARDING VISHNU. 165

edition;—i. 15, 1 ff., Bombay edition, and i. 14, 1 ff. of Gorresio’s edition):

Râmâyâna, i. 14, 1 ff.—Medhâvi tu tato dhyâtvâ sa kinchid idam uttaram | labdha-sanjnas 162 tatas ta’m tu vedâ-jno nrîpam abravît | 2 | ishtim te ’nyam 163 karishyimi putriyam putra-kâraṅgat | atharvasârisi praktais mantraîh siddhâm vidhânatah | 3 | 164 tataḥ prachakrame kartum ishtim kâma-samriddhaye | tasya râjno hitâcehâ Vibhândaka-suto vasi | 4 | tatra devâh sa-gandharvâh Siddhâscha munibhih saha | bhâga- pratigrâhârtham vai pûrvam eva samâgatah | 5 | Brahmâ sureśvarâh Sthânus tatha Nârâyanaḥ prabhuh | Indraś cha bhagavan sâkshâd Marud-gâna-vritas tathâ | 6 | aśvamedhe mahâyajne râjnas tasya mahâtmanâh | tatra bhâgârthino devân agatan so ‘bhâyayâchata | 7 | ayaṁ râjâ Daśarathâḥ putrârthiuptâcâms tapâh | ishtavân aśvamedhena bhavatah śraddhâyâ ’nvitaḥ | 8 | ishtim cha putra-kâmo ’nyam punâḥ kartum samudyatah | tad asya putra-kâmasya prasâdâmv kartum arhatha | 9 | abhiyâche cha vah sarvân aśyârthe ’ham kritânjaliḥ | bhaveyur asya chaTvârâh putrâs traiokyâ-vîsrutâh | 10 | te tathety abravan devâh rishi-putrâṁ kritânjalin | mânaniyo ’si no vipra râjâ chaiva viśêshatah | 11 | prâpṣyato paramâṁ kâmaṁ etayeshtyâ narâdhipâḥ | ity uktvâ

162 Labâha-sanjnah samâdhy-utthitaḥ | Comm. in Bombay ed.

163 Bombay ed. reads te ’ham for te ’nyam.

The Bomb. ed. here reads : 3. Tataḥ prâkramad ishtim tâṁ putriyât putra-kâraṅât | juhâv agra tu tejasvī mantra-drishtena karmanâ | 4 | tato devâh sa-gandharvâḥ siddhâḥ cha paramarshayaḥ | bhâva- [qu. bhâga] pratigrâhârtham vai samavetâḥ yathâvîdhâ | 5 | tâḥ sametya yathânyâyâm tasmin sadasi devatâḥ | abravan loka-kartâram Brahmânaḥ vachanaih tataḥ | 6 | Bhagavânâm tev-prasâdâna Rûvayu nâmâ rûkshasah | sarvân no bâdhate evyâtvâ sâstum taṁ na saknumâḥ | “He then began that sacrifice for the sake of obtaining a son ; and the glorious (rishi) cast an oblation into the fire, accompanied by the prescribed recitation of texts. 4. Then the gods, Gandharvas, Siddhas, and great Rishis were gathered together in due form to receive their portion. 5. Having duly assembled in that abode, the deities spake thus to Brahmâ, the creator of the world : 6. ‘Lord, owing to thy favour a Râkshasa named Rûvaṇa distresses us all by his power, and we cannot subdue him.’” What follows corresponds in the main with the readings of Schlegel’s text.

This text, it will be noticed, differs in several points from Schlegel’s [and from Gorresio’s] in (a) not stating the gods to have been already present at the preceding sacrifice of the aśvamedha ; (b) in not naming Brahmâ, Sthânû (Mahâdeva), and Nârâyana (Vishnu) as being of the number; or (c) as having been supplicated by the rishi on behalf of king Daśaratha; and (d) in proceeding at once to represent the gods as invoking Brahmâ’s aid, as the other two texts do further on. The Bombay text may be the most original, and the verses there omitted may be later additions, as they do not fit in very well into the sequel. Compare note 166 below. This, however, would not prove that the whole section was not a prior interpolation. See further on.
Then that sage, skilled in the Veda, having meditated for a little on this answer, having regained his consciousness [which had been suspended during his state of meditation], said to the king: ‘I shall perform for thee another sacrifice, celebrated according to rule with the texts enjoined in the Atharva-siras, to obtain for thee a son.’ The self-subdued son of Vibhāpādaka, desiring the king’s welfare, then began to perform the sacrifice for the attainment of his desire. The gods, with the Gandharvas, Siddhas, and Munis, had previously come...
thither to receive their portions [of the sacrifice], both Brahmā, lord of the deities, Śtāṇu (Mahādeva), the lord Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu), and the divine Indra in visible presence, surrounded by the host of Maruts. He (Ṛṣhyaśṛṅga thus) supplicated the gods who had come, desiring their shares, to the great aṣvamedha sacrifice [described in the preceding section] of that high-souled king: ‘This King Daśaratha, desiring a son, has performed austerity, and inspired with faith, has worshipped you with an aṣvamedha. Longing for a son, he is also prepared to celebrate another sacrifice. Ye ought, therefore, to show favour to him, who is anxious for a son; and with joined hands, I entreat you all on his behalf. Let him have four sons, renowned in the three worlds.' The gods said to the rishi's son [standing] with joined hands, 'So be it. Thou, Brahmā, art deserving of honour from us, and so especially is the king. The lord of men shall obtain the highest object of his desire by means of this sacrifice.' Having thus spoken, the gods, headed by Śakra (Indra), then disappeared.

"Having duly assembled in that abode, these gods then addressed a word to Brahmā, the creator of the world: 'A Rākshasa named Rāvaṇa, having obtained a boon from thee, O Brahmā, in his pride harasses us all, and the great rishis devoted to austerity. For, O lord, a boon was formerly granted to him freely by thee when well-pleased, viz. 'Thou shalt be indestructible by gods, Dānavas or Yakshas.' Obedient to thy words, we endure everything at his hands. This lord of the Rākshasas vexes the three worlds by his acts of cruelty . . . 19. We are therefore in great fear of this Rākshasa of horrible aspect.

165 Here it will be observed that Vishṇu, like the other gods, comes for his share.

166 This verse does not combine well with what precedes. See the last note but one (164). Why should the gods disappear in order to reassemble, so far as appears, in the same place (taṣmin sadasi)? See the text of the Bombay ed., as quoted in note 164, verses 4 and 5. Gorresio's edition connects the disappearance and reappearance of the gods thus, i. 14, 11b ff.: ity uktvā 'ntarhitah devās tataḥ S'akra-puroga-māḥ | 12 | tām dṛṣṭvā viśvād dikṣāṁ kriyamāṇāṁ mahāshīna | upetya loka-karūram Prajāpatīn tām vachaḥ | 13 | ucbhaḥ prāṇjalayo bhūtā Brahmāṇāṁ varadaṁ tatha | 11b: "Having thus spoken, the gods, headed by S'akra, vanished thence. 12. Beholding that initiatory ceremony being duly performed by the great rishi, they approached with joined hands the lord of creatures, the boon-bestowing Brahmā, and spoke as follows," etc. It may also be noticed that Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) is mentioned both in Schlegel's ed. and in Gorresio's (v. 4) as having been one of the gods who were present. If the gods who reappeared were the same as those who disappeared, why was not he among them? But he is said to have arrived afterwards.
Thou, lord, oughtest to imagine some device for his slaughter.' Being thus addressed by all the deities, [Brahmā], after reflection, thus spoke to them: 'O, this device has been imagined [by me] for the slaughter of that malignant being. 'Let me be indestructible by Gandharvas, Yakshas, gods, Dānavas and Rākshasas;' such was his request, to which I replied, 'Be it so.' But despising men, the Rākshasa made no mention of them. He must therefore be slain by a man: no other death is possible for him.' Having heard this acceptable word spoken by-Brahmā, the gods, headed by Sakra, were altogether delighted. In the mean time the glorious Vishṇu arrived, bearing in his hand the shell, discus, and club, in yellow garments, lord of the world, mounted on Garuḍa, like the Sun on a cloud, with an armlet of refined gold, adored by the chief of the deities. After lauding him with prostrations, all the gods said: 'Thou, Madhusūdana, art he who removes the affliction of the afflicted worlds. Wherefore we, distressed, beseech thee be our refuge, O Achyuta (Unfailing).' Vishṇu said to them, 'Tell me what I shall do.' Hearing this answer of his, the gods again said: 'A king named Daśaratha has performed great austerity, and celebrated an aśvamedha sacrifice, desirous of offspring, for he is childless. Do thou, Vishṇu, according to our appointment, take upon thee his sonship. Making thyself fourfold, do thou become the offspring of his three wives who resemble Hṛi, Śrī, and Kirti (Modesty, Prosperity, and Renown). Having then become man, do thou slay in battle Rāvanā, the powerful enemy of the worlds, who is indestructible by the gods. ... 34. Thou, god, vexer of thy foes, art the highest refuge of us all; resolve to destroy in the world of men the enemies of the deities.' The manifested lord Nārāyaṇa, being thus appointed by the gods,” replies by asking for further explanations in regard to the occasion which demanded his intervention. This explanation the gods give and say, that he alone of all the celestials can kill the wicked one (tvatto hi nāyas tam pāpaṁ sakto hantuṁ deva ukasāṁ). Vishṇu, then, “the lord of the gods” (deveśa), “the most excellent of the immortals” (tridaśa-pungava), “adored by all the worlds” (sarva-loka-namaskrita), reassures the deities, promises to slay Rāvanā, and to reign on earth for eleven thousand years.

I have said that the representation given of Vishṇu in the preceding passage is of a different character from that which we find in writings
of a later age. But it is not certain that any portion of this passage formed part of the Rāmāyāṇa, as it originally existed. I extract the following remarks from Lassen's "Indian Antiquities," (vol. i. p. 488, 1st edition; i. 586, 2nd edition), in regard to the interpolations which he supposes to have been made in the Rāmāyāṇa and Mahābhārata:

"It is true that in the Epic poems Rāma and Kṛishṇa appear as incarnations of Viṣṇu, but they at the same time come before us as human heroes, and these two characters (the divine and the human) are so far from being inseparably blended together, that both of these heroes are for the most part exhibited in no other light than other highly gifted men,—acting according to human motives and taking no advantage of their divine superiority. It is only in certain sections which have been added for the purpose of enforcing their divine character that they take the character of Viṣṇu. It is impossible to read either of these two poems with attention, without being reminded of the later interpolation of such sections as ascribe a divine character to the heroes, and of the unskilful manner in which these passages are often introduced, and without observing how loosely they are connected with the rest of the narrative, and how unnecessary they are for its progress." 

In p. 489 (1st edition, p. 587 2nd edition) note, he remarks more

"In the Preface to his Viṣṇu Purāṇa, p. ix., 4to. ed. (=p. xv. of Dr. Hall's ed.), Professor Wilson had previously made some observations of the same tenor: "But the ascription to individual and personal deities of the attributes of the one universal and spiritual Supreme Being, is an indication of a later date than the Vedas certainly, and apparently also than the Rāmāyāṇa, where Rāma, although an incarnation of Viṣṇu, commonly appears in his human character alone. There is something of the kind in the Mahābhārata in respect to Kṛishṇa, especially in the philosophical episode known as the Bhagavad Gītā. In other places the divine nature of Kṛishṇa is less decidedly affirmed; in some it is disputed or denied; and in most of the situations in which he is exhibited in action, it is as a prince and warrior, not as a divinity. He exercises no superhuman faculties in the defence of himself, or his friends, or in the defeat and destruction of his foes. The Mahābhārata, however, is evidently a work of various periods, and requires to be read throughout carefully and critically before its weight as an authority can be accurately appreciated." Professor Goldstücker, too, observes in the Preface to his Mānava Kalpa Sūtra, p. xxxi.: "It is of course impossible for me to treat here, as it were incidentally, not merely of the question concerning the age of the Mahābhārata, but the relative ages of the various portions of this work, since it must be evident to every one who has read it, that it is, in its present shape, a collection of literary products belonging to widely distant periods of Hindu literature."
particularly: "As regards the Rāmāyana, Mr. von Schlegel has often observed to me that the chapters in which Rāma is conceived of as an incarnation of Vishnu, might be entirely omitted without injuring the connexion of the story. In fact, at the point where the incarnation of Vishnu in the four sons of Dasaratha is described (Rām. i. 14 ff.), the proper great sacrifice is already concluded, and the priests have all been presented with gifts at its close, when the new sacrifice is commenced, at which the gods appear, then withdraw, and now for the first time propose to Vishnu to become incarnate. If this had been an original portion of the story, the gods would certainly have considered the matter sooner, and the ceremonial of sacrifice would have proceeded without interruption. In the same book, ch. 74, 75, a scene with the earlier [or Paraśu-] Rāma is suddenly interpolated, in order that he may be made to declare the new Rāma to be Vishnu."

An examination of the earlier portions of the Rāmāyana seems to confirm the opinion of Lassen that the 14th and following sections which describe the miraculous births of Rāma and his brothers as incarnations of Vishnu, are additions interpolated at a later date in the original poem. It appears from various passages which I shall cite from the 8th and following sections, that the āsvamedha or horse-sacrifice, a rite of great importance and dignity, was instituted for the express purpose of procuring progeny for Daśaratha. But if this be so, what necessity was there for celebrating the fresh ceremony, alluded to at the beginning of section 14 as a "putriyā ishti," for the same purpose? The passages to which I allude are the following:

Rām. i. 8, 1 ff. (=Bombay ed. i. 8, 1; Gorresio's ed. i. 8, 1).—Tasya te evam-prabhavasya dhārmikasya mahatmanah | sutārtham tapyamanasya nāsīd vāmśa-karaḥ sutaḥ | tasya chintayato buddhir utpanneyam mahāmateḥ | sutārtham vāji-medhena kimarthau na yajāmy aham | sunīchitām matīṁ kritvā yashṭavye vasudhādhipah | "But a son to prolong his race was not born to this king so mighty, and righteous, and great, though he performed intense austerity for that purpose. As this wise man reflected, the idea arose in his mind, 'why do I not celebrate a horse-sacrifice to obtain a son?' Having then formed this fixed opinion that he ought to sacrifice, the king, etc."

Again, in sect. 11, i (=Bombay ed. i. 12, 1; Gorresio's ed. i. 11, 1), it is said: Atha kale vyatikrānte śīśre tadanantaram | vasanta-samaye
prāpte rājā yasṭum mano dadhe\1 tataḥ prasādyā śirasā taṃ vipraṁ
deva-varchasam | yajñāya varayāmāsa santānārthaṁ kulasya vai |
"Then, when the winter had passed, and the spring had arrived, the
king set his mind upon sacrificing. Having then propitiated, by
[bowing] his head, that Brahman of divine splendour, he solicited him
to [perform] a sacrifice for the prolongation of his race."

Then, after calling his spiritual advisers, Vāmadeva, Jávāli, Vasishṭha,
etc., he says to them (v. 8= v. 86 Bombay ed.; v. 11, Gorr.):
Mama tātāpyamānasya putrārthaṁ nāsti vai sukham | tad aham haya-medhena
yajeyam iti me matiḥ | tad-arthāṁ yasṭum ichhāmi haya-pūrveṇa
karmaṇā | "I get no satisfaction, though I perform intense austerity
for a son. It is therefore my resolution to celebrate a sacrifice in
which a horse is the first victim."

We are again told (v. 20):
Tataḥ sa gatvā tāḥ patnir narendro hridayangamāḥ | uvācha dīkshāṁ
visata yakṣhe 'haṁ suta-kāraṇāt | "Then going to his beloved wives,
the king said to them, 'Enter upon a course of consecration; I am
about to sacrifice for a son.'"

And at the beginning of the 12th section (=Bomb. ed. 13th; Gorr.
12th) it is said: Pūnāḥ prāpte vasante tu pūnāḥ saṁvatsaro 'bhavat |
prasavārtham gato yasṭum hayamedhena vīṛyavān | "Then, when the
spring arrived, a year had elapsed, and the heroic king went to cele-
brate a horse-sacrifice for the sake of offspring."

Preparations are then made for the sacrifice (sect. 12), and it is duly
celebrated (sect. 13). The queen, Kausālya, "through desire of a son,"
remains in close contact with the slaughtered horse for one night
(13, 36 [=Bomb. ed. i. 14, 34; Gorr. i. 12, 34]: Patātrīṇā
tadā sārddham susūkhitenā cha chetasā | avasad rajānim ekām Kauśalyā
putra-kāmyayā), and the other two queens beside her (v. 37).\textsuperscript{163}

The conclusion of the sacrifice is thus recorded at the end of section
13, vv. 54 ff. (=Bomb. ed. 14, 58ā; Gorr. 13, 45).

\textsuperscript{163} See Wilson’s translation of the R. V., vol. ii., Introd., p. xiii.; the Vājasaneyi
Saṁhitā, xxiii. 20 ff., and commentary; S’atapatha Brāhmaṇa, pp. 990 ff.; Katyāyana
Sūtras, p. 973; and Mahābhārata, xiv. 2645. On the word patātrīṇ, "winged,"
applied to the horse, the commentator in the Bombay ed., in loco, remarks: Tavā
ādvinām pakshāḥ santi iti prasiddhyā evaṁvādāḥ | patātrīṇā garuḍa-vēgena ity
avaye | "This is said because it is well known that horses formerly had wings. Others
say the meaning of the word is, ‘having the speed of Garuḍa’ (the fabled bird)."
Dakṣiṇāḥ pariṇīhyāthā suprīteś-mānasā dvijāḥ | ューchu Daśarathair
tatra kāmaṁ dhīyayeti vai tadā | tato 'bravi Rishyaśringoṁ rājyo Daśa-
rathas tadā | kulasya vardhanaṁ tat tu kartuṁ arhasi suvarta | tatheti
sa cha rājānam urvācha dvija-sattamaṁ | bhavishyanti sutā rājaṁś chat-
vāras te kulodvahāḥ | “Having received the gifts with great gratification,
the Brahmans then said to Daśaratha, ‘Think of the object you desire.’
The king then said to Rishyaśringa, ‘Thou oughtest, saint, to effect that
increase of my race.’ The most excellent of Brahmans replied, ‘So be
it, king, there shall be to thee four sons, the continuators of thy race.’"

We are then told at the beginning of section 14, as above quoted
(p. 165), that Rishyaśringa, after thinking over the preceding reply,
ofers to celebrate another sacrifice with texts from the Atharva-śiras,
in order to procure offspring for the king; and proceeds accordingly to
do so, though, in striking contrast to the particular description given
of the aśvamedha, no details of this additional ceremony are supplied.
We are then told (verse 4) that the gods had previously come to the
aśvamedha sacrifice, to obtain their shares of the oblations, and that
Rishyaśringa now tells them that the king had performed austerity in
order to obtain offspring, that he had also celebrated an aśvamedha
sacrifice, and was now about to perform another rite. The necessity
for this second sacrifice does not appear; it seems strange that a cere-
mony of such importance as the aśvamedha should be insufficient;
there appears to be no reason why the gods should not have been told
at first, on that occasion, that the king was anxious for a son, since
that was the very object for which the first sacrifice was offered; and
that this communication should have been reserved till the commence-
ment of the second sacrifice.

In section 15 (=Bombay ed. 15, 31 ff. and 16; Gorr. 15) we are
told that Vishṇu, considering how he shall fulfil his promise to the
gods, maketh himself fourfold, and chooses Daśaratha for his human
parent. He then, after respectfully addressing Brahmā, disappears
from heaven, and when Daśaratha is offering the second sacrifice for
progeny, the god issues forth from the fire in the form of a glorious
being, calling himself a son of Prajāpati (prājāpatyaṁ naram), and
bearing a large vessel full of nectar. This nectar he desires Daśa-
ratha to administer to his wives, who would then bear sons. Vishṇu
then, after receiving the king’s homage, disappears.
Dasaratha gives the half of the potion to Kausalyā, and a fourth each to Sumitra and Kaikeyī. They all in consequence become pregnant.

Section 16 (=Bombay ed. 17; Gorresio, 20) begins thus: Putratvāṁ tu gate Vishnau rājnas tasya mahātmanah | vṛūcha devān āhāya Svayambhū bhagavān idam | “When Vishnu had entered into the relation of sonship to that great king, the divine Svayambhu (Brahmā) summoned the gods, and said to them.” These words must either be said by way of anticipation, for the birth of Dasaratha’s sons is not related till we come to section 19; or the section must be misplaced, or interpolated. The commentator in the Bombay ed. explains gate by gantum upakṛnte, “had begun to enter.” In Gorresio’s ed. this section is placed as the 20th. The section proceeds to describe the creation of the monkeys, who were to be the allies of Rāma.

The conclusion of the aśvamedha sacrifice and the departure of the gods are again alluded to at the commencement of sect. 17 (Schlegel’s ed.) in these words: 1. Samāpte tu kratau tasmin vājimedhe mahātmanah | havirbhāgān avāpyeshtān jagmur devāḥ yathāgatam | 2 | rīshyaś cha mahātmānaḥ pratijagmuḥ supūjitaḥ | rājānaś chaiva ye tatra kratavāsan samāgatāḥ | 1. “When that horse-sacrifice of the great king had been completed, the gods, having received the desired shares of the oblations, departed as they had come. 2. The great rishis, too, after being duly honoured, and the kings who had come to the sacrifice, returned.”

Here we have another indication that the sections intervening between the 13th and the 17th form a later interpolation. With the commencement of this 17th section of Schlegel’s ed., the opening verses of Gorresio’s 16th section, and of the 18th section of the Bombay ed., coincide. The last-mentioned recension, however, from which I proceed to quote some verses, touches very briefly on the dismissal of the kings who had come to the sacrifice, and of Rishyasringa, and proceeds to the birth of Rāma and his brothers, whilst the other two texts enlarge on the former topics, and do not arrive at the last subject before their 19th section. Sect. 18 of the Bombay ed. begins thus:

1 | Nivritte tu kratau tasmin hayamedhe mahātmanah | pratigrihyā-marāh bhāgān pratijagmuḥ yathāgatam | 2 | samāpta-dikṣā-niyamaḥ patni-gaya-samanvitāḥ | pravivesa purīṁ rājā sa-bhṛitya-bala-vāhanaḥ
3 | yathārham pūjitāḥ tona rājñā cāḥ prithivīśvarāḥ | muditaḥ prayayur
deśān prāṇamya muni-punγavam | 4 | śrīmatāṁ gacchhatāṁ teshāṁ svā-
grihaṇī purāt tataḥ | balāni rājāṁ subhāṇi prahrishṭāṁ chakahāre | 5 |
gateṣu prithivīśeshu rājā Daśarathāḥ punāḥ | praviceṣa purīṁ śrīmān
puraskṛitya dvijottāmān | 6 | S’āntayā prayaγau sārdham Rishyaśringaḥ
supūjitāḥ | anugamyamāno rājā cha sānuyātēna dēmataḥ | 7 | Evaṁ
visṛṣijya tān sarvāṁ rājā sampūrya-mānasāḥ | udāśa sukhiṭis tatra
putropattāṁ vichintayan | 8 | tato yajne sānāpte tu rītūnāṁ shat
samatyayuh | tataś cha dvādaśe māṣe ityādi | 1. “When that horse-
sacrifice of the great king had come to an end, the immortals,
after receiving their shares, returned as they had come. 2. The
ceremony of consecration being concluded, the king with his wives,
servants, army, and chariots, entered into the city. 3. The princes,
too, after being duly honoured by the king, and having made
obeisance to the most excellent muni, departed with joy to their
several countries. 4. The hosts of these glorious monarchs, as they
set out from the city for their homes, shone brilliant and delighted.
5. When they had gone, King Daśaratha again entered the city,
preceded by the Brahmans. 6. Rishyaśringa, receiving homage,
set out with (his wife) Sāntā, followed by the wise king and his
attendants. 7. Having dismissed all these (visitors), the king, with
satisfied mind, dwelt in happiness, meditating on the birth of his sons.
8. Then six seasons elapsed after the sacrifice had been completed;
and in the twelfth month,” etc. [The sequel of this passage, to-
gether with the parallel verses of Gorresio’s edition, will be found
in the Appendix.]

Schlegel’s ed., as I have already noticed, does not reach the same
point of the narrative till its 19th section, which begins by relating
the birth of Daśaratha’s sons, twelve months after the conclusion of
the sacrifice, by which no doubt the horse sacrifice is intended (tato
yajne sānāpte tu rītūnāṁ shat samatyayuh | tatascha dvādaśe māṣe
ityādi). After specifying the month, day, and planetary influences
under which Rāma was born, the writer proceeds: . . . . Jagannāthāṁ
sarva-loka-namaskṛitam | Kauśalyā ’janayad Rāmaṁ divya-lakṣaṇa-
saṁyutam | Kauśalyā śuṣubhe tona putrenāmita-tejasā | yathā ’dhipena
devanām Adītir Vajrapāṇīnā | [*bhavāya sa hi lokānāṁ Rāvanasya
badhāya cha | Vishnor vāryārdhato jajne Rāmo rājiva-lochanāḥ | Bharato
Regarding Rama's Birth, with Remarks.

namà Kaikeyyāṁ jajne satya-parākramah | sākṣhād Vishnoś chaturbhāgaḥ sarvaḥ samudito gunaṁ | atha Lakṣmaṇa-Satrughnau Sumitrā 'janayat sutaṁ | dṛḍha-bhakti mahotsiham Vishno ardhā-samānviṁ | ] pushye jātus tu Bharato mīna-lagne prasūṣṇa-dhiṁ | sārpe jātus tu Suṁitrī kulīre 'bhyaḍite ravaṁ |

"Kausalyā bore Rāma, the lord of the universe, adored by all worlds, distinguished by divine marks. Kausalyā derived lustre from that son of boundless might, as Aditi did from the Thunderer, the lord of the gods. [*For the lotus-eyed Rāma was produced from the half of Vishnu's virile power, for the good of the world and the slaughter of Rāvana. Bharata, of genuine valour, was born of Kaikeyī, manifest as the fourth part of Vishnu, endowed with all virtues. Then Suṁitrā brought forth two sons, of strong devotion and great energy, Lakṣmaṇa and Satrughna, possessing (each) the half (of the fourth part) of Vishnu.] Now Bharata, of clear understanding, was born under Pushya (the eighth lunar mansion), under the sign of the fishes; while the sons of Suṁitrā were born under the [ninth] lunar mansion of the serpents, when the sun had entered into Cancer."

If the supposition of Schlegel and Lassen that the 14th, 15th, and 16th sections are interpolated, be correct, it is quite conceivable that the verses of the section before us describing Daśaratha's sons as portions of Vishnu, which I have marked with an asterisk and included in brackets, may also have been interpolated, as they can be spared without detriment to the connexion; and if they are retained, the births of Bharata, Lakṣmaṇa, and Satrughna, are related twice. In that case the epithets "lord of the universe," and "adored by all worlds," which occur in the first of the verses I have quoted, may have been afterwards substituted for some of a less magnificent character which stood there before. And, in fact, if Rāma was originally regarded as an incarnation of Vishnu, it does not appear so suitable to compare his birth to that of Indra (in that case a personage of less dignity than Vishnu), as is done in one of the verses which I presume to be ancient, and genuine.

The following is a summary of the episode of the apparition of Paraśurāma referred to above by Prof. Lassen in p. 170. When King Daśaratha was returning to his capital, after taking leave of Janaka, the King of Mithilā, whose daughter Sītā had just been married to
Rāma (Rāmāyana, Schleg. i ‘74=Bombay ed. i. 74, and Gorresio’s ed. i. 76), he was alarmed by the ill-omened sounds uttered by certain birds, which however were counteracted, as the sage Vasishṭha assured the king, by the auspicious sign of his being perambulated by the wild animals of the forest. The alarming event indicated was the arrival of Paraśurāma, preceded by a hurricane which shook the earth and prostrated the trees, and by thick darkness which veiled the sun. He was fearful to behold, brilliant as fire, and bore his axe and a bow on his shoulder. Being received with honour, which he accepted, he proceeded to say to Rāma, the son of Daśaratha (in section 75), that he had heard of his prowess in breaking the bow produced by Janaka (Rām. i. 67), and had brought another which he asked Rāma to bend, and to fit an arrow on the string; and if he succeeded in doing so, he (Paraśurāma) would offer to engage with him in single combat. Daśaratha is rendered anxious by this speech, and adopts a suppliant tone towards Paraśurāma, but the latter again addresses Rāma, and says that the bow he had broken was Śiva’s, but the one he himself had now brought was Viśṇu’s. Two celestial bows, he proceeds, were made by Viśvakarman, of which one was given by the gods to Mahādeva, the other to Viśṇu. The narrative then proceeds (14 ff.):

_Tadā tu devatāḥ sarvāḥ prieḥhanti sma Pitāmahaṁ | Sītikanṭhaśya Viśnoḥ cha balābala-nirīkṣhayaḥ | abhiprāyaṁ tu vijñāya devatānāṁ Pitāmahāḥ | virodhaṁ janayāmāsa tayoḥ satyavatāṁ varāḥ | virodhe tu mahad yuddham abhacavd roma-harṣaṇam | Sītikanṭhasya Viśnoḥ cha paraspara-jayaishinoḥ | tadā tu jārimbhitaṁ saivaṁ dhanur bhīma-parākramam | hunkārena Mahādevaṁ stambhitō’tha trilochanaḥ | devais tadā samāgamyā sarshi-sanghaiḥ sa-chāraṇaiḥ | yāchita prāśamaṁ tatra jagmatāu sau rottamau | jārimbhitaṁ tad dhanur dīrṣṭvā saivaṁ Viśṇu-parākramaiḥ | adhikam menīre Viśṇuṁ devāḥ sarshi-gaṇās tathā | dhanu Rudras tu sankruddho Videhesu mahāyaśaḥ | Devarūtasya rājarsher dadau haste sa-sāyakam | idāṁ tu Vaishṇavaṁ Rāma dhanuḥ para-purāṇjayam | Ṛchike Bhārgave prāddād Viṣṇuḥ sa nyāsat uttamaṁ_ | “The gods then all made a request to Brahmā, desiring to find out the strength and weakness of Sītikāṇṭha (Mahādeva) and Viṣṇu. Brahmā, most excellent of the true, learning the purpose of the gods, created enmity between the two. In this state of enmity a great and terrible fight ensued between Sītikāṇṭha and Viṣṇu, each of whom was eager to
conquer the other. Siva’s bow of dreadful power was then relaxed, and the three-eyed Mahâdeva was arrested by a muttering. These two eminent deities being entreated by the assembled gods, rishis, and Chârânas, then became pacified. Seeing that the bow of Siva had been relaxed by the prowess of Vishnu; the gods and rishis esteemed Vishnu to be superior. Then the illustrious Rudra, incensed, gave the bow and arrows into the hand of the royal rishi Devarâta [who dwelt] among the Videhas. But this, Râma, is the bow of Vishnu, which vanquishes hostile cities. Vishnu gave this excellent deposit to Richika, the descendant of Bhrigu.” From him it came to Jamadagni, father of Paraśurâma. After referring to his father’s murder by Arjuna, and his own subsequent history, Paraśurâma repeats that he had heard of Râma’s prowess in breaking the other bow, and again asks him to bend Vishnu’s; and in the event of his succeeding, again offers to fight him. Râma replies (section 76) that though his warlike qualities are condemned by his rival, he will give him a proof of his powers. He then snatches, in anger, the bow from the hand of Paraśurâma, bends it, fits an arrow on the string; and tells his challenger that he will not shoot at him because he is a Brähman, and for the sake of his kinsman Visvamitra; but will either destroy his superhuman capacity of movement, or deprive him of the blessed abodes he has acquired by austerity. The gods now arrive to be witnesses of the scene. Paraśurâma becomes disheartened and powerless, and humbly entreats that he may not be deprived of his faculty of movement (lest he should be incapacitated from fulfilling his promise to Kaśyapa to leave the earth every night), but consents that his blissful abodes may be destroyed. He then goes on, v. 17 (Schlegel’s and Bombay editions—sect. 77, 49 ff. of Gorresio):

_Akshayam Madhuhantâraṁ jânâmi tvām mahośvaram (or sureśvaram) | dhanusho ’syâ parâmarśâivasti te ’stu parantapa | 18 | ete sura-ganâh sarve nirikshante sâmâgatah | tvām apratima-karmânam apratidevandvam āhave | 19 | na cheyam mama Kâkutshha vriḍâ bhavilum arhati | tvayâ trailokyâ-nâthena yad aham vimushhikritah | 17._ “By the bending of

169 The orthodox commentator (in the Bombay edition) will not allow this to be taken absolutely. He says: _Vastutan tu prakrīta-yudhyo Vishnuor ādhikya-darsanat Tripura-badhe S’ivasaya ādhikya-darsanat toyok śomya-grahayam iti tātparyam_ | “In reality, as we find that Vishnu is the stronger in the fight before us, whilst S’iva is stronger in the slaughter of Tripura, the result is that their equality must be assumed.”

170 See the first volume of this work, second edition, pp. 449 ff.
this bow I recognize thee to, be the imperishable slayer of Madhu, the great Lord (or lord of the Gods): hail, vanquisher of thy foes! 18. All these assembled gods behold thee who art unequalled in action, unrivalled in fight. 19. It need be no cause of shame to me that I have been humbled by thee who art the lord of the three worlds." Rāma then shoots the arrow, and destroys Paraśurāma's abodes.

In whatever light the author of these lines may really have looked upon Vishnu, whether as identical with the supreme Spirit or not, the passage itself contains no epithet or expression which necessitates such an interpretation. At the same time it is to be observed that the Vishnu Purāṇa (see Wilson's trans. pp. 594 ff. 4to. ed. = pp. 114 ff. vol. v. of Dr. Hall's ed.), the Harivaṃśa (sections 183 and 184), and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (x., 64th and previous sections), which indubitably regard Vishnu as the supreme Deity, also relate a combat between him and Mahādeva. There is no doubt, however, that the 119th section of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, which I now proceed to quote from the text of the edition published some years ago at Bombay, distinctly speaks of Rāma as an incarnation of the supreme Spirit. This Bombay text, though it follows the Devanāgarī recension of Upper India, does not, in this section, differ materially, except in the arrangement of the verses, from that of Gorresio. I should judge, from the nature of the epithets which are here applied to Vishnu, that this chapter, as it now stands, could not have formed part of the original Rāmāyaṇa. In the preceding portion of the poem it had been related that Sītā, after being recovered by Rāma on the defeat and death of Rāvana, had been suspected of unchastity by her husband, and had in consequence entered the fire. The 119th section then goes on thus:

Yuddha-Kāṇḍa, sect. 119, 1 ff.—

117 This verse is found in Gorresio's edition only, not in that of Bombay.
KANDA OF THE RAMAYANA WITH REMARKS.

179

sitam | kartā sarvasya lokasya śreshtho, jnānavidām vibhuh | up ekshase katham Sītām pathanti māvavāhāne | katham deva-gana-śreshthām ātmānam nāvabduhyase. | Rīta-dhāmā Vasuḥ purāvam Vasūnām cha Prajāpatiḥ | tvam trayāṇām hi lokānām ādi-kartā svayam prabhuh | Rudrāṇām ashtāmo Rudrāḥ Sādhyānām api panchamāḥ | Āśīnavā cahipi te karnāu chandrādityau cha chakshūḥ | ante chādu cha bhūtanām dṛisyase tvam paramaṇaṇa | up ekshase cha Vasūdēhim mānushāḥ prākṛito yathā | ity ukto lokāpālais taiḥ soṇām lokasya Rāghavaḥ | abhrāvit tridāsa-śreshthān Rāmo dharmā-bhūtān varāḥ | ātmānam mānusham manye Rāma Dhāsrathātmajam | so’haṁ yaśaḥ yataḥ chāhaṁ bhagavāṁ tad braviṇu me | iti brūvānaṁ Kākutsthaṁ Brahmā brahma-vidāṁ varāḥ | abhrāvit śṛṇu me vākyām satyāṁ satya-parākramaṁ bhavān Nārāyaṇāḥ devāḥ śrimāṁśa chakra-yudhāḥ prabhuh | eka-śṛṇgo varūhas tvam bhūta-bhavya-sapatna-jiṭ aksharam Brah- ma satyāṁ cha madhye chānte cha Rāghavaḥ lokānām tvam paro dharmo Vīshvakṣenasā elatubhyāḥ | Sārnga-dhanāv Hṛṣīkeśaḥ purushāḥ puru- shottamaḥ | ajitaḥ khagda-dhig Vīshnūḥ Krishṇaḥ chaiva vrihdbalāḥ | Senānir grāmaṇiḥ satyaṁ tvam buddhis tvam kshamā damāḥ | prabhavaḥ chāpyayaś cha tvam UpendroMadhusūdanaḥ | Indra-karmā Mahendras tvam padmanābho raṇānta-krit | sāranyaṁ sāranaṁ ca tvam āhur divyāḥ maharṣhayāḥ | sahasra-śringo vedāṁ Āta-sārshāḥ maharṣhabhaḥ | tvam trayāṇāṁ hi lokānām ādi-kartā svayam prabhuh | siddhānāṁ api sādh- yānāṁ āśrayaḥ chāsi pāravaya | tvam yajnas tvam vāsakārās tvam omkāraḥ parāt parah | prabhavaṁ nidhanāṁ vā te na viduḥ ko bhavān iti | dṛisyate sarva-bhūtesho bruhmaneshu cha gosuḥ cha | dīkṣhu sarvasu gaganā parvateshu nadiḥu cha | sahasra-charaṇaḥ śrīmaṁ śata-sārshāḥ sahasra-dīk | tvam dharayasi bhūtāni vasudhām cha sa-parvataṁ | ante prthivyāḥ salile dṛisyate tvam mahoragaḥ | trīṁ lokān dhārayan Rāma deva-gandharva-dānavāḥ | ahaṁ te hṛdayāmām Rāma jihvā devi Sarasvatī | devāḥ romāṁ gātresu Brahmaṁ nirmiṁtāḥ prabho | nimeshaḥ te smṛtā rātrīr unmesho divasas tathā | saṁskārās te bhavān vedāḥ naitad asti tvayā vinā | jagat sarvaṁ sarīrāṁ te sthairyaṁ te vasudhātalam | Agniḥ kopaḥ prasūnas te Somāḥ śrīvatsalākṣaṇa | tvyaḥ lokās trayāḥ krāntāḥ | purā svair viśramais trībhūḥ | Mahendras cha kṛito rājā Balim buddhāvū sudārunaṁ | 172 yat paraṁ śrayate jyotir yat paraṁ śrayate taman | yat param paraṁ sūnaṁ chaica paramātmeti kathyaḥ | paramākhyam paraṁ yaḥ cha tvam eva parīgyase | sthiy-utpatti-viśdāsāṁ tvām āhuh paramām

172 These two verses occur in Gorresio’s edition only, not in that of Bombay.
TRANSLATION OF THE PASSAGE FROM THE

"Then the righteous Ráma, dejected, on hearing the words of those who thus spoke, meditated for a moment, with his eyes disturbed by tears. Then King Kuvera, and Yámá with the Pitris, and Indra, lord of the gods, and Varuṇa, lord of the waters, and the glorious thre- eyed Mahádeva, whose ensign is a bull, and Brahmá, the creator of the whole world, the most eminent of the knowers of the Veda; [*and that King Daśaratha, moving in the air on a celestial car, arrived in that region, equal in lustre to the king of the gods] ; these all having come on cars brilliant as the sun, and arrived in the city of Lánká, came near to Rághava (Ráma). Then these most eminent gods, holding the large arms of Ráma, adorned with armlets, addressed him as he stood with joined hands: 'How dost thou, the maker of the whole universe, the most eminent of the wise, the pervading, disregard Sítá's throwing herself into the fire? How dost thou not perceive thyself to be the chief of the host of the gods? [Thou wast] formerly the Vasu Ritadháman, and the Prajápatí of the Vásus. Thou art the primal maker of the three worlds, the self-dependent lord, the eighth Rudra of the Rudras, and the fifth of the Sádhyás. The Ásvins are thine ears, the Moon and Sun thine eyes. Thou, vexer of thy foes, art seen in the end and at the beginning of created things. And yet thou disregardest Sítá like a common man.' Being thus addressed by these guardians of the world, Ráma, the lord of the world, chief of the supporters of righteousness, said to the most eminent gods, 'I regard myself as a man, Ráma, son of Daśaratha; do you, divine being, tell me who and whence I am.' Brahmá, chief of the knowers of the
Veda, replied to Kākulstha (Rāma) thus speaking: 'Hear my true word, O being of genuine power. Thou art the god, the glorious lord, Nārāyaṇa, armed with the discus. Thou art the one-horned boar, the conqueror of thy foes, past and future, the true, imperishable Brahma, both in the middle and end. Thou art the supreme righteousness of the world, Vishvaksena, the four-armed; the bearer of the bow, Sārnga, Hṛishīkeśa (lord of the senses), Purusha (the male), the highest of Purushas, the unconquered, sword-wielding, Viṣṇu, and Kṛṣṇa of mighty force, the general, the leader, the true. Thou art intelligence, thou art patience, and self-restraint. Thou art the source of being and cause of destruction, Upendra (the younger Indra), and Madhusūdana. Thou art Mahendra (the elder Indra) fulfilling the function of Indra, he from whose navel springs a lotus, the ender of battles. The great divine rishi call thee the refuge, the resort of suppliants. Thou art the thousand-horned, composed of the Veda, the hundred-headed, the mighty. Thou art the primal maker of the three worlds, the self-dependent lord, and the refuge of the Siddhas and Sadhyas, O thou primevally born. Thou art sacrifice, thou art the vashātkāra, and the oṁkāra, higher than the highest. Men know not who thou art, the source of being, or the destroyer. Thou art seen in all creatures, in Brahmans and in cows, in all the regions, in the mountains and rivers, thousand-footed, glorious, hundred-headed, thousand-eyed. Thou sustainest creatures, and the earth with its mountains; thou art seen, Rāma, at the extremity of the earth, in the waters, a mighty serpent supporting the three worlds, gods, Gandharvas, and Dānava. I am thy heart, Rāma, the goddess Sarasvatī is thy tongue. The gods have been made by Brahmā the hairs on thy limbs. The night is called the closing, and the day the opening, of thine eyes. The Vedas are thy thoughts. This [universe] exists not without thee. The whole world is thy body; the earth is thy stability. Agni is thy anger, Soma is thy pleasure, O thou whose mark is the Śrīvatsa. By thee

174 If this means, as it seems to do, Kṛṣṇa, the son of Devaki, it must, if not an anachronism, be intended as prophetic. The commentator, both here and further on, makes it mean merely the "black-coloured" (krīṣṇas tad-varṇaḥ).

175 The commentator explains saṁskāraḥ thus: Saṁskriyante bodhyante ebhir lokoh iti saṁskāraḥ pravṛtti-nirvṛtti-vyavasthā-bodhakoh | "Saṁskāras are the things by which people are instructed, the things which prescribe the rules of acting and forbearing to act." But this cannot well be the sense here.
the three worlds were traversed of yore with thy three paces, and Mahendra was made king after thou hadst bound the terrible Bali. [*That which is known as the chiefest light, that which is known as the chiefest darkness, that which is higher than the highest,—thou art called the highest Soul. It is thou who art hymned as that which is called the highest, and [is] the highest. Men call thee the highest source of continuance, production, and destruction.] Sitā is Lakshmi,¹⁷⁶ and thou art Vishnu, the divine Kṛṣṇa, the lord of creatures, who hast entered a mortal body for the slaughter of Rāvana,'” etc.

In the same way as Vishnu is associated with Rāma in the Rāmāyana, so is he connected with Kṛṣṇa in the Mahābhārata, the Vishnu, Bhāgavata, and Brahma-vaiṣvartta, Purāṇas, and other Vaishnava works of a later date. In the two first-named Purāṇas, though Kṛṣṇa is sometimes spoken of as a partial incarnation of Vishnu (see the passage from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 33, 27, quoted above, p. 50, and another from the Vishnu Purāṇa, which will be adduced below), he is generally regarded as a perfect manifestation of that deity, who, again, is identified with the supreme Spirit. In the Mahābhārata—which, as we have seen, contains a vast collection of heterogeneous materials originating in different ages, and embodying the opinions of various sects—we shall find that Kṛṣṇa is diversely represented in different parts of the work. I have already (p. 169) quoted some remarks of Professors Wilson and Lassen on this subject. According to these authors Kṛṣṇa, in so far as he is introduced as an actor in the events of the poem, is generally made to play a merely human part, and to manifest no superhuman power in succouring friends, or overcoming enemies; while, as Professor Wilson remarks, his divine character is frequently disputed. In the Chhāndogya Upanishad he is spoken of simply as the son of Devaki. In various parts of the Mahābhārata he is described as rendering homage to Mahādeva, and as receiving from him boons of various kinds. In many passages he is identified with the rishi Nārāyaṇa, while his friend Arjuna appears as one with the rishi Nara, the inseparable companion of the former. In these various passages, however, Kṛṣṇa is by no means regarded in general as an ordinary mortal. He receives various divine weapons from Mahādeva; in his

¹⁷⁶ In regard to Lakshmi and S'rī, see the fifth volume of this work, pp. 348 f.
character as the rishi Nārāyaṇa, he lives through successive ages, and displays superhuman faculties. Even while acting as the ally of the Pāṇḍus, he destroys Śiśupāla supernaturally with his discus. And in numerous passages he is identified in the clearest manner with Viṣṇu, who again, as I have said, is commonly assumed to be one with the supreme Spirit. I shall now proceed to adduce a variety of passages illustrative of these various assertions.

I. The following short passage from the Chhāṇḍogya Upanishad (pp. 220 ff. of the Bibl. Ind.) is, I believe, the oldest text yet known in which Krīṣṇa the son of Devaki is mentioned. It is extremely unfortunate that it is so brief; that it leaves us without any particulars of a personage about whom we should have been glad to possess the fullest details, who in after-times became so famous as to obtain the honour of deification,—except the meagre information that he was the son of Devaki, the pupil of a teacher named Ghora,\(^\text{177}\) and that he was so enthusiastically devoted to the pursuit of mystical lore as to become indifferent to everything else:

\[
\text{Tad ha etad Ghoraḥ Āngirasah Krīṣṇāya Devākī-putrāya uktvā uvācha apipāsah eva sa babhivā so 'nta-velāyām etat-trayam pratipadyeta "akshitam asy achyutam asi prāṇa-saṁśitam asi" iti | "Ghora, the descendant of Angiras, having declared this [the preceding mystical lore] to Krīṣṇa the son of Devākī, said to him that [which, when he heard], he became free from thirst [i.e. desire], viz.: 'let a man at the time of his death have recourse to these three texts, 'Thou art the undecaying, thou art the imperishable, thou art the subtle principle of breath.'”}

I quote some of the commentator's remarks on this important text:

\[
\text{Tad ha etad yajna-dārśanām Ghorā nāmataḥ Āngiraso gotrataḥ Krīṣṇāya Devākī-putrāya sīshyāya uktvā uvācha | tad “etat trayam” ityādi vyavahitena sambandhah | sa cha etad dārśanaṁ ārtvā apipāsah eva anyābhya vidyābhoh babhivā | itihān cha viśiṣṭā iyānuvidyā yat Krīṣṇāya Devākī-putrāya anyāṁ vidyāṁ prati trīd-vechhedā-kāri iti purusha-yajna-vidyāṁ stauti | Ghorā Āngirasah Krīṣṇāya uktvā imāṁ vidyāṁ kīm uvācha iti tad āha | sa evāṁ yathokta-yajna-vid anta-velāyāṁ maraṇa-kāle etan-mana-trayam pratipadyeta japed ity arthah |}

\(^{177}\) I am not aware whether Ghora is mentioned in connexion with Krīṣṇa in any other work.
.. prāṇa-saṁśītam prāṇasya saṁśītam samyak tanukrītanca sūkṣmaṁ tat tvan asi .....

"A person, Ghora, by name, and an Āngirasa by family, having declared this doctrine of sacrifice to Kṛishṇa the son of Devaki, his pupil, then said, etc. The connexion of the last word 'said,' is with the words which occur some way below, 'these three,' etc. And having heard this doctrine, he became free from desire for any other kinds of knowledge. In this manner he praises this knowledge of the Purusha-sacrifice by saying that it was so distinguished that it destroyed all thirst in Kṛishṇa, the son of Devaki, for any other knowledge. He now tells us what Ghora Āngirasa said after declaring this knowledge to Kṛishṇa. It was this: 'Let him who knows the aforesaid sacrifice, at the time of his death have recourse to, mutter, these three texts; .....

prāṇa-saṁśītam means, 'thou art the very minute, and subtle principle of breath.'"

II. I shall next quote some passages of the Mahābhārata in which Kṛishṇa is represented as rendering homage to Mahādeva, and consequently, to all appearance, as acknowledging his own inferiority to that deity. It is related in the Vana-parvan (vv. 1518-1656), in a passage which I shall quote further on, that Arjuna goes to supplicate Mahādeva for celestial weapons, and obtains from him the Pāśupata.

At a later stage of the poem (Droṇa-parvan, v. 2838) Arjuna is advised by Kṛishṇa to apply again to Mahādeva for the same Pāśupata weapon, as if the author (if indeed he is the same by whom the earlier passage was written) had forgotten that he had already got it. Arjuna, it appears, had vowed (vv. 2681 ff.) to slay Jayadrathas on the following day, though all the inferior deities should stand forward as his protectors. Subsequently, however, he becomes dejected, reflecting that the enemy's leaders would do their utmost to preserve Jayadratha, and that he would thus be unable to fulfil his promise (vv. 2830 ff.). Kṛishṇa hereupon advises Arjuna to supplicate Mahādeva for the Pāśupata weapon with which that god himself had formerly destroyed all the Daityas, and with which he (Arjuna) would be able to slay Jayadratha on the morrow (vv. 2833 ff.). Arjuna and Kṛishṇa then arrive with the speed of the wind, at the mountain on the summit of which Mahādeva abode, where they obtain a vision of that deity, with Pārvatī and his attendant Bhūtas (demons). On seeing him Vāśuđeva (Kṛishṇa) bows down to the earth:
Mahābhārata, Droṇa-parvan, vv. 2862 ff.—Vāsudevas tu tam drīṣṭvā jaśaṁ śirasā kṣītim | Pārthena saha dharmām griṇan brahma sanā- 
tanam | lokādiṁ viśva-karmāṇam ajam iśānam avyayam | manasaḥ para-
māṁ yoniṁ khaṁ vāyuṁ jyotishāṁ nidhīṁ | srashtāraṁ vāridhāraṇāṁ 
 bhavaśca praṅkṛitīm pariṁ | deva-dānava-yakṣaṁ māṇavāṇāṁcha 
sūdhānam | yogāsanaṁ param brahma triptāṁ brahma-vīdāṁ nidhīṁ | 
charācharasya srasṭāram pratihartāram eva cha | kāla-kopam mahāt- 
maṁāṁ sakra-sūrya-guṇodayam | vavande taṁ tadā Kṛishṇo vāṁ-man 
no buddhi-karmābhiḥ | yam prapadyanti vidvāṁsaḥ sūkṣmādhyātma-pādāu- 
shīṇaḥ | tam ajam kāraṇātmāṇaṁ jagmatuḥ saraṇaṁ Bhavam | Arjunaś 
chāpi taṁ devam bhūyo bhūyo ṣu avandata | jñātva taṁ sarva-bhūtādīm 
 bhūta-bhavya-bhuvodhavam | tatas tav āgatau drīṣṭvā Nara-Nārāyaṇän 
ubhau | suprasanna-manāḥ S'arvaḥ provācha praḥasann iva | āgatau vāṁ 
nara-srēṣṭhāv uttishṭhetām gata-klamau | kinccha vāṁ ēsitaṁ virau 
manasaḥ kshipram uchyaṁ | yena kārṣyaṇa samprāptaḥ yuvāṁ tat sūdha- 
ṣyāmi kim | eṇīyaṁ ātmanāḥ śreyas tat sarvam pradāmī vām |

"The righteous Vāsudeva (Kṛishṇa) then, together with the son of 
Prithā (Arjuna), reciting the eternal Veda, bowed his head to the 
ground, beholding him, the source of the worlds, the maker of the 
universe, the unborn, the imperishable lord, the supreme source of 
mind, the sky, the wind, the abode of the luminaries, the creator of the 
oceans, the supreme substance of the earth, the framer of gods, Dānavas, 
Yakṣas, and men, the supreme Brahma of meditative systems, the satis-
fied, the treasure of those who know Brahma, the creator of the world, 
and also its destroyer, the great impersonated destructive Wrath, the 
original of the attributes of Indra and Sūrya. Kṛishṇa then reverenced 
him with voice, mind, understanding, and act.178 Those two [heroes] 
had recourse to Bhava (Mahādeva) as their refuge,—to him whom the 
wise, desiring the subtle spiritual abode, attain,—to him the unborn 
cause. Arjuna, too, again and again reverenced that deity, knowing 
him to be the beginning of all beings, the source of the past, the 
future, and the present. Beholding those two, Nara and Nārāyaṇa,

178 In a passage from the S'āntiparvan, vv. 13152 ff., which I shall quote further on, 
Kṛishṇa explains away the worship which here and elsewhere he is said to have 
rendered to Mahādeva, by saying that it was done for the sake of example to others, 
and was in reality offered to himself, Mahādeva being one of his manifestations, and, 
in fact, one with him. But no hint is given of this here.
arrived, S'arva (Mahādeva), then greatly gratified, said, as if smiling: ‘Welcome, most eminent of men, rise up freed from fatigue, and tell me quickly, heroes, what your mind desires. Shall I accomplish for you the object for which you have come? Choose what is most for your welfare. I will give you all.’”

Kṛishṇa and Arjuna then recite a hymn in honour of Mahādeva, in the course of which he is designated as the “soul of all things, the creator of all things, and the pervader of all things” (viṣvātmane viśva-srīye viśam āvritya tishṭhate). Arjuna now, after reverencing both Kṛishṇa and Mahādeva, asks the latter for the celestial weapon. They are thereupon sent by Mahādeva to a lake where he says he had formerly deposited his bow and arrows. They there saw two serpents, one of which was vomiting flames, and approached them, bowing to Mahādeva and uttering the S'atarudriya.179 Through the power of Mahādeva, the serpents change their shape and become a bow and arrow (v. 2899), which Kṛishṇa and Arjuna bring to Mahādeva. Eventually Arjuna receives as a boon from Mahādeva the Pāśupata weapon, with the power of fulfilling his engagement to slay Jayadratha (vv. 2906 ff.); after which they both return to their camp.

In the Sauptika-parvan, 312 f., Mahādeva, smiling, as it were (hasann ēva), says to Aśvatthāman: Satya-sauchārjava-tyāgaṁ tapasā niyamena cha | kshānyāt matyā cha ṛkhiṭyā cha buddhyā cha vachasā tathā | 313. Yathāvad aham ārāddhāḥ Kṛishnena-kliṣṭa-karmaṇā | tasmād iṣṭatamaḥ Kṛishṇād anyo māma na vidyate | “I have been duly worshipped by Kṛishṇa, the energetic in action, with truth, purity, honesty, liberality, austerity, ceremonies, patience, wisdom, self-control, understanding and words: wherefore no one is dearer to me than Kṛishṇa.” (See Prof. Monier Williams’s analysis of this book in his “Indian Epic Poetry,” pp. 121 ff.)

In a later part of the same book (vv. 765 ff.) Kṛishṇa thus celebrates the greatness of Mahādeva: Nūham sa deva-devānām īsvaresvaram āvyayam | jagāma saranaṁ Draunir ekas tenābadhīd bahūn | 766 | prasanno hi Mahādevo dadyād amaratām api | viryaṁ cha giriśo dadyād yenendram api sātayet | 767 | vedāhaṁ hi Mahādevaṁ tattvena Bharatarṣhabha | yāni chāṣya puruṣāṃi karmāṇi vividhāni cha | 768 | ādir

179 A long hymn from the Yajur-veda, which will be quoted further on in the chapter on Rudra.
esha hi bhūtānāṁ madhyam antaś cha Bhārata | vichesštate jagach chedaṁ sarvam asyaiva karmanā | 765. “Āsvatthāman resorted to the imperishable lord of lords of the gods as his refuge; and through him he, though but one, slew many. 766. For Mahādeva, if pleased, can bestow even immortality, and prowess whereby any one may overcome even Indra himself. 767. I perfectly know Mahādeva, and his various works of old, 768. For he is the beginning, middle, and end of (all) creatures; and this entire world moves through his agency.”

See Williams’s “Indian Epic Poetry,” p. 123.

The Anuśāsana-parvan also contains several sections in which the praises of Mahādeva are celebrated at considerable length, and in which he is declared to have been worshipped by Krishṇa. At v. 588 of that book Yudhishṭhira asks Bhīṣma to declare the names of that deity, when the latter replies as follows (vv. 590 ff.):


180 The MS. of the Mahābhārata in the library of the Roy. As. Soc reads annāt.
"I am unable to declare the attributes of the wise Mahādeva, who is an all-pervading god, yet is nowhere seen, who is the creator and the lord of Brahmā, Vishṇu,\(^{181}\) and Indra, whom the gods, from Brahmā to the Piśāchas, worship, who transcends material natures as well as spirit (Purusha), who is meditated upon by rishis versed in contemplation (yoga), and possessing an insight into truth, who is the supreme, imperishable Brahma, that which is both non-existent, and at once existent and non-existent. Having agitated matter and spirit by his power, this god of gods and lord of creatures (Prajāpati) thence created Brahmā. What human being like me, who has been subject to gestation in the womb, and to birth, and is liable to decay and death, can declare the attributes of Bhava, the supreme lord,—[who can do this] except Nārāyaṇa, the bearer of the shell, the discus, and the club? This Vishṇu, wise, eminent in qualities, very hard to overcome, with divine insight, of mighty power, beholds\(^{182}\) [him] with the eye of contemplation. Through his devotion to Rudra, the world is pervaded by the mighty Krishṇa. Having then propitiated that deity (Mahādeva) at Badari, he (Krishṇa) obtained from the golden-eyed Mahesvara the quality of being in all worlds more dear than wealth. This Mādhava (Krishṇa) performed austerity for a full thousand years, propitiating Śiva, the god who bestows boons, and the preceptor of the world. But in every mundane period (yuga) Mahēsvara has been propitiated by Krishṇa, and has been gratified by the eminent devotion of that great personage. This unshaken Hari (Krishṇa), [when seeking] for offspring, has beheld distinctly of what character is the glory of that great parent of the world. Than him I behold none higher. This large-armed [Krishṇa] is able to recount fully the names of the god of gods, to describe the qualities of the divine [being], and the real might of Mahēsvara in all its extent."

Bhishma then calls upon Krishṇa, whom he designates as Vishṇu,

\(^{181}\) Professor Aufrecht (Catalogue, p. 54a, note) quotes the following verse from the 55th chapter of the Vāyu Purāṇa, as spoken by Mahādeva: *Ayaṁ me daksīṇa bāhuḥ Brahmā loka-pitāmaḥḥ | vāmo bāhuḥ cha me Vishṇur nityām yuddhahsva nirjītaḥ | "Brahmā, the parent of the universe, is my right arm, and Vishṇu is my left arm, always overcome in battles." Must not the correct reading here be *yuddhahsva anirjītaḥ, "unconquered in battles"?*

\(^{182}\) The printed text reads *vīkṣhyate*, "is beheld," but the sense seems to require *vīkṣhate*, "beholds."
and as the divine teacher of gods and Asuras (śurāsura-guṇa deva Viṣṇo), to celebrate Mahādeva’s greatness. Krishna accordingly says (vv. 610 ff.):

Na gatiḥ karmanāṁ sakyā vettum iśasya tattvataḥ | Hiranyagarbhā-pramukhāḥ devāḥ sendrāḥ maharshavyāḥ | na vidur yasya bhavanam Ādityāḥ sūkṣma-darśināḥ | sa kathaṁ nara-mātreṇa sakyō jnātum satāṁ gatiḥ | tasyāham, āsura-ghnasya kāṁśhid bhagavato gūnan | bhavatāṁ kīrtyāsyaṁ vratēśāya [vratēśasya?] yathātatham | “The course of the deeds of Īśa (Mahādeva) cannot be really known. He whose essence neither the gods headed by Hiranyagarbha, nor the great rishis with Indra, nor the Ādityas, the perceivers of the minutest objects, understand,—how can he, the refuge of saints, be known by any mere man? I shall declare to you exactly some of the attributes of that divine slayer of the Asuras, of the lord of religious ceremonies.”

Krishna then relates how he had formerly seen Mahādeva. It appears that his wife Jāmbavati (v. 616), daughter of the king of the monkeys (kapīndra-putri, v. 629), had come to him desirous of a son; she says (vv. 619 f.):

Na hi te’ prāpyam astīha trishu lokēsthu kinchana | lokān spījes tvam aparāṁ ichhan Yadvu-kulodvaha | tvayā dvādaśa-varshāṇi vratibhūtena sushyatā | ārādhya paśubhartāram Rukmiṇyāṁ janiṁ tataḥ | “For there is nothing in these three worlds unattainable by thee (Krishṇa). Thou, scion of the race of Yadu, couldst create other worlds. By thee, after twelve years’ fasting and mortification, and worship of the nourisher of beasts (Mahādeva), sons were begotten on Rukmiṇī (another of his wives).”

Krishṇa promises to bring about the accomplishment of Jāmbavati’s wishes. The story proceeds that he was then conveyed by the celestial bird Garuḍa to the Himalaya (v. 632), where he sees the delightful hermitage of the saint Upamanyu, which is described at length (vv. 634–652). Krishna enters, and is reverentially saluted by Upamanyu

183 He is, however, called king of the bears in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa.—See Wilson’s translation, p. 427 f. (vol. iv., pp. 76 and 79 of Dr. Hall’s ed.)

184 Compare what is said of Viśvāmitra in the first volume of this work, p. 404.

185 This twelve years’ austerity performed before for the sake of progeny is alluded to further on in the Anuśāsana-parvan, v. 6397, and the birth of a son is mentioned, v. 6889. As Krishna is represented in that passage in a higher character than he is in the one before us, it will be more appropriately quoted farther on.

186 One of the features of the hermitage is thus depicted in v. 651: Krīḍanti sar-
UPAMANYU CELEBRATES MAHĀDEVA'S PRAISES.

(v. 655), who tells him that after propitiating Mahādeva by austerities, he shall obtain a son equal to himself (v. 658). The saint then goes on to celebrate the greatness of Mahādeva, who, he said, had given boons to various beings, and to Vishnu his discus (vv. 662 ff.):

Hiranyakasipur yo 'bhūd dānavo Meru-kampanah | tena sarvāmarais-varyaṁ S'arvāt prāptaṁ samārbudam | tasyaiva putra-pravaro Mandaro nāma viśrutaḥ | Mahādeva-varāch chhakraṁ varshārbdham ayodhayat | Vishnuś chakrancha tad ghorāṁ vajram. Ākhaṇḍalasya cha | śirṇam purā 'bhavat tāta Grahasyāṅgeshu Keśava | yat tad bhagavatā pūrvaṁ dattaṁ chakraṁ tavāṅgaḥ | jalāntara-charaṁ hatvā dāityanācha bālagaritam | utpādatāṁ Viśhānkena dīptaṁ jvalana-sannibham | dattam bhagavatā tuḥyaṁ durdhārshaṁ tejasā 'dhibutam | na śaṅkyaṁ drasṭaṁ anyena varjayitvā Pīnākinam | Sudarśanam bhavaty evam Bhavenoktaṁ tadā tu tat | Sudarśanāṁ tadda tasya loke nāma pratisthītam | taj śirṇam abhavat tāta Grahasyāṅgeshu Keśava | Grahasyātibalasyāṅge varadattasya dhimataḥ | na sastraṁ vahanī ane chakraṁ vajra-satāṇy api | ardamanāśca vibudhā Graheṇa subaliyāśa | S'iva-datta-varān jaghnur asurendrāṁ Surāḥ bhrīṣam |

"Hiranyakasipu, the Dānava, the shaker of mount Meru, obtained from Sarva (Mahādeva) the sovereignty of all the immortals for a hundred million years. He had an eminent and renowned son, called Mandara, who by the grace of Mahādeva fought with Indra for a hundred million years. Formerly both the dreadful discus of Vishnu and the thunderbolt of Ākhaṇḍalā (Indra) were shattered against the limbs of Graha (Rāhu). That discus, resplendent and fiery, which was formerly given to thee by the god after slaying the marine monster, and the Dāitya, proud of his strength, was produced

dhair nakulāḥ mrigair vyāghrāsaḥ mitra-vat | prabhāvād dipta-tapasāṁ sannikarṣhād mahātmanām | "Weasels sport in a friendly fashion with serpents," [the two kinds of creatures being deadly foes], "and tigers with deer, through the power of those saints of brilliant austerity, from the proximity of those mighty ones."—Compare Isaiah xi. 6 ff.: "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid," etc.

187 In v. 655 the appellation puṇḍarīkākṣa, "lotus-eyed," and in v. 659, that of adhokṣajā, are applied to Kṛishṇa.

188 This word occurs in Rigveda, viii. 17, 12, and the words are quoted in the Nirukta, iii. 10: Ākhaṇḍala prā ḫuyase | "O Ākhaṇḍalā, or destroyer, thou art invoked." It is rendered "shatterer," "destroyer," in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, s.v.
by Mahādeva.189 Bestowed upon them by the god, resistless, and wonderful in its potency, it could not be looked upon by any other than Pīnākin (the bearer of the bow, i.e. Mahādeva). It then received from Bhava (Mahādeva) the name of Sudarśana, and by that name it is celebrated in the world. That discus was shattered against the limbs of Graha. On the body of the wise and very powerful Graha, who had received a boon, no weapons, not even the discus, or a thousand thunderbolts, produce any effect. The gods being harassed by the most mighty Graha, slew on many occasions the Asuras who had received boons from Śiva."

After telling that many other persons had obtained boons by worshipping Mahādeva, the saint Upamanyu relates a story about himself, how his mother, after smelling him on the head (mūrdhany āghrāya) had fully declared to him the greatness of this deity (vv. 724 ff.). In addition to the more general attributes assigned to the god, the following are some characteristics of a more special description (some of them sufficiently horrible or disgusting), as detailed with admiration by this female devotee. He assumes many forms of gods (as Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Indra, Rudra), and of men, of goblins, demons, barbarians, tame and wild beasts, birds, reptiles, fishes, with many varieties of human disguises, etc. (v. 731 ff.). He is the soul of all the worlds, all-pervading, residing in the heart of all creatures, knowing all desires (v. 742 f.). He carries a discus, a trident, a club, a sword, an axe (v. 745). He has a girdle of serpents, earrings of serpents, a sacrificial cord of serpents, and an outer garment of serpents' skins (v. 746). He laughs, sings, dances charmingly, and plays various musical instruments (v. 747). He leaps, gapes, weeps, makes others weep; speaks like a madman or a drunkard, as well as in sweet tones (v. 748). He laughs terrifically (v. 749). He is both visible and invisible, on the altar, on the sacrificial post, in the fire, a boy, an old man, a youth (v. 751). He dallies with the daughters and the wives of the rishis, with erect hair, obscene appearance,190 naked, with excited look (v. 752: kriyate.

189 In an account of Kṛiṣṇa's exploits in the Drona-parvan, however, it is said (v. 402) that the chakra was obtained by worshipping Agni: Khāṇḍaṇe Pārtha-saḥitas toṣayitvā Hūtāsanaṁ | Āgyeyam astraṁ durdharsaṁ chakraṁ lehe mahā-balāh | In the same passage (v. 401) he is said to have obtained his shell (śankha) by conquering Panchajana in the infernal regions.

rishi-kanyābhīr rishi-patnībhīr eva cha | urddha-keśo mahāsepho nagno vikrita-lochanāḥ |. He is one-faced, two-faced, three-faced, many-faced.

Such is the deity, of whom, after hearing this description, Upamanyu becomes a constant devotee, and whom he gratifies by long austerities, standing for a thousand years on the tip of his left toe, during the first hundred years of which period he lives on fruits, the second hundred on withered leaves, the third hundred on water, and the remaining seven hundred on air (v. 758 ff.). Mahādeva at length appears to him in the form of Indra, and offers him his choice of a boon. Upamanyu, however, is indifferent about Indra, and declares that he cares nothing about any other god than Mahādeva, and will accept no boon, however great, at the hand of any other, adding many passionate expressions of devotion to this deity. And a further occasion being offered by a question of Indra, the saint again proceeds to expatiate in a passage of some length on the attributes of his favourite god (vv. 784-829), of which I shall only quote the following lines (v. 822 ff.):

Hetubhir vā kim anyais tair Isāḥ kuruṇa-kuruṇam | na śūrṣuma yad anyasya lingam abhyarchyate suraiḥ | kasyānyasya suraiḥ sarvair lingam muktvā Mahēscaram | archyate 'rchita-pūreṇāḥ vā brūhi yady asti te śṛutiḥ | yasya Brahmā cha Vishnuś cha tvam chōpi sāhā daivataiḥ | archayethāḥ sadā lingām tasmāḥ chhreshthatamo hi sāḥ | na padmāṅkāḥ na chakrāṅkāḥ na vajrāṅkāḥ yatāḥ prajāḥ | lingāṅkā cha bhagāṅkā cha tasmād Mahēsvaram prajāḥ | Devyāḥ kāraṇa-rūpa-bhāva-janītāḥ sarvāḥ bhagāṅkāḥ striyo lingenūpi Kārasya sarva-purushāḥ prayāksa-chih-nikrītaḥ | yo 'nyat kāraṇam iśvarat pravadate devya cha yad nāṅkitaṁ trailekṣye sācarāchāre sa tu punān vāhyo bhaved durmātiḥ | puṁsāṅgāṁ sarvam Īsanaṁ stri-lingām viḍḍhi chāpy Uṃāi | dvābhyāṁ tanubhyāṁ vyāptāṁ hi charācharam idāṁ jagat | "Is Isā (Mahādeva) the Cause of causes for any other reasons? We have not heard that the linga (male organ) of any other person is worshipped by the gods. Declare, if thou hast heard, what other being's linga except that of Mahēśvara is now worshipped, or has formerly been worshipped, by the gods? He whose linga Brahmā and Vishnu, and thou (Indra), with the deities, continually worship, is therefore the most eminent. Since children bear neither the mark of the lotus (Brahmā's), nor of the discus (Vishnu's), nor of the thunderbolt (Indra's), but are marked with the male and the
female organs,—therefore offspring is derived from Maheśvara. All women produced from the nature of Devī as their cause, are marked with the female organ, and all males are manifestly marked with the linga of Hara. He who asserts any other cause than Īśvara (Mahādeva) or [affirms] that there is any [female] not marked by Devī in the three worlds, including all things movable or immovable, let that fool be thrust out. Know everything which is male to be Isana, and all that is female to be Uma; for this whole world, movable and immovable, is pervaded by [these] two bodies."

The saint is at length gratified by the appearance of Mahādeva himself with his spouse Pārvatī (vv. 837–841 f.); and a long description of the vision is given. Brahma and Vishnu stand on Mahādeva's right and left, and celebrate his praises (v. 869 f.):

Savya-dese tu devasya Brahma loka-pitāmahah | divyaṁ vimānam āsthāya haṁsa-yuktam mano-jam | vāma-pṛśva-gataś cāpi tathaḥ Nārāyaṇaḥ sthitaḥ | Vainateyaṁ samāruhya śankha-chakra-gadā-dharaḥ |

875 f. Astuvan vividhāṁ stotraṁ Mahādevaṁ suras tadaḥ | Brahma Bhavaṁ tada 'staushīd rathantaram udirayam | jyeshṭha-sāmnā cha deva-saṁ jagu Nārāyaṇas tadaḥ | griñān brahma param Śakrah satarudriyam uttamam | Brahma Nārāyaṇas chaiva devarājaścha Kauśikāḥ | asobhanta mahātmānas trayas trayaḥ ivāgnayaḥ | 869. "On the left (right?) of the god was Brahma, patriarch of the world, standing on a celestial car, drawn by swans, and fleet as thought. On the left was Nārāyaṇa (Vishnu) mounted on Garuḍa, bearing a shell, discus and club. . . . 875. The gods then lauded Mahādeva with various hymns. Brahma celebrated him, reciting the Rathantara, while Nārāyaṇa hymned the god of gods with the Jyeshṭha sāmnā, and Indra, uttering that most eminent prayer, the excellent Satarudriya. Brahma, Nārāyaṇa, and the king of the gods (Indra), the son of Kuśika, the three mighty deities, shone like the three fires."

Upamanyu himself then lauds Mahādeva (vv. 880–923). At the conclusion of his hymn a shower of flowers falls from the sky on his head, accompanied by celestial odours, and music (v. 925 f.), and Mahādeva addresses him, offering to bestow everything he wishes. Upamanyu

191 The epithet of Kuśika is given to Indra in R. V. i. 20, 11. See the first vol. of this work, pp. 347 f.
sheds tears of joy, falls on his knees, makes repeated prostrations, and after acknowledging with gratitude the god's condescension in granting him this vision, proceeds to say (vv. 839 ff.):

Sa eśa bhagavān devāḥ sarva-sattvādīv ayayāḥ | sarva-tattvād-viśhāna-jnaḥ pradhāna-purushāḥ paraḥ | yo 'srijad dakshiṇād angād Brahmānaṁ loka-sambhavam | vāma-pārśvat tathā Viśnun loka-rakshārtham Īsvarāḥ | yugānte chaiva samprāpte Rudram Īśo 'srijat prabhū ity ādi | “This is the glorious god, the beginning of all existences, undecaying, who knows the formation of all principles, who is Pradhāna and Purusha (or the principal Purusha), the supreme; who, the lord, created from his right side Brahmā, the originator of the worlds, and from his left side Viśnun, for the preservation of the universe; and when the end of the age (yuga) had arrived, the mighty lord created Rudra,” etc.

Upamanyu concludes by asking these boons, viz. that his devotion to the god may be perpetual, that he may know the past, the present, and the future, that he may always eat food cooked with milk (kṣirāudana) with his relations, and that they may ever enjoy the near presence (sāṇniḍhya) of Mahādeva in their hermitage (vv. 945 ff.). The god bestows all these and many other blessings, and disappears (vv. 949 ff.).

Having heard all this account from Upamanyu, Kṛishṇa expresses a desire that the god may vouchsafe to him a similar vision and the like favour. Upamanyu promises that Mahādeva shall appear to Kṛishṇa in six months, and bestow on him twenty-four boons, and pays him the compliment of saying that any of the gods would consider it as a highly laudable act to have an interview with such a pious, innocent, and devout person as he (Kṛishṇa) is (vv. 964 ff.). Kṛishṇa is then consecrated by the Brahman (973 ff.). Equipped with a staff, shaved, clothed with rags, anointed with ghee, and provided with a girdle, living for one month on fruits, for four more on water, standing on one foot, with his arms aloft, he at length obtained a glorious vision of Mahādeva and his wife (v. 978), whom all the gods were worshipping, and among them Indra, Viṣṇu (the delight of his mother Aditi), and Brahmā, all uttering the rathantara sāma (S'atakratuḥ cha bhagavān Viṣṇuḥ chāditi-nandanāḥ | Brahmā rathantarōṁ sāma iṛayanti Bha-vāntike). Kṛishṇa then describes the effect of this vision on himself (vv. 997 ff.):

Purastad dhishṭhitaḥ S'arvo mamāsit tridaśēvarāḥ | purastad dhishṭhi-
taṁ dṛishṭvā maneśanancha Bhārat | sa-Prajāpati-S'akraṁtāṁ jagad māṁ abhyadaikshata | īkṣitum cha Mahādevaṁ na me ṣaktir abhūt tadā | tato māṁ abravīd devaṁ "paśya Krishṇa vadasa ca | tayā [tvaya?] | hy ārādhitaḥ chāhām śatāso 'tha sahasraśaḥ | tevat-samo nāsti me kāśchīḥ trishu lokesu vai priyāḥ" | śirasā vandite deve devī prītā hy Umā 'bhavat | tato 'ham abruvaṁ Sthānuṁ stutam Brahmādībhīḥ suraiḥ | "Before me stood Sarva, the lord of the gods. Beholding Isāna standing before me, the world from Prājāpati to Sakra (Indra) gazed upon me. I had no power to look on Mahādeva. The god then said to me, 'Behold, Krishṇa, and speak. I have been adored by thee hundreds and thousands of times. There is no one in the three worlds so dear to me as thou.' The god having been reverenced by obeisance, the goddess Umā was gratified. I then said to Sthānu (Mahādeva), who had been praised by Brahmā and the rest of the gods," etc.

Krishṇa proceeds to laud Mahādeva (vv. 1002–1018) as the supreme Deity. Mahādeva then says (v. 1023): Vidmaḥ Krishṇa paṟum bhaktim asmāsu tava śatrūhan | vriyatāṁ ātmanaḥ śreyoḥ prītī hi tvayi me parā | vṛiṇiśhvāśṭau vaṁ Krishṇa dātāsmi tava sattama | brāhi Yadava-śardula yān ichhāsi sudvrlabhān | "We know, Krishṇa, slayer of foes, thy eminent devotion to us. Choose what is most advantageous to thee, for my love for thee is extreme. Choose eight boons; I will give them to thee, most excellent being. Specify, chief of the Yadus, those boons which are most difficult to obtain which thou desirest." Krishṇa then asks these eight boons: (1) steadfastness in righteousness, (2) the destruction of his foes in battle, (3) eminent renown, (4) the greatest strength, (5) abstraction (yoga), (6) amiability (priyatvam), (7) close proximity to Mahādeva, and (8) a hundred hundreds of sons,—all of which were accordingly granted by Mahādeva. Umā next offers him his choice of eight more boons, and he selects (1) the goodwill of the Brahmans, (2) the favour of his father, (3) a hundred sons, (4) eminent enjoyment, (5) the affection of his tribe, (6) the favour of his mother, (7) tranquillity of mind, and (8) ability. These boons are granted by the goddess, who superadds sixteen thousand wives whose affection he should retain, and several other blessings. Mahādeva and his spouse then disappear, and Krishṇa relates to Upamanyu all that has happened (v. 1034). That sage then goes on to tell him a story about a rishi called Tāṇḍi, who had formerly worshipped Mahādeva,
in the Kṛta age, and praised him in a long hymn (which is given vv. 1049–1103) as the supreme Deity whom even Brahmā, Indra, and Vishṇu did not perfectly know, vv. 1052 (Bṛhmaḥ S'atokatvur Vishṇur viśvedvāḥ maharshayaḥ | na vidus ām tu tatvena kuto vṛtyāmahe vayam). These words appear to have been especially gratifying to the god (vv. 1105 ff.). Taṇḍi had then come to Upamanyu's hermitage, and recited to him the eleven thousand mystical names of Mahādeva, which Upamanyu repeated to Kṛṣṇa (vv. 1144 ff.). This hymn, existing in the heart of Brahmā, was, we are told (vv. 1287 ff.), declared by that deity to Indra, by him to Mṛityu (Death), by him to the Rudras, and from them it came to Taṇḍi, etc.

A little further on (vv. 1358 ff.) we are told that Upamanyu expressed himself thus to Kṛṣṇa:

Aśubhaiḥ pāpakarmāṇo ye narāḥ kalushikritāḥ | Īśānaṁ na prapadyante tamo-rājasa-vrittayaḥ | Īśvaram samprapadyante dvijāḥ bhāvita-bhāvanāḥ | sarvathā vartamāno 'pi yo bhaktāḥ paramesvāre | sadṛśo 'rañya-vāśānāṁ munināṁ bhāvītāmanāṁ | Brahmaṇe saṁkaraṇe Keśavātevaṁ cha Sakrataṁ vā suraṁ saha | trailokyasyaṅhipatyaṁ vā tushṭo Rudraḥ prayaçchati ityādi | "Those sinful men who are soiled by unhallowed (deeds) do not seek Īśāna, living under the dark and passionate qualities. Brahmans who have meditated on the cause [of all things] seek Īśvara. The man who is devoted to Mahāśvāra—whatever mode of life he follows—is equal to those contemplative munis who dwell in the forests. Rudra, when he is gratified, bestows the rank of Brahmā, or of Keśava (Keśava is a name of Kṛṣṇa), or of Indra, or the supreme lordship of the three worlds, including the deities."

In a later part of the Anuśāsana-parvan, 7402 ff., Kṛṣṇa relates to Yudhishṭhīra the benefits which had resulted to himself from his patient submission to the caprices and freaks of the irritable Brahman Durvāsas (an incarnation of Śīva, as it is stated below; see page 204), who, among other tricks, had yoked Kṛṣṇa's wife Rukmīṇī to his car, and had wounded her with a goad, while drawing him on the road, and as a reward of Kṛṣṇa's patient endurance of all this annoyance, had offered him his choice of boons, and had promised to Rukmīṇī that she should be eminently renowned in the world, and the most distinguished of the sixteen thousand wives of Kṛṣṇa, whom she should worship. The Brahman then disappeared, and Kṛṣṇa per-
formed an Upāṇu rite, i.e. muttered prayers, with his wife. Then entering his house he found that all the articles which Durvāsas had broken or burned, were replaced.

Yudhisṭhira then says to Kṛṣṇa (vv. 7458 ff.): Durvāsasah prasādāt te yat tadā Madhusūdana | avāptam iha vijnānaṁ tan me vyākhyaśatam arhasi | mahābhāgyancha yat tasya nāmāni cha mahātmanāḥ | tattvato jnātum ichhāmi sarvam matimatāṁ vara | Vāsudevāḥ urācha | Hanta te kirtayishyāmi nanaskṛtya Kapardine | yat avāptam mayā rājan śreyo yac chaṛjitaṁ yaśaḥ | prayataḥ prātar utthāya yad adhiye viśāmpate | prāṇālīḥ śatāruḍrīyaṁ tan me nigadatāṁ śṛṅu | Prajāpatis tat sarṣiye tapaso 'nte mahātaprayāḥ | S'ankaras te aṣṭijat tata prajāḥ sthāvara-jan-ganāḥ | nāsti kinchit param bhūtam Mahādevād viśāmpate | iha trishu api lokeshu bhūtānaṁ pravaro hi saḥ | na chaivaṭsahate sthūtāṁ kinchid agre mahātmanāḥ | na hi bhūtāṁ samāṁ tene trishu lokeshu vidyate | gandhenāpi hi sungrāme tasya kruddhasya śatavahāḥ | visanānāḥ hata-bhūyishṭāḥ vepante cha patanti cha | ghoraṇcina niṇadāṁ tasya Parjanya-niṇadopanam | śrutā viśīryed hridayāṁ devānām api saṁyuge | yāṁśca ghoreṇa ṛāpena paśyet kruddhaṁ pināka-dhrīk | na surāḥ nāsurāḥ loke na gandharvāḥ na pannagāḥ | kupite sukhām edhante tasmāṁ api guhayataḥ | Prajāpates tu Dakshasya yajato vilate kṛtau | vivyādaḥ kupito yajnāṁ nirbhayas tv abhavat tada | dhanusā vānam utṣriyāya saghoṣhaṁ vinānāḥ cha | tena śarṇa kulaḥ sāntīṁ viśādaṁ lebhīre surūḥ | viḍāde cha sahasā yajne kupite cha Mahēsvara | tena jyā-tala-ghoṣhena sarve lokāḥ samākulāḥ | babhūvur avaśāḥ Pārtha visheduḥ cha surāsurāḥ | āpaś chukshubhīre chaiva chakampe cha vasundharā | vyādravan girīryaḥ cahi dyauḥ paphāla cha sarvaśāḥ | andhena tanaśā lokāḥ prāvṛtitaḥ na chakāśire | prayaśṭā jyo-tishāṁ bhāś cha saha śūryena Bhārata | bhṛśam bhūtās tataḥ sāntīṁ chakrūḥ svastayānāṁ cha | rishayaḥ sarva-bhūtaṁ niṭamāḥ cha hiṭaiśiṇāḥ | tataḥ so 'bhyaṛavad devān Rudro raudra-parākramaḥ | Bhagasya nayane kruddhaḥ prahāreṇa vyāśātayat | Pūshānam chābhī-dudrāva pūdena cha rūhaṁvītaḥ | pṛyroḍāsam bhakshayato daśanāṁś ca vyāśātayat | tataḥ pragramur devās te vepamaṇāṁ tu S'ankaram | pūnaḥ cha sāndade Rudro diptaṁ suṣītāṁ śāram | Rudrasya vikramāṁ drīṣṭvā bhṛtāḥ devāḥ saharshibirīḥ | tataḥ prasādayaṁsaḥ sarve te vibuddhatanāḥ | jepuḥ cha śatāruḍrīyaṁ devāḥ kṛtvā 'njaliṁ tada | saṁstāyaṁśanaṁ trīdaśaḥ prasasāda Mahēsvarāḥ | Rudrasya bhāgaṁ yajne cha visisṭaṁ te vākālpyan | bhayena trīdaśāḥ rājaṁ sarpanāṁ cha pra-
pedire | tena chaiva hi dushtena (tushtena?) sa yajno sandhito 'bhavat | yad yach châpahrita taatra tatathaiva sa jivayat | Asurânam purâny asams tîni vîryavata[m] divi | âyasam râjata[m] chaiva savarvanm api chîparam | nîsakat tâni Madhâvâm bhettum sarvâydhair api | atha sarve Mahârûdram jagmuḥ saranam arditaḥ | tataḥ âuch mahâtmâno devâḥ sarve samâgataḥ | Rudra raudrâh bhavishyanti pâsavaḥ sarva-karmasu | jahi dâlyân saha purair lokâms trâyasa mânâda | sa tathokta tathety uktvâ kritvâ Vîshnu sarottamam | salyam Agniṃ tatha kritvâ punkhaṃ Vaivasvataṃ | Yamam | vedân kritvâ dhanuḥ sarvâṃ jyâm cha sâvitrim uttamam | Brahânaṃ saratîṁ kritvâ vîniyujya cha sarvasâḥ | tripârvaṇa triśalyena kâle tâni bibhedâ saḥ | sarâṇâditya-varâna kâlagni-sama-tejasaḥ | te sirâḥ sa-purâs tatra dagâhâḥ Rudrâna Bhârata | tataḥ chaivânkâ-gataîn drishtvâ bâlam panchâsikham punah | Umâ jînnâsâmânâvai "ko'yam" ity abraevit tadâ | asûyataḥ cha Sâkrasya vajrâṇa praharishyataḥ | sa vajrâṇa stambhā- yâmâsa tam bâhum parîghopanam | na sambubudhare chaiva devâs devâs varam | sa-prajâpatayaḥ sarve tasmin sumahâtiśvare | tato dhyâtvâ tu bhagavân Brahâm tâm amitaujasam | ayaṁ sreshṭhaḥ iti jnâtvâ vavande tam Umâ-patin | tatâḥ prasâdayamâsura Umâm Rudrâm cha te surâḥ | babhâva sa tadâ bâhum balahantur yatâḥ purâ | sa châpi brâhmaṇo hûtvâ Durvâsâḥ nâmâ vîryavân | Dvâravatîyam mamâ pure chârâm kâlam upâcâsat | viprâkârân prayunkte sma subhânum mama veśâni | tân udâratayâ chaâhâm chakhshâe châti-duhshahân | sa vai Rudrâḥ sa cha Śivâḥ so 'gniḥ Sarvâḥ sa sarva-jit | sa vai chendraḥ cha Vâyuḥ cha so 'śvinau sa cha Vidyutaḥ | sa chaîdramâh sa chaśeânaḥ sa Sûryo Varuṇâs cha saḥ | sa kâlaḥ so 'ntako mrîtyuḥ sa tamo râtry âhâni cha | māsâr-dhâ-mâsâḥ rîtavâḥ sandhye saîvatsâras cha saḥ | sa dhâta sa vidhâtâ cha viśvâkarma sa sarva-vit | nakshatrâni grahaḥ chaiva diśo tha vidiśâs tathâ | viśva-mârtir ameyâtmâ bhaṅgavân amara-duityâḥ | ekadhâ cha dvidhâ chaiva bahuâḥ cha sa eva hi | tathâ sahasrâdâh chaiva tathâ śata-sahasrasâḥ | urâśaḥ sa Mahâdevo bhûmaḥ192 sa bhagavân ajâḥ | na hi sakyâḥ gunâḥ vaktum api varsha-âtair api | Yudhishthira mahââhâh mahâbhâhyam mahâtmânaḥ | Rudrâya (?) bahurûpâya bahu-nâmne nibodha ne | Vûdanty Agnîm Mahâdevaṁ tathâ Śâgum Mahesvaram | ekâksham tryambakaḥ chaiva viśva-rûpaṁ Śivaṁ tathâ | deve tanaḥ tasya

192 See Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v. dhûmaṇ, vol. v., p. 1660, where several passages of the Bhûgavata Purâna are referred to in which a kindred word, dhûmaṇ, is applied as an epithet to Krishna. See also page 347 of the same vol.
GLORY OF MAHĀDEVA.

devasya brāhmaṇāh vedajñāh viduḥ | ghorāṁ anyāṁ śivaṁ anyāṁ te
tanā bahuḥcā puṇaḥ | ugra ghorā tanār yā su so 'gnir vidyut su bhā-
skaraḥ | śivaṁ saumyaḥ chā yā tu asya dharmas tv āpo 'tha chandramāh |
ātmanto 'ṛdhānu tu tasyāgniḥ sormo 'ṛdham puṇar uchyate | brahma-
charyāṁ charaty ekā śivā yā 'syā tanaḥ tathā | yā 'syā ghoratamā
mūrtir jagat svabhārate tadā 192* | īśvaratvād mahatvāḥ cha Mahēśvarāṁ
iti srīrāh | yad nirdahati yat tiṣṭho yad ugro yat pratāpavān |
māṁsaśānta-majjādo yat tato Rudraḥ uchyate | devānāṁ samahān yach
cha yach chāsya viśayo mahān | yach cha viśvaṃ mahat pāti Mahādevas
tataḥ srīrāḥ | dhūmra-rūpaṁ cha yat tasya dhūrjaṭīty ata uchyate |
samedhayati yad nityaṁ sarvān vai sarva-karmabhiḥ | manushyaṁ śivaṁ
anvichhāṁ Bảoṣmād eva Śivaṁ srīrāḥ | ityādi

Anuśasana-parvan, v. 7458 ff.—Yudhishṭhīra says to Krīṣṇa: "Thou
oughtest, Madhusūdana, to expound to me that knowledge which thou
then obtainedst by the favour of Dūrvaśa. I wish, most eminent of
the wise, to know exactly all the grandeur of that great Being, and his
names. Vāsudeva replies: Yes, I shall declare to thee, after bowing
down before the god with the spirally-braided hair (Mahādeva), the
happiness which was obtained by me, and the glory which was acquired.
Hear from me, O king, the Sātarudrīya, which, when risen in the morn-
ing, I intently repeat with joined hands. The great devotee, Prajāpati,
created that [prayer 193] at the end of his austerity. Sāṅkara has
created [all] beings, stationary and moving. There is nothing, O king,
which exists superior to Mahādeva; for he is the most excellent of
beings in all these three worlds. And nothing can stand before this
great deity: for there is no being like him in the three worlds. In
battle, when he is even in the slightest degree (īti. 'even by a scent')
incensed, his enemies tremble and fall senseless, and mostly slain.
And the heart even of the gods would be withered in battle, on hearing
his dreadful voice, resembling the sound of Parjanya (i.e. of the
thunder clouds). And neither gods, nor Asuras, nor Gandharvas, nor
Pannagas, nor any one whom the Holder of the bow (Mahādeva), in-
censed, looks upon with his direful aspect, can enjoy tranquillity when

192* With this and the preceding lines compare Dronāp., 9632 ff.
193 It is part of the White Yajur Veda (Vājasaneyī Sanhita). See further on,
chapter iii., section second. It is not reproduced in the passage before us. Compare
vol. iii. of this work, on the mode in which the Veda is conceived to have been
produced.
he is angry, even though they hide themselves. When the Prajāpati Daksha was sacrificing, and his ceremonial was arranged, Mahādeva in his wrath pierced the sacrifice, and was then devoid of fear, and discharging an arrow with his bow, he uttered a loud shout. The gods received from this no pleasure or tranquillity, but rather dejection. And forthwith, the sacrifice being pierced, and Maheśvara being incensed, all the worlds were disturbed at the sound of his bowstring; both gods and Asuras became helpless and cast down; the waters were troubled, and the earth shook; the mountains were dissolved; the sky was rent in all directions; enveloped in thick darkness, the worlds did not shine, and the light of the luminaries and of the sun was quenched. Being greatly alarmed, the rishis then sought to appease Mahādeva, and recited texts to avert his anger, seeking their own welfare, and that of all creatures. Rudra of dreadful power then ran up to the gods, and, in his rage, knocked out the eyes of Bhaga with a blow, and, incensed, assaulted Pūshan with his foot, and knocked out his teeth, as he was eating the purśāsa offering. The gods

194 For the older story about Bhaga and Pūshan, see Indische Studien, ii. 306 f.; and Taittiriya Sanhitā, ii. 6, 8, 3 f., partially quoted in the fifth vol. of this work, p. 476, note on p. 178, line 6. The entire passage is as follows: Devaḥ vai yajnadh Rudram antar āyam | sa yajnam aviḍhyat | taṁ devaḥ abhisamagachhanta "kalpataṁ nāḥ idam" iti | te 'bruvan "sviṣṭāṁ vai naḥ idam bhavishyati yad imaṁ rūḍhayish- yāmāṁ" iti | tat sviṣṭaṁ vibhāgaḥ sviṣṭaṁ vibhāgaḥ | tad yajnaṇaḥ yad upa cha śṛṅgīyaḥ abhi cha gāraṇyaḥ ubhayaṁ saṁśivaḥ kuryāt | avadāya abhīgaṁyāt | dvīḥ sampadātā; deipād yajamānak | pratishṭhiyat | yat tiraśekham atiharet anabhividdham yajnaṇaḥ abhiviḍhyet | agrena parihaṁ tīrthena eva parihaṁ | tat Pūshya paryaharaṇaḥ tat (5) Pūshā prāṣya datu 'rụyataḥ | tasmāt Pūṣā prapaśita-bhāgaḥ | adantar hi | taṁ devaḥ abruvan "vi vai ayamārdhi | aprāśtriya va yām abhūd" iti | tad Byāhaspataye paryaharaṇaḥ | sa 'bhūk Byāhas- patīr "itthāṁ vāva sya ārīṁ ārīṣhyati" iti | sa etam mantram aparṣyataḥ "The gods excluded Rudra" [in the form of Svishṭakrit Agni, Comm.] "from the sacrifice. He pierced the sacrifice [with an arrow]. The gods came together to him, [and said,] 'Let this [rite] of ours be [again] rectified.' They [i.e. certain wise gods, according to the Commentator] said, 'If we propitiate him, this [rite] of ours will be well 'sacrificed (sviṣṭa).'. It is from this that the Svishṭakrit insures the due performance of the rite." [According to Professor Weber, Ind. Stud., ix. 217, the svishṭakrit is the portion of the sacrifice deśtined for Agni Svishṭakrit.] "They cut off the part which had been pierced to the extent of a barleycorn. 4. Wherefore let the adhvaryu priest cut off [the prāśitra portion] only to the extent of a barleycorn. If he cut off more than this, he will break that off from the sacrifice. If he should both spread [ghī] underneath and sprinkle [ghī] above, he would cause the obliteration to become swollen on both sides. He is therefore, after cutting off [the prāśitra], only to
trembling then made obeisance to Śaṅkara, and he again fitted on the string; the glittering, well-whetted arrow. Beholding the prowess of Rudra, the gods, with the rishis, terrified, propitiated him, and with

sprinkle [ghee] above it. To do this twice is proper [for the sacrificer has two feet], in order that it may succeed. If he bands [the brāhmaṇ’s share] to him across [the altar], he will pierce that part of the sacrifice which is uninjured; whereas if he reaches it to him in front, he does so in the proper direction. They handed that [portion] to Pushan. Eating it, he broke his teeth. Wherefore Pushan has a portion of ground meal offered to him; for he is toothless. The gods said of him, ‘he has come to grief; he has become unfit for the śraśtra.’ They handed it to Bhīṣmaṇi. He was afraid, saying, ‘In this way shall one incur misfortune.’ He saw this text,’ etc.

I am indebted to Professor Weber for a German translation of this passage, which has enabled me to correct and improve my own. He remarks that the reason why the śraśtra broke Pushan’s teeth was, that it was Śrutiya’ (see the passage from the S’atap. Br., i. 7, 4, 15 f., adduced at the end of a following quotation), i.e. the portion of the oblation struck by Rudra’s shot. This effect of it must be obviated by the use of a text. Professor Weber thinks that aruyat (followed by tasmāt), in the above passage, must stand for aruyak (though the root ry is nowhere else conjugated in the seventh conjugation, and compares Taitt. S., vii. 4, 9, 1, asrid dvābhūyāṁ for asrīg (see Ind. Stud., viii. 54, note); Kauś. 39, nyat for nyak; sabhim-anṛṇa for sanyag-añāṇa, Dhammap. verse 67; saṁsṛidbhiḥ from saṁsṛip, Taitt. Br., i. 8, 1, 1; naddhyaḥ from nap, R. V., x. 60, 6; adbhik, adbhyaḥ from ap; sānyat te, Taitt. S., i. 2, 7, 1 (compare Weber’s Indische Streifen, i. 127, note 5).

The S’atap. Br. i. 7, 4, 5, refers to the same story in the sequel of a passage which has already been given above, p. 45. The continuation is as follows: 6 | Te ha uchur “upajānita yathā idaṁ na amyāga sat kaniyag ha ahuter yathā idaṁ syād” iti | 6 | te ha uchur “Bhājīya enad dakshinatāḥ ośnīya pariharata” | tad Bhagā pras’īhityat tad yathā ahutema eva bhāvahytat” iti | tad Bhagāya dakshinatāḥ ośnīya paryājyagrhuḥ | tad Bhago ’vekshōnchakre | tasya akṣhiṇyā nirādāhā | tathā in nūnaṁ tad āsa | tasmād ahur “andho Bhagāḥ” iti | 7 | te ha uchur “no no atra aśramaḥ | Pushnē enaṁ pariharata” iti | tat Pūṣnē paryājyagrhuḥ | tat Pūṣnā prāṣa | tasya dato nirjaghrana | tathā in nūnaṁ tad āsa | tasmād ahur “adantaṅkā Pūṣnāḥ” iti | tasmād yam Pūṣnē charuṁ kurvanti prapishtōnām eva kurvanti yathā adantaṅkā evam | 5

“They said, ‘Take care that this may not be lost; but that it may be less than the oblation.’ 6. They said, ‘Present it to Bhaga, sitting on the right side; he will eat it; that shall be as if it were offered.’ They presented it to Bhaga sitting on the right side; he looked at it; it burned his eyes. That truly happened so. Therefore they say, ‘Bhaga is blind.’ 7. They said, ‘Let it not be so tranquillized. Present it to Pushan.’ Pushan ate it; it knocked out his teeth. That verily so happened. Wherefore they say, ‘Pushan is toothless.’ Hence the cooked oblation they present to Pushan is of ground materials.”

In the sequel of this passage it is said, i. 7, 4, 9: Sa yat prasīttram avadyati yad eva atra evādham nuṣasya yad Rudriyaṁ tad eva etat vārminite (bhāṣiḥ karoti nishkarhati, Comm.) | “The śraśtra which he cuts off, the part of the sacrifice which was pierced, which is connected with Rudra,—that he separates.” And further on, i. 7, 4, 15: Sat prasītī | “Agnes tūv aśyena prāśnāmi” iti | na vai Āgniḥ kinhana pinasti | tathā u ha enam etad na hinasī | 16 | tad na adbhikū ḍaḥet | “na id me idam Rudriyaṁ daco hinasad” iti | tasmād na adbhikū ḍaḥet | 16. “He eats that,
joined hands, muttered the Satarudriya. Being thus lauded by the gods, Mahēśvara became pleased; and they apportioned to him a distinguished share in the sacrifice, and, through fear, resorted to him as [saying], 'I eat thee with Agni's mouth.' 'Nothing destroys Agni. So this does not destroy him. 16. Let no one eat it with his teeth, [thinking], 'Lest this, which is connected with Rudra, destroy my teeth.' Wherefore let no one eat it with his teeth.'

The following is a passage from the preceding section of the same Brāhmaṇa: i. 7, 3, 1: Yajnena vai devāḥ divam upodakrāman | atha yo 'yaṁ devah paśūnām īshā sa iha ahiyata | tasmād vastavyah ity āhūḥ | vāstau hi tad ahiyata 2 | sa yena devāḥ divam upodakrāmanām tena u eva archantaḥ śrāmyantaś cheruḥ | atha yo 'yaṁ devah paśūnām īṣhṛte yaḥ iha ahiyata (3) sa aikṣata "aha asya ha antaryanty u mā yajnād" iti | sa 'nuchekākrāma | sa aṣṭayā uttarātaḥ utpapiḍed | sa esha svishākṣrite kālaḥ | te devāḥ abruvan "mā visravākṣrā" iti | "te vai mā yajnād mā 'ntargata āhunāśa kalpayata" iti | "tathā" iti | sa samābhṛhat sa na āṣyat sa na kanchana ahināt | te devāḥ abruvan "yāvanti no hārṣiṁśi grihītāny abhūvan saraśāṁ hutan upanāśita yathā 'smai āhūtiṁ kalpa-yāma" iti | te 'dvaryum abruvan "yathāpuruṇāṁ hārṣiṁśy abhīgarāya' ekas-mai avadāṇya punar āpyāyaya | ayatayāmante kuru tataḥ ekaikam avadānaṁ avadya" iti | 7, 3 'dvaryum yathāpuruṇaṁ hārṣiṁśy abhīgaruṁ ekasmai avadā-ṇāya punar āpyāyayad ayatayāmante akarot tataḥ ekaikam avadānaṁ avadyat | 1. "By sacrifice the gods ascended to the sky. Now the god who rules over cattle was excluded here. Hence men call him Vāstavya; for he was excluded [by remaining] on the sacrificial ground (pāṣṭu). 2. The gods went on worshipping and toiling with that whereby they had ascended to the sky. Now, the god who rules over cattle, and was here excluded, (3) perceived that the other gods were excluding him from the sacrifice. He followed them, and rose up on the north with . . . . This is the time of the Svisṭakṛt. 4. The gods said to him, 'Do not disturb (the sacrifice).' [He rejoined,] 'Do not exclude me from the sacrifice; give me an oblation.' They agreed. He kept together, and did not scatter, the materials of the sacrifice, or injure anything. 5. The gods said, 'Take notice of all the offerings which have been presented, that we may form an oblation for him.' 6. They said to the Adhvaryu, 'Sprinkle the oblations in order with butter; and again replenish each fragment. Make them fresh; then cut off each part.' 7. The Adhvaryu accordingly sprinkled the oblations in order with butter, replenished each fragment, made them fresh, and divided all the parts from each other."

The Bhūgavata Purāṇa, referred to by Böhtlingk and Roth, s. v. Bhaga and Pūshan, has the following verses on these gods: iv. 5, 20 | Bhagasya netre bhagavān pāṭītabya rūṣhā bhūvi | ujjāhāra sadassto 'kṣhūṇā yāḥ sapantam asūsuchat | 21 | Pūṣhāḥ chāpyāyad dantān Kālingasya yatāḥ Balaḥ S'ayāmane garimani yo'hasad dārāyan āhataḥ | "The god (Mahādeva) in the assembly plucked out the eyes of Bhaga, whom in his rage he had felled to the ground, because with his eye he had made a sign to [Daksha] who was cursing [Mahādeva]. 21. And he knocked out the teeth of Pūshan (as Bāla ha'd done to the king of Kalinga), because, when the great god was being cursed, he had laughed, showing his teeth." vi. 6, 41 | Pūṣhā'nāpata-yāḥ pishṭadō bhagṇa-danto 'bhavat puraḥ | yo 'sau Dakshāya kuptaṁ jahāsa vṛṣṭi-deviḥāḥ | "Pūshan formerly became childless, an eater of ground food, toothless, because he had laughed with his teeth disclosed at [Mahādeva], who was incensed against Daksha."
their refuge. He then became pleased and rectified the sacrifice, and whatever was removed he restored to life as it had been before.

"There were in the sky three cities of the valorous Asuras, one of iron, another of silver, and a third of gold,\textsuperscript{165} which Maghavan (Indra) could not demolish, with all his weapons. Then all the great gods, distressed, went to the great Rudra as their refuge, and said to him, after they were assembled: 'Rudra, there shall be victims devoted to thee in all the sacrifices. Bestower of honour, destroy the Daityas with their cities, and deliver the worlds.' He, being thus addressed, said, 'So be it;' and making Vishnù his arrow, Agni its barb, Yama, the son of Vivasvat, its feather, all the Vedas his bow, and the excellent Sāvitri (the Gāyatrī) his bowstring, and having appointed Brahmā his charioteer,\textsuperscript{166} he in due time pierced through these cities with a three-jointed three-barbed arrow, of the colour of the sun, and in fierceness like the fire which burns up the world. These Asuras with their cities were there burnt up by Rudra.\textsuperscript{167} Again, beholding him a child in the lap, with five locks,\textsuperscript{168} Umā, desiring to know,\textsuperscript{169} said, 'Who is

\textsuperscript{165} See the second vol. of this work, pp. 378 ff., and the Kṛṣṇa-parvan of the M.Bh. vv. 1402 ff. below.

\textsuperscript{166} See the story from the Kṛṣṇa-parvan, cited below, vv. 1515 ff.

\textsuperscript{167} For the older forms of this story, see the second vol. of this work, pp. 380–384.

\textsuperscript{168} Like an ascetic, according to Böhtlingk and Roth, s. v. pancaśikha.

\textsuperscript{169} Or, is the proper reading jijñāsamānān, and the sense this: 'Umā said to [the gods] who were inquiring, 'Who is this?' There is a parallel passage in the Drona-parvan, v. 9575, which throws some light on the one before us: Purāṇī dogdhaevaṃ tam devī yatā pravākātum | bālam ankaṅgataṁ krītva svayam pancaśikham punaḥ | Umā jijñāsamānā vai ‘ko' yam ity abraviṭī surāṇ | asyaṣṭaś ca Saktāsya vaijñāna praharishyataḥ | bāhum savajraṁ taṁ tasya kruddhasyāstambhayat prabhūḥ | prahasya bhagavavāṁs tūryam sarva-lokeśvaro vibhūḥ | tataḥ saṁsthambha-bhujah | S'akro deva-gaṅgā viritaḥ | ṣaṅgama sa-surās tūryam Brahmāṇam prabhūṃ avayam | te tam prañanyā śirasā prabhuḥ prānīlayas tada | kimpy ankaṅgatam Brahmaṇa Pārvatyaḥ bhūtem adh bhutam | bālo-rūpa-dhāraṁ driṣṭvā nāśmabhīr abhivaditaḥ | tasmāt tevān prasākṣeḥ iṣhāmo nirāḥ yena vai vayam | aṣṭaḥṣṭa hi bāleṇa lilaśa sa-purāndarāḥ | "The goddess (Umā) went to see him when he had burnt the cities, having again placed the child with five locks in her lap. She told the gods, who inquired [should we read, jijñāsamānān? though none of the printed copies read so] 'Who is this?' And the divine lord, master of all the worlds, all-pervading, with a smile, instantly paralysed the arm and thunderbolt of Indra, who showed ill-will, and in his anger was about to smite with the thunderbolt. Indra, his arm having been paralysed, immediately went with the gods to Brahmā, the imperishable lord; and bowing with their heads, with joined hands, they said: 'O Brahmā, we have seen in the lap of Pārvatī, a wonderful being bearing the form of a child; and we have not saluted him. Wherefore we desire to ask thee who is the child by whom we, including Indra, have been conquered, as if in play, and without any fight.'"
this?' And when Indra, envious, was about to smite him (the child) with the thunderbolt, he stayed the thunderbolt, and paralyzed that arm resembling a club. None of the gods, including Prajāpati, understood the lord of the worlds, [existing] in that most mighty deity [in the form of an infant]. Then the divine Brahmā, meditating on that being of boundless glory, and knowing that he was supreme, adored the lord of Umā. Then these gods propitiated Umā and Rudra; and the arm of the slayer of hosts became as before. And again, Mahādeva, becoming a powerful Brahman, by name Durvāsas, dwelt a long time in my city Dvāravatī. He practised very many perversities in my house, which, though difficult to support, I, through generosity, endured. He is Rudra, he is Śiva, he is Agni, he is Sarva, the all-conquering; he is Indra, he is Vāyu, he is the Aśvin, he is the lightning, he is the moon, he is Īśana, he is Sūrya, he is Varuṇa, he is time, he is Death the ender, he is darkness, and night, and the days, he is the months, and the half months, and the seasons, the morning and evening twilight, and the year. He is Dhātṛi, and Vidhātṛi, Viśvakarman, the all-knowing, the constellations, the planets, the regions [or quarters], and intermediate regions or [points of the compass]; universal-formed, immeasurable in essence, divine, of undecaying splendour. He is simple, twofold, manifold, a thousand-fold, and a hundred-thousand-fold. Such is Mahādeva, the vast, the divine unborn being; his qualities cannot be declared in a hundred years." Kṛishṇa proceeds uninterruptedly at the beginning of a new section: "Large-armed Yudhishṭhira, understand from me the greatness of the glorious, multiform, many-named Rudra. They call Mahādeva Agni, Sthānu, Maheśvara, One-eyed, Tryambaka, the universal-formed, and Śiva. Brāhmans versed in the Veda know two bodies of this god, one awful, one auspicious; 209 and these two bodies again have many forms. The dire and awful body is fire, lightning, the sun. The auspicious and beautiful body is virtue, water, and the moon. The half of his essence is fire, and the moon is called the [other] half. The one, which is his auspicious body, practises chastity: while the other, which is his most dreadful body, destroys the world. From his being lord (īśvara) and great (mahat), he is called Maheśvara. Since he consumes, since

209 In Vāj. S., v. 8, Agni is said to have three bodies. See the second volume of this work, p. 381, note.
he is fiery, fierce, glorious, an eater of flesh, blood, and marrow,—he is called Rudra. As he is the greatest of the gods, as his domain is wide, and as he preserves the vast universe,—he is called Mahādeva. From his smoky colour, he is called Dhūrjaṭi. Since he constantly prospers all men in all their acts, seeking their welfare (śiva), he is therefore called 'Śiva,' etc., etc.

In the Bhishma-parvan (vv. 793 ff.) Krিষ্ণa is introduced as recommending Arjuna to worship the goddess Durgā:

Sanjayah uvācha | Dhūrjarāṣṭram balām dṛiṣṭvā yuddhāya sa-
mupasthitam | Arjunasya hitārthāya Kṛishṇo vachanam abravīt | Sṛ-
bhagavān uvācha | S'uchir bhātvā mahābāho sangrāmābhīmukhe sthitāḥ | parājayaya satrūnām Durgā-stotram udīrṇya | Sanjayah uvācha | evam ukto 'ṛjunaḥ sankhye Vāsudevena dhīmatā | avatīrya rathāḥ Pārthaḥ stotram āha kriśānjaliḥ |

"Beholding the host of Dhūrjarāṣṭra come near to the conflict, Kṛishṇa, in the interest of Arjuna, addressed to him these words: 'Having purified thyself, O large-armed hero, standing in front of the battle, utter a hymn to Durgā for the overthrow of thine enemies.' Arjuna, being thus addressed in battle by the wise Vāsudeva, descending from his chariot, uttered a hymn with joined hands."

III. In the passage which I have quoted above (p. 169, note 167) from Professor Wilson, it is remarked that in some places of the Mahā-
bhārata the divine nature of Kṛishṇa is disputed or denied. An instance of this denial is to be found in the following passage of the Sabha-śāvatram, in which Sīsūpāla, prince of the Chedis, is introduced as objecting to the divine honours which had been paid to Kṛishṇa, and as ultimately suffering the penalty of his proud and contemptuous impiety at the hands of the incarnate deity.

Yudhishṭhīra having resolved to perform the Rājasūya sacrifice (Sabhā-
parvan, v. 1211), is joined by Kṛishṇa, who is designated as Hari, the rishi, the ancient, identified with the Veda, invisible to those who know him, the highest of things moving and stationary, the source and destroyer of all things, the lord of the past, the future, and the present (v. 1213: Athaivaṃ brucatām evaṁ teshām abhyāyahau Hariḥ | rishiḥ purāṇo vedātmā 'driṣyāḥ chaiva viṣṇuatām | jagatās tathābhām kṛishṇaḥ prabhavaḥ chāvyayaḥ (chāpyayaḥ?) cha ha | bhūta-bhavya-
bhavan-nāthaḥ Kesavaḥ Kesī-sūdanaḥ). Numerous kings assembled to
witness the celebration (vv. 1260 ff.). On this occasion Bhīṣma proposed that, apart from the customary presents bestowed on all the kings, Kṛṣṇa should be singled out as the most eminent of the chiefs to receive gifts indicative of his superiority (vv. 1333 ff.).

Sabhā-parvan, 1333 ff.:—Esha hy esāṁ samastānāṁ tejo-bala-parākramaiḥ | madhye tapann īvāḥāti jyotishāṁ īva bhūkaraḥ | asvīram īva sūryena nirvātaḥ īva vayunā | bhāsitaṁ ālāditam 'chaiva Kṛṣhnena-dāṁ sado hi naḥ | tasmai Bhīṣmābhyanujnātaḥ Sahadevaḥ pratāpavān | upajahre 'tha vidhīcād Vārṣhneśyāyārghyam uttānam | pratijāgrāha taṁ Kṛṣṇaḥ śāstra-dīshṭena karmana | Ṣiśūpalas tu tāṁ pājāṁ Vāsudeve na chakshane | ‘For he, by his energy, force and valour, appears shining in the midst of all these princes, like the sun among the luminaries. This assembly of ours is enlightened and gladdened by Kṛṣṇa, as a sunless place is by the sun, and a windless spot is by the wind. Commissioned by Bhīṣma, the majestic Sahadeva then presented in due form to Vārṣhneya (Kṛṣṇa) a most excellent offering, which the latter received with the act prescribed by the śāstra. But Śiśūpāla could not endure that honour shown to Vāsudeva.’

Śiśūpāla then proceeds to state at length a variety of objections to what had been done (vv. 1338 ff.). He urges that Kṛṣṇa was a "transgressor of the injunctions of law (smṛiti), a contemptible and ill-instructed person" (v. 1340: Ayaṁ cha smṛity-atikrānto hy apageyo ṭpa-darśanaḥ); that he was not a king, or a person venerable from age, his father Vasuđeva being still alive (v. 1343: Athavā manyase Kṛṣṇaṁ sthavirāṁ Kuru-puṅgava | Vāsudeve sthite vriddhe katham arhati tat-sutah | ); that in other respects he was inferior to other chiefs present, and that he had unjustly killed Jarāsandha (v. 1360, compare verses 1474 ff.); and taunts him with being greatly elated with the undeserved honour that had been paid him, like a dog devouring in a secret place the leavings of an oblation which he has discovered (v. 1364: Ayuktām ātmanāṁ pājāṁ tvam punar bahu manyase | havishāḥ prāpya nisyaṁdham prāśitā śveva, nirjane | ).

201 This line had previously occurred as part of verse 1218 of the same Parvan.
202 Similarly we read in Śiśūpāla's speech on the same occasion as given in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 74, 34: . . . Gopālaḥ kula-paṁsaṁ | yathā kākāṁ puroḍ̄ṣ Śaṁ suparyāṁ katham arhati | "How does this cowherd, the vilest of his race, deserve homage, any more than a crow deserves to eat an oblation?" The commentator thus gives what he calls the "real sense" of these words: "Gopālaḥ"
thus vented his indignation, Siśupāla leaves the assembly, followed by Yudhishṭhira, who endeavours to soothe him. Bhīṣma then defends Krīṣṇa's claims to the honour which he had received (vv. 1377 ff.):

Na hi kevalam asmākam ayam archyatamo 'chytataḥ | trayāṇām api lokānām archanīya mahābhūjāḥ | Krīṣṇena hi jītāḥ yuddhe bahavaḥ

kshatriyarśabhdhāḥ | jagat sarvaḥ cha Vārshneye nikhilena pratīsthitam |

tasmāt satin api vṛddhēsāṃ Krīṣṇam archāmī netarān | . . . . . 1382.

Na kevalaṁ vayaṁ kāmāḥ Chedi-rāja Janārdanam | na sambandham

puraskritya kritaṁrthaṁ vā kathanchana | archāmahe 'rchitāṁ sadbhir bhuvī bhūta-sukhāvaham | Yaśaḥ sauryaṁ jayaṁ chāsya vijñāyārchām prayaumkhe | na cha kaśchid ihāsbūḥ kī subālo 'py aparikshitaḥ |

gunār vṛiddhān atikramya Harir archyatamārthaḥ | jñāna-vṛiddhā dvijatānām

kshatriyānām balādhikāḥ | "1377: This unfalling being (Achyuta) is not only deserving of the utmost worship from us, but, large of arm, he is also to be worshipped by the three worlds. For many eminent Kshatriyas have been conquered by Krīṣṇa: and the whole world rests upon Vārshneya. Wherefore, even though there be aged men [present], I worship Krīṣṇa, and not the others. . . . . . 1382: It is not therefore from interested motives, king of the Chedis, nor in consequence of our connexion, nor for the sake of anything he has done for us, that we worship Janārdana, who is worshipped by the good on earth, and who promotes the happiness of creatures. But knowing his renown, heroism, and victories, we offer him our worship. Nor is there here any mere youth whom we have never tried. Hari, surpassing the aged in his virtues, is regarded by us as most worthy

iti veda-prithivy-aḍi-pālakah'ity arthaḥ | kutsitaṁ veda-viparītaṁ lapanti iti kulapaḥ

pākhandāḥ | tān aṁsate samāghatāyati iti tathā saḥ | "akākah" kaṁ cha aṁsū cha kāke (=kū-ūke) sukha-duḥkhe te na vidyete yasya saḥ | "akākah" āpta-kāmaṁ ity arthaḥ | sa yathā āpta-kāmaṁ deva-yogam purojiṣa-mātraṁ na arhati api tu sarvasvam

api tathā yān śrī-krīṣṇo brahmaṇaḥ-yogam samarpanaṁ-mātraṁ katham arhati | kīntvā utma-samarpanaṁ api arhati ity arthaḥ | "Gopāla" means the protector of theVeda, the earth, etc. 'Ku-lapaḥ' are those who speak what is evil, contrary to the Veda, heretics. 'Kulapaṁśana' (Ku+lapa+aṁsana) is thus one who destroys (aṁsate) such persons. 'Akākah' (the commentator eloses here to suppose that there is an elided a between yathā and 'kākah') is one to whom ('kāke') pleasure and pain (ka+a+ka) do not attach; one who has gained all he desires. Just as such an one merits not merely an oblation suitable for a deity, but all wealth also, so Krīṣṇa does not deserve merely the offering suitable for a Brāhmaṇa-ṛṣi, but also the offering up of one's self'"
of worship. In knowledge he excels Brahmans, and in force Kshatriyas.”

1386: Puṣyatayāncha Govinde hetu drāv api saṁsthitaun | veda-vedāṅga-vijnānam balaṁ chāpy adhikaṁ tatha | niṣpāṁ loke hi ko ’nyo ’sti viśishtaḥ Keśavād rite | dāānaṁ dākhyāṁ śrutaṁ sauryāṁ hriḥ kiritir buddhir uttamā | sannatīḥ śīrṣāḥ dhṛitiḥ tushṭiḥ pusṭiṣṭaḥ niyatāḥ ’chuyute | tam imaṁ loka-sampannam ṛcchāryam pītaram gurum | arghyam architam archarhaṁ sarve samkśhantum arhatha | ritvīg gurur vīvāhyaḥ cha snātako niṣpātiḥ priyaḥ | sarvāṁ etad Hṛṣiḥkeśas tasmād abhyarchito ’chuyatāḥ | Krishṇaḥ eva hi lokānām apiḥ apī chāpyayāḥ | Krishṇasya hi kriṣṭe viśam idam bhātāṁ charācaram | esa prakṛṭir ayyaktā kartā chaiva saṅtaṇaḥ | paraś cha sarve-bhūtebhyaḥ tasmād pūjyantato ’chuyatāḥ | Buddhīr mano mahad vāyus tejo ’mbhaṅ kham mahī cha yā | chaturvīdhaṁ cha yad bhūtāṁ sarvāṁ Krishṇe pratishṭhitam |

1396: Sa-devakeshu lokeshu bhagavān Keśavo mukham | ayaṁ tu purusho bālaḥ Sīśupālo na budhyate | sarvatra sarvāṁ Krishṇaṁ tasmād evam prabhāṣate | yo hi dhārmaṁ vichinuyād utkrīṣṭaṁ matimān naraḥ | so vai paśyed yāthā dharmāṁ na tathā Chedi-rād ayam | sa-vṛiddha-bālesv athavā pārthiveśu mahātmasu | ko nārham manyate Krishṇaṁ ko vā py evaṁ na pūjyate | athaṁnaṁ dashkritāṁ pūjāṁ Sīśupālo vyavasyati | dashkritāyaṁ yathāṁyāyaṁ tathā yāṁ kartum arhati]

“There are two reasons why Govinda is worthy of honour: his knowledge of the Vedas and Vedāṅgas, and his superior strength. For who in the world of men is distinguished except Keśava? Generosity, ability, sacred learning, heroism, modesty, eminent renown, intelligence, humility, splendour, endurance, cheerfulness and joyousness, exist continually in Achyuta. You ought all to tolerate this teacher arisen in the world (or successful in the world), this father, preceptor, venerable, honoured, deserving of honour. Priest, preceptor, marriageable man, householder, king, beloved,—Hṛṣiḥkesa is all this, and therefore he has been honoured. It is Krīṣṇa who is the origin and the destruction of the worlds: all this universe, movable and immovable, has come into being through (or for the sake of) Krīṣṇa.203 He is un-

203 The grounds urged for honouring Krīṣṇa in this and the following verses are of a different character from those in the preceding lines, which do not ascribe to him any qualities of a superhuman character; whilst the succeeding ones do. It is quite possible that the whole of this description of his qualities may not be of one age, but may contain interpolations subsequently introduced.
distinguishable matter (prakṛiti), and he is the eternal maker, transcending all beings: hence Achyuta is most worthy of honour. Intellect, mind, the great one (mahat), air, fire, water, sky, and earth—whatever fourfold being exists—all depends upon Kṛishṇa. . . . . 1396. The divine Keśava is chief among the worlds including the gods. But this foolish man, S'isupāla, does not know that Kṛishṇa [is] everywhere and always—and hence he speaks thus. For this king of the Chedis does not regard righteousness in the same way as an intelligent man who can distinguish eminent righteousness. Who is there, whether among old or young, or among mighty kings, who will not regard Kṛishṇa as honourable, or who will not reverence him? S'isupāla treats this honour as unduly paid. But if having been unduly paid, he should act as is befitting.”

S'isupāla afterwards renews his vilifications of Kṛishṇa, in a long harangue, of which the following is a specimen (vv. 1433 ff.):

1433. S'isupālassaḥ uvācaḥ | vibhīshikābhīr bhāṣhayaḥ sarvapārthivān | na eyapratapase kasmād vriddhaḥ saṁ kula-pāṁsanaḥ | yuktam etat tritiyāyām prakṛitavartātā tvāyā | vaktuṁ dharmaṁ apatārthaṁ tvāṁ hi sarva-kuruttamaḥ [k] | nāvī naur iva sambaddhā yathā 'ndho vā 'ndham anciyāt | tathā bhūtāḥ hi Kauravyāḥ yeshām Bhishmā tvam agrāṇīḥ | Pūtānā-ghāṭa-pūrvāni karmāṇy asya visēshataḥ | tvāyā kirtaya 'śāmakaṁ bhūyāḥ pravyathitam manah | avaliptasya mūrkhasya Keśavaṁ stotuṁ iḥhataḥ | katham Bhishmā na te jiḥva śatādhyām vidīrya- yate | yatra kutsā prayoktavyā Bhishmā bālatair naraṁ | tam ināṁ jnāna-vriddhaḥ saṁ gopam saṁstotum iḥhasi | yady anena hataḥ bālye śakunis chitram atra kim | tau vā 'śva-vrishabhau Bhishmā vau na yuddha-viśāradau | chetanā-rahitaṁ kāśṭhaṁ yady anena nipātiyam | pādena sakaṭaṁ Bhishmā tattrā kṣitram adhbutam | vālmīka-mātraḥ saptaḥaṁ yady anena dhṛito 'chalaḥ | tadā Govardhano Bhishmā na tach chitram matam mama | bhuktam etena bahv annaṁ kirītata naga-mūrdhanī | iti te Bhishmā śrīvānagh paraṁ vismayam āgataḥ | yasya chānena dharma-jna bhuktam annam bālyayaḥ | sa chānena hataḥ Kāṁśaḥ iti etan na muhādhubtam | na te śrutam idam Bhishmā nānaṁ kathayatāṁ satām | yad vakṣhye tvām adhharma-jnaṁ vākyāṁ Kuru-kulādhama | strīshu goshu na śastraṇī pūtāyed brāhmaṇesuḥ cha | yasya chānnāṁ bhujītaḥ yasya cha syāt pratiśrayaḥ | iti santo 'nuśasanti sajjaṇaṁ dharmaṁ sadā | Bhishmā loke hi tat sarvaṁ vitathaṁ tvayi dhṛṣyate | jnāna-vriddhaṁ cha
vriddhaṁ cha bhūyāmsaṁ Keśavam mama | ajānataḥ śvākyāśi saṁstuvan
Kauravādhaṁ | go-ghnaḥ stri-ghnaś cha san Bhishma tvad-vākyād yadi
paṁjate | evam-bhūtaś cha yo Bhīṣma kathaṁ saṁstuvan arhati | ...
1451. Nūnām prakṛtilār eṣā te jaghaṇyā nātra saṁśayāḥ | atāḥ pāpiyasya
chaishāṁ Pāṇḍavānām apishyate | yeshāṁ archyatamāḥ Kṛṣṇaṁ tvaṁ
cha yeshāṁ pradarsakāḥ | dharmavāṁs tvam adharmā-jñaḥ satām mārgād
avapyaṁ | ityādi |

Śīśupāla answers Bhīṣma: “How is it that thou, disgracing thy
race, art not ashamed, old man as thou art, to terrify all the kings with
many alarms? It is very fitting [forsooth] that thou who art now
existing in the third condition, 204 shouldst utter things contrary to
righteousness, seeing thou art the most eminent of all the Kurus!
For as a boat is tied to a boat, or as one blind man follows another,
so is it with the Kurus of whom thou, Bhīṣma, art the leader.
Our minds have frequently been vexed by thee when detailing his
(Krīṣṇa’s) slaughter of Pūtana 205 and other feats. How is it,
Bhīṣma, that thy tongue, thou proud fool, is not split into a hundred
pieces, when thou seekest to magnify Keśava? Thou who art ripe in
knowledge, art eager to eulogize the cowherd who ought to be vilified
even by the silliest of men! If in his childhood he slew Śākuni, 206 or
the horse and bull, who had no skill in fighting, what is the wonder?
If a waggon, an inanimate piece of wood, was upset by him with his
foot, 207 what wonderful thing did he do? If the mountain Govardhana,
a mere ant-hill, was held up by him for seven days, 208 I do not regard
that as anything remarkable. Hearing that when playing on the hill-

204 The commentator explains this phrase as follows: Dve prakṛitī pariṇāminyau
maṅgā tasyāṁ chitt-pratīvimbas ‘cha | trītiyā prakṛitīc tv etad-ubhayādhyāśūdhish-
tānaṁ nirvīśekhaṁ vastu | tatra vartataṁ vartamānena, etc. “Two conditions are
changeable, viz. (1) illusion (maṅgā) and (2) the reflected image of thought (chit-
pratīvimba) in it. The third condition is the basis of the erroneous ascription of
the other two, substance without distinction,” etc. I am indebted to Dr. R. Rost
for an important suggestion regarding the combination of two of the words in this
sentence. Dr. Rost informs me that in the text one MS. reads kurūttamaḥ, and
another sarvaṁ kurūttama.

205 A female demon slain by Krīṣṇa.—See Wilson’s Viṣṇu Purāṇa, p. 506
(vol. iv., p. 276, of Dr. Hall’s ed.).

206 See the Udyoga-parvan 4409, where Pūtana and Śākuni (there spelt with a
long ī) are mentioned together as having been slain by Krīṣṇa in childhood.

207 See Viṣṇu Purāṇa, p. 508 (vol. iv., p. 279, of Dr. Hall’s ed.).

208 See Viṣṇu Purāṇa, p. 526 (vol. iv., p. 315, of Dr. Hall’s ed.).
top, he had eaten a great quantity of food, these people were very much astonished. And it is no great miracle, O Bhīṣma, thou judge of duty, that he slew Kansa, the powerful king whose food he had eaten. Hast thou not heard virtuous men declaring this which I shall tell thee, who art ignorant of duty, Bhīṣma, thou basest of the tribe of Kurus? 'Let no one smite with his weapons women, cattle, or Brahmans, or him whose food he eats, or on whom he is dependent.' Such is the instruction which good and virtuous men always give to a virtuous [pupil]. All this, Bhīṣma, is seen by all to be falsified in thee. Thou, basest of the Kurus, eulogizing, speakest of Keśava as old in knowledge, and mature, and superior, as if I did not know him. If he, being a slayer of cattle, and of women, is, according to thy word, to be reverenced,—how, Bhīṣma, can such a person merit encomium? . . . . 1451. Certainly this nature of thine is base, of this there is no doubt; and hence [the nature] of these Pāṇḍavas also is shown to be most wicked,—[these Pāṇḍavas] to whom Krūṣṇa is an object of the highest honour, and of whom thou art the virtuous preceptor,—thou, who art ignorant of duty, and hast gone astray from the path of good men!'

This speech excites the wrath of Bhīmasena (v. 1482), who, however, is restrained by Bhīṣma from assaulting Sīṣūpāla, though the latter is anxious to fight him. Bhīṣma then goes on (1494 ff.) to give Bhīmasena an account of Sīṣūpāla's infancy and early history. He had, it seems, been born with three eyes and four arms; and his parents, alarmed at his portentous appearance, were disposed to cast him out, but were prevented by a voice from the sky, which declared to them that the time, fated for his death had not yet arrived. In answer to his mother's inquiry, the voice informed her that her son was doomed to die by the hands of the person who should take him into his lap, and by so doing should occasion his two superfluous arms to drop off, and his third eye to disappear. A part of this prediction was fulfilled when Krūṣṇa came and took him into his lap, and the infant got rid of his superfluous members.210. On seeing this, his

209 See above, pp. 152 f.
210 On this story of Sīṣūpāla Lassen remarks (Indian Antiquities, i. p. 674 first ed.; p. 822 second ed.): 'Sīṣūpāla in this case represents Sīva, and the conflict of the Sīva-worship with that of Vishnu: for he was born with three eyes and four arms, and the legend attributes the falling off of his two superfluous arms and the dis-
mother begged a boon from Kṛṣṇa, viz. that he would forgive Sīṣupāla’s offences. Kṛṣṇa promises to pardon a hundred. Bhīṣma then proceeds (v. 1518 ff.):

> Evam esha nriṇaḥ pāpaḥ Sīṣupālaḥ suṃanda-dhīḥ | tvāṁ samāhavyate vīra Govinda-vara-darpitaḥ | Naiṣāḥ Chedi-pater buddhir yaẏa tva 'havyate 'chutam | nānāṁ esha jagad-bhartuḥ Kṛṣṇasasyaiva vinischayah |
> ko hi māṁ Bṛhaspatīdya kṣitāv arhati pārthivah | ksheptum kāla-parītātmā yathāiṣa kula-pāṁsanaḥ |
> esha hy asya mahābāhus tejo 'ṁśa śa Hūrer dhruvam | tam eva punar ādātum ichhaty uta tathā vībhuh |
> yenaisha Kuru-sārdula sārdulaḥ iva Chedi-rāṭ | garjaty ativa durbuddhiḥ sarvān asmān achintaya |

"Thus this wicked king Sīṣupāla, slow of understanding, proud of the boon conferred by Govinda, challenges thee, O hero. This does not show wisdom in the lord of the Chedis, that he challenges thee who art Achyuta. For this is the fixed opinion of Kṛṣṇa, the sustainer of the world, ‘What king on earth, O Bṛhaspati, ought to-day to revile me, deprived by destiny of his reason, like this degrader of his race?’ For this large-armed (Sīṣupāla) is certainly [an emanation of] the strength, and a portion, of Hari, which the pervading [deity] wishes to draw back again [into himself]; in consequence of which, O chief of the Kurus, this foolish king of the Chedis growls loudly, like a tiger, disregarding us all."

Sīṣupāla here breaks in angrily (v. 1524 ff.), and asks why Kṛṣṇa should be so praised to the exclusion of all other warlike kings. Bhīṣma replies (1551), that he values not a straw all the other chiefs who were present. On hearing this, some of them became greatly incensed; and some cried out that Bhīṣma should be killed or burned. Bhīṣma replied that they might slay or burn him if they pleased, but that Kṛṣṇa, the object of his reverence, would survive, and that appearance of his frontal eye to the look and embrace of Kṛṣṇa. This story is of especial importance for the purpose of determining the periods to which the different parts of the Mahābhārata belong. Kṛṣṇa’s deification belongs to the period after Buddha. In the attack upon Jarāsandha he is still exhibited principally as a hero, acts upon human motives, and performs actions unworthy of a god; but there are evident beginnings of his deification.” The same author adds in a note on the same page (p. 823, second ed.): “Sīṣupāla is probably an earlier name of Sīva, who is called ‘Paśupati,’ or lord, protector, of beasts. ‘Sīśu’ denotes the young of men and beasts, and ‘pāla’ protector. He had a second name ‘Sunītha’ (Sabhap. v. 1410), which no doubt was the proper one.”
any one who was desirous to incur speedy destruction should challenge him to fight. Sisupāla hereupon challenges Krishṇa; and the narrative proceeds:

(Verse 1561 ff.): Tataḥ śrutvajva Bhīṣmasya Chedi-rāja urch-vikramaḥ | yuyutsur Vāsudevaṁ Vāsudevam uvācha ha | āhaye tvāṁ raṇaṁ gaccha mayā vārdham Janārdana | yāvad adya nihaniṁ tvāṁ sahitaṁ sarva-Pāṇḍavaḥ | saha tvayā hi me badhyāḥ sarvathā Krishṇa Pāṇḍavaḥ | nṛpatiṁ samatikramya yair arāja tvam architaḥ | ye tvāṁ dāsaṁ arājaṁ bālyād archanti durmatim | anarhaṁ arha-vat Krishṇa badhyās te iti me matiḥ | ity uktvā rāja-śārdula [? ] tasciha garjann amarshaṇaḥ | evam ukte tataḥ Krishṇo mṛdu-pūrvaṁ idaṁ vachaḥ | uvācha pāṛthivān sarvāṁ sa samakshaṁ cha Pāṇḍavaṁ | eshaṁ śatrum atyantam pāṛthivāḥ Sāvatī-sutakhaḥ | Sāvatānāṁ nṛṣaṁśatmā na hito 'nupakārīṇam | Prāg-jyotisha-puraṁ yātaṁ asmān jñāte nṛṣaṁśa-krit | adahad Devākāṁ esha saṣāryaḥ san narādhipaḥ | kriḍāto Bhoja-rājasya esha Raivatake girau | hatve baddheva cha tāṁ sarvāṁ upāyātasa-puraṁ | uśvamedhe haṃ medhyam utṛṣṭaṁ rathṣibhir vṛṣtam | pitur me yajna-vighnārtham aharat pāpa-niśchayaḥ | Sauvīrāṁ pratiyātēnca Bahbror esha tapasvinah | bhāryaṁ abhayaharad mohād akāmā [m?] tāṁ iti gataṁ | esha mahā-pratichhannahā Kārūshārthe tapasvinīṁ | jahāra Bhadrāṁ Vaiśālīṁ mātulasya nṛṣaṁśa-vat | pitri-svasuḥ krite duḥkhāṁ sumahad marshayamy aham | dishtya hidaṁ sarva-rājñāṁ sannidhāv adya vartate | pasyanti hi bhavanto 'dya maya ativa vyatikramam | kritāni tu parokshham me yāni tāṁ nibodhata | imaṁ tv aṣya na śakṣhyāṁ kshantum adya vyatikramam | avalepād badhārhasya samagre rāja-ṃdāle | Rukminīyām asya mādhasya prārthanaḥ "sīd mumūrshataḥ | na cha tāṁ prāptavān mūḍhāḥ śūdraḥ vedasṛutim icca | evam-ādi tataḥ sarve sahitas te narādhipaḥ | Vāsudeva-vachaḥ śrutvā Chedi-rājaṁ vyagarhayan | tasya tad-vachanaṁ śrutvā Sisupālaṁ pratiपavān | jahāsa svanavaddhaśāṁ vākyāṁ chedam uvācha ha | mat-pūrvaṁ Rukminīṁ Krishṇa samsatams parikrtayan | viśesataḥ pāṛthiveshu vriḍīṁ na kurashe katham | manyamāno hi kāh sats puruṣaḥ parikrtayan | anya-पārvaṁ striyaṁ jātu tvad-ṛnyo Madhuvīdana | kshama v yadi te śraddhā ma vā Krishṇa mana kshama | kruddhād vā 'pi prasannād vā kīṁ me tvatto bhavishyati | tathā bruvaṭaḥ evāṣya bhagavān Madhuvīdanaḥ | manasā 'chintayach chakrāṁ daitya-garvinsudanam | eteṁmin eva kāle tu chakre kasta-gaye sati | uvācha bhagavān uchhair vākyāṁ vākyāṁ-visāradaḥ | śrīvantu me mahīpālaṁ yenaṁta
"The king of the Chedis, mighty in valour, desirous to fight with Vasudeva, after he had heard Bhishma, then addressed the former: 'I challenge thee, approach to combat with me, Janardana, till I slay thee with all the Pándavas. For together with thee, Krishna, I must utterly destroy the Pándavas, who, passing over kings, have honoured thee who art no king. They who, through folly, honour thee, a fool, who art a slave, and no king, and who art unworthy, as if thou wert worthy, [they, I say,] ought in my opinion to be slain.' Having so spoken, the tiger of kings stood growling and indignant. Krishna then addressed these mild words to all the kings and the Pándavas, in their presence: 'This son of Sátvāti, O princes, is the bitter enemy, truculent and ill-disposed, of us the Sátvātas, who have done him no wrong. This malignant man, a sister's son, knowing that we had set out for the city of the Prágjyotishas, burned Dvārakā. While the king of the Bhojas was formerly amusing himself on the Revata mountain, he slew and captured them all, and then returned home. Bent upon wickedness, to interrupt my father's sacrifice, he carried off the horse intended as a victim, which had been let loose, attended by keepers. He in his infatuation carried off the wife of the devotee Babhrū, who had set out to return to [the country of] the Sauvīras, who had gone hence, and who had no passion [for him]. Under a magical disguise, he, like a cruel wretch, carried off for the Kārusha the devout Bhadrā, daughter of Viśāla, [the daughter] of my maternal uncle. For the sake of my father's sister (S'isupāla's mother), I submit to great vexation. Fortunately, this occurs to-day in presence of all the princes, for ye all behold the great transgression committed against me. As for the offences which have been done out of your sight, learn them from me. I shall not to-day be able to endure this transgression of this infatuated man, who, for his presumption, deserves to be slain in the full assembly of princes. He who is doomed to die, sought to gain Rukmiṇī, but the fool did not obtain her, as a Sūdra is excluded from the veda.' Hearing these and such other words of Vasudeva,
all the princes together then reviled the king of the Chedis. But the mighty Sisupala, hearing these words, laughed a sonorous laugh, and thus spake: 'How is it, that thou art not ashamed, Krishna, thus in the assembly, and especially before the princes, to make mention of Rukmini, who was betrothed to me?' For what man but thou, Madhusudana, after reflection, would mention among respectable persons a woman who had been betrothed to another? Forgive me, Krishna, if thou hast generosity, or refuse to forgive me. What shall happen to me from thee whether thou art well-pleased or angry?' As he thus spake, the divine Madhusudana in his mind thought upon the discus, the humbler of the pride of the Daityas. The discus having come into his hand at that very time, the divine being, skilled in words, uttered aloud this word: 'Let the kings listen to me by whom this forgiveness has been practised. At the request of his mother, a hundred offences were to be pardoned. That request was granted by me, and it has been fulfilled, O kings. I shall now slay him, while you kings look on.' Having thus spoken, the chief of the Yadus, the viceroy of his foes, incensed, instantly struck off the head of the king of the Chedis with his discus. The great-armed (warrior) fell like a mountain smitten by a thunder-bolt.'

Rukmini had been betrothed to Sisupala, as we are told in the Vishnu Purana, v. 26, 1 ff. (Wilson, p. 573, first ed.; p. 69, vol. 1 of Dr. Hall's ed.): Bhishmakah Kusumine raja Vidarbha-vishayye 'bhavat | Rukmi tasabhabhavat putro Rukmini cha varanganar | Rukminim chakame Krishna sada cha ta prithvi-kasini | na dadau yachate chainah Rukmini devshena chakrine | dadau cha Sisupalahya Jarasandha-prachodita | Bhishmako Rukmini saradhaan Rukmini urv-vikramah | ‘Bhishmaka was king in Kusuman, in the country of the Vidarbhas. Rukmin was his son, and the beautiful Rukmini (his daughter). Krishna loved Rukmini, and the sweetly-smiling maid (loved) him, but Rukmin did not give her to the wielder of the discus, when he asked her; but urged by Jarasandha, Bhishmaka, mighty in valour, together with Rukmin, gave her to Sisupala.' Krishna comes to witness the nuptials of his rival, and carries off the princess on the eve of the wedding. The story is told at greater length in the Harivamsha, sect. 117, vv. 6579 ff.; and in the Bhagavata Purana, x. sections 43 ff.

See the sequel, vv. 1585-1588. The Vishnu Purana (Wilson's translation, p. 437, first ed.; vol. iv, p. 104, of Dr. Hall's ed.) tells that Sisupala had been in a former birth the Daitya Hiranyakashipu, who was killed by Vishnu in his man-lion incarnation. His afterwards became Ravana, who was slain by Rama. In his character as Sisupala he evinced an intense hatred towards Vishnu, "a portion of the supreme being, who had descended to lighten the burthens of the earth," (V. P. iv, 14, 14: Sisupala atvema bhagacato bhuvahbhuvatamurya avatirnayasasa Tungarikanayanakhyasaya upari devshenubandhah atitarah chakras |) and was in consequence slain by him;
Duryodhana, the son of Dhritarāśtrā, and the principal leader of the Kurus, is represented as manifesting a similar disbelief of Krishna's divine character, or at least as maintaining a proud and contumacious resistance to his claims. In the Udyoga-parvan (vv. 2527 ff.), Sanjaya unfolds the divine nature of Krishna, "who," he says, "being distinct in nature, and self-subdued, is able, by a thought, to subject to himself the earth, the air, and the heaven" (prthivīnchāntarikshancha dyāṁ chaiva Purushottamaḥ | manasaiva visishtātmā nayaty atma-vasaṁ vaśṭ|)

He then goes on to say, vv. 2529 ff.:

Ekato vā jagat kṛitnam ekato vā Janārdanaḥ | sārato jagataḥ kṛitsnād atirikto Janārdanaḥ | bhasma kuryād jagad idam manasaiva Janārdanaḥ | na cha kṛitsnāṁ jagaḥ ehhaktam bhasmikartum Janārdanaṁ | yataḥ satyaṁ yato dharmo yato īrī ārjavatā yataḥ | tato bhavati Govindā yataḥ Krishnaḥ tato jayaḥ | prthivīṁ cāntarikshancha divanche Puroṣuḥottamaḥ | vicheshtayati bhūtātmā kriṣṭan na-Janārdanaḥ | sa kṛitva Pāṇḍavān satraṁ lokaṁ sammohayann īva | adharma-niratān mūḍhān daṇḍhum ichhati teсутāṁ | kāla-chakraṁ jagaḥ-chakraṁ yuga-chakrancha Kesavaḥ | ātma-yogena bhagavān parivartayate 'nīsam | kālasya cha hi mṛtyoścha jangama-sthāvarasya cha | īśate bhagavān ekaṁ satyam etad bravīmi te | īśān api mahāyogī sarvasya jagato Hariḥ | karmāṇy āraṁbhate kartuṁ kīnāsah īva vardhānaḥ | tena vanchayate lokān mūyāyogena Kesavaḥ | ye tām eva prapadyante tena mūhyanti mūnavah | Dhritarrāśṭraḥ uvācha | kathaṁ tvāṁ Madhavaṁ vetti sarva-locamahēśvaram | katham enam na vedāhaṁ tad manāchakṣha Sanjaya | Sanjayah uvācha | śīru rājān na te vidyā mama vidyā na hiyate | vidyā-hīno tamo-dhvasto nābhijānāti Kesavaṁ | vidyayā tāta jānāmi triyugam Madhusūdanam | kartāram akṛitaṁ devam bhūtānām prabhāvāpyayam | Dhritarāśṭraḥ

but as his thoughts were "constantly engrossed by the supreme being," Śiśuṇāla became united with him after death; for the lord gives "to those to whom he is favourable whatever they desire," and "bestows a heavenly and exalted station even upon those whom he slays in his displeasure." This is further explained in the next section, where we are told that Krishna as an object of hatred was ever present to Śiśuṇāla's thoughts, and that he was constantly uttering his names, and though this was done disrespectfully and in malediction, yet he at last beheld the deity in his true character when he was slaying then and that then all his passion and hatred ceased, and his sins were consumed by his divine adversary, with whom he became united. The attempt of Śiśuṇāla's brother, king of the Sālvās (whose capital was Saubha), to revenge his death, his assault on Dvārakā, his desire to slay Krishna, and the destruction which he thereby drew upon himself, are narrated in the Vana-parvan, vv. 615–890.
uvāca | Gāvalgani 'tra kā bhaktir yā te nityāṁ Jānardane | yathā tvam 
hāhijānāśi iŗiyugam Madhusūdanam | Sanjayaḥ uvācha | māyāṁ na 
seve bhadrāṁ te na vṛtthā dharmam ācāre | suddha-bhāvaṁ gato bhaktyā 
śastraṁ vedmi Janārdanan | Dhritarāśṭraḥ uvācha | Duryodhana Hirṣi- 
keesam prapadyasva Janārdanan | āpto naḥ Sanjayas tāta śaraṇam gachha Keśavam | Duryodhanaḥ uvācha | Bhagavān Devaki-putro lokāṁś ched 
nihāṁśhyati | pravadann Arjuna sakhyāṁ nāhaṁ gachhe 'dya Keśavam | 
2529. "On the one side' the whole world, on the other Janārdana,—in 
his essence Janārdana exceeds the whole world. He could by a thought 
reduce this world to ashes; but the whole world could not reduce him to 
ashes. Since he is truth, righteousness, modesty, rectitude,—therefore 
is he Govinda; since he is Krīṣṇa, he is therefore victory. The chief 
of males (or spirits), Janārdana, the soul of beings, imparts activity to 
the earth, air, and sky, as if in sport. He having made for the Pāṇḍavas 
a sacrifice, deluding, as it were, the world, wishes to burn up thy 
(Dhritarāśṭra's) infatuated and unrighteous sons. The divine Keśava 
by his own abstraction (yoga) makes the circles of time, of the world, 
and of the ages (yugas), continually to revolve. This divine being 
alone is lord of time, of death, and of things movable and im-
movable,—this I tell thee as a truth. Hari, the great contemplator, 
though the lord of the whole world, undertakes to perform works, like 
a poor peasant seeking gain. He deceives the world by this display of 
delusion whereby the men who seek him are bewildered. Dhritarāśṭra 
said: How dost thou know Mādhava, the great lord of the whole 
world? and how is it that I do not know him?—tell me that, Sanjaya. 
Sanjaya answered: Hear, O king, thou hast not knowledge; but to me 
knowledge is not wanting. He who is devoid of knowledge, and sunk 
in darkness, does not recognize Keśava. By knowledge I recognize 
Madhusūdana, who exists in the three ages (yugas), the maker, the 
unmade, the god, the source of beings, and the cause of their de-
struction. Dhritarāśṭra asks: O, Gāvalgani (Sanjaya), what is this 
devotion of thine to Janārdana, whereby thou recognizest him to exist 
in the three Yugas? Sanjaya answers: I do not pursue a delusion, 
bless thee, nor do I vainly practise righteousness. Having by devotion 
attained to purity, I know Janārdana from the scripture (śastra). 
Dhritarāśṭra said: Duryodhana, do thou seek Hṛishi-keśa, Janārdana: 
Sanjaya is to us an authoritative teacher: resort to Keśava as thy
DURYODHANA IS REPROVED BY HIS PARENTS.

refuge. Duryodhana said: If the divine son of Devakī should destroy the worlds, I should not, declaring friendship for Arjuna, resort today to Kesavā."

Duryodhana is hereupon reproved by his father and mother for his pride, self-will, and ambition, and is told by the latter that “when he has received his death-blow from Bhīmasena, he will remember the words of his father (nuhāto Bhīmasenena smartāsi vachanam pituh).” After some further conversation, Dhṛtarāṣṭra asks to be further instructed about Krishṇa, when Sanjaya proceeds as follows (vv. 2560 ff.):

Sanjayaḥ utāche śrutam ma Vāsudevasya nāma-nirvachanaṁ subham |
gyavat tatrābhijāne 'ham aprameyo hi Kesavāḥ | vasanāt sarva-bhūtānāṁ

vasutvād deva-yonitāḥ | Vāsudevas tato vedyo vrihatvād Vishnur uchyaṭe |
maunād dhyānāḥ cha yogāchcha viddhi Dharata Mādhavān | sarva-tattva- 

mayatvāḥ cha Madhuḥa Madhusūdanaḥ | kṛishir bhū-vāchakaḥ śabdo

guṣṣa cha nirvṛiti-vāchakaḥ | Vishnus tad-bhāva-yogāchcha Krishṇo bhavati Sātvataḥ |
pundarīkam pariṁ dhāma nityam akshayam avyayam | tad-

bhāvāt Pūndarīkākṣo dasyu-trāsāj Janērdanaḥ | yataḥ sattvād na

chavate yach cha sattvād na hiyate | sāttvataḥ Sāttvatas tasmād ārsha-

bhād Vrishabhkekshanaḥ | na jāyate jānitrā 'yam Ajas tasmād anikajit |

devānāṁ sva-prakāśatvād dāmad Dāmodoro vibhuḥ | harṣat sukhāt su-

khāśvaryād Hṛishikēsatvam aśnute | bāhubhyām rodasi bhihrad mahā-

bāhur iti smṛitaḥ | ādho na kshihyate jātu yasmat tasmād adhokṣajāḥ |

naraṁ śvām ayanaḥ chāpi tato Nārāyaṇaṁ smṛitaḥ | pūranāt sadānāḥ

chāpi tato 'saṁ Purushottamaḥ | asaṁ cha sataḥ chaiva sarvasva prabhā-

vāpyayāt | sarvasva cha sādā jnānāt Sarvam etam prachakṣate | satye

pratishṭitaḥ Krishṇaṁ satyam atra pratishṭhitam | satyāt satyānca

Govindaṁ tasmāt Satyō 'pi nāmataḥ | Vishnur vikramanad devo jayaṇaṇāj

Jīṣṭhur uchyaṭe | sāsvatavād Anantaśca Govindo vedanad gavām | atatt-

vaṁ kurute tattvāṁ tena mohayate praṇāḥ | evamvyādhi dharmā-nityo bhaga-

vān Madhusūdanaḥ | āgantā hi mahābāhur ānṛśāṁsvārtham achyutāḥ |

“Sanjaya says: Thou hast heard, from me the auspicious explanation of Vāsudeva’s names, as far as I understand the subject; for Kesava is immeasurable. He is to be known as Vāsudeva from his dwelling (vasanāt) in all beings, from his issuing as a Vasu from a divine womb. From his greatness (vrihatvāt) he is called Vishnu. From his silence, (maunāt) contemplation, and abstraction, do thou know him to be Mādhava. From his possessing the nature of all principles, he is
Madhuhan, and Madhusūdana. The word kṛishī denotes ‘earth,’ and 
na denotes ‘cessation’; Vishṇu, from containing the nature of these 
things, is Kṛishṇa, the Sāttvata. Puṇḍarīka means the highest abode, 
eternal, unchangeable, undecaying; from his having that character he is 
Puṇḍarīkākṣa. From terrifying the Dasyus he is Janaśdana. In- 
asmuch as he does not fall from, or fail in, existence (sattva), therefore, 
from his existence, he is Sāttvata, and from his excellence (ārshabha) 
he is Vṛishabhhekaśa. As he is not generated by a father, he is 
Aja (the unborn), the victorious in battle. From the self-illumination 
of the gods, and from self-restraint (dama), the mighty being is Dāmo-
dara. He obtains his character as Hṛishikeśa from joy (harsha), 
pleasure, and the ease with which he rules. Sustaining the two 
worlds with his arms, he is called Mahābāhu (great-armed). Since he 
never sinks downwards (adho na kṣhiyate) he is Adhokshaja. From 
movement among men (naraṇāṁ213 ayaṇat) he is called Nārāyaṇa. 
From filling (pūraṇat) and from abiding (sadaṇat) he is Purushottama. 
Since he is the source and the destruction of everything (sarvasya) 
both non-existent and existent, and since he always knows all, they 
call him Sarva. Kṛishṇa is based on truth (satye), and truth is based 
on him, and Govinda is truer than truth, therefore he is also called Satya. 
The god is called Vishṇu from striding (vikramaṇat), Jishṇu from 
conquering (jayanat), Ananta from his eternity, and Govinda from the 
possession of cattle214 (vedanād gavām). He makes the reality an 
unreality, and so deludes creatures. Of such a character, constant 

213 Perhaps the true reading is nārāṇām, “waters,” as in the text of Manu, cited 
above, p. 31.

214 Another explanation of this name is given in Sānti-parvan, v. 13228 f.: Nash-
tāṁ cha dharaṇīṁ pūrvaṁ avindaṁ vai guhāgatām | Govindāṁ iti tenāhāṁ devair 
vāgghir abhiṣṭhaṁ | “And since I discovered the earth which had formerly been 
destroyed, and had sunk into the abyss, I was therefore lauded by the gods with 
praises as Govinda.” And in the following verse, occurring in the description 
of the ocean, in the Ādi-parvan, v. 1216, the word Govinda is thus interpreted: Gāṁ 
vaiṣṇavāṁ bhagavatā Govindendāmītāyaśāḥ | sarāha-rūpinā chaṁtar vikshobhita-jaśvatām | 
“[That ocean] which was rendered turbid when its waters were agitated within by 
the divine Govinda of illimitable power, who in the form of a bear found the earth 
[beneath its surface].” I notice in the same passage another verse (1215), which 
seems to show that, at the period when it was written, the Hindus were acquainted 
with the cause of the tides, or at least with the influence of the moon upon the 
ocean: Chandra-eritākhi-śayā-vasād udvrittormi-samākālaṁ | “[The ocean] tossed 
with waves which rise in obedience to the waxing and waning of the moon.”
in righteousness, is the divine Madhusūdana. For the great-armed Achyuta (or unfailing deity) will come for the sake of innocence.

The following is another illustration of Duryodhana’s enmity to Kṛiṣṇa, and of his scepticism in regard to the supernatural character of that personage, at the same time that it shows the writer’s faith in the divine nature of his hero. It is related in the Udyoga-parvan that Kṛiṣṇa went to the Kurus, with the intention of mediating between them and the Pāṇḍus. While he was with them, Duryodhana plotted to confine him (v. 4368), but Vidura warns the plotter that his attempt would be vain, owing to the divine power of Kṛiṣṇa. On the conclusion of Vidura’s speech, Kṛiṣṇa addresses himself to Duryodhana (4418 ff.):

"Being thus addressed, the heroic Keśava, slayer of hostile bands, thus addressed Duryodhana, son of Dhṛitarāṣṭra: ‘Since, Suyodhana, thou, in thy delusion, regardest me as if I were alone, and, O fool, seekest to overcome and confine me, [know that] here are all the Pāṇḍavas, the Andhakas, and the Vṛiṣṇis, as well as the Ādityas, Rudras, and Vasus, together with the rishis.’ Having thus spoken, Keśava, slayer of hostile heroes, laughed aloud. As the mighty de-

215 Quere, may not chaiva be the proper reading?
scendant of Surā [Krishṇa] smiled, the gods, wearing the appearance of lightning, of the size of a thumb, and luminous as fire, issued forth from him. Brahmā occupied his forehead, Rudra was produced on his chest, the guardians of the world appeared on his arms, and Agni sprang from his mouth. The Adityas, too, and the Sadhyas, Vasus, Aśvins, Maruts, and all the gods along with Indra were produced, and also the forms of the Yakshas, Gandharvas, and Rākshasas. Sankarṣaṇa and Dhananjaya also were manifested from his arms, Arjuna armed with a bow from his right, and Rāma holding a plough from his left, Yudhishṭhīra and Bhīma, the sons of Mādṛi, from his back. Next Andhakas and Vṛishṇis, headed by Pradyumna, arose on his front, with their weapons ready. A shell, discus, club, spear, bow, plough, and sword, were seen prepared, and all weapons, gleaming in every form on the different arms of Krishṇa."

In the next passage, taken from the Karna-parvan also, Duryodhana, and other warriors on his side, put themselves on the same level as Krishṇa (except in one place, vv. 1625 ff.). It is there related (vv. 1265 ff.) that Karna promised to Duryodhana to encounter and slay Arjuna, or be slain by him. Karna says, however, that in some respects he is inferior to Arjuna; as, for instance, in not having such a charioteer as Arjuna had in Govinda (Krishṇa) (v. 1302: Sārathis tasya Govindo mama tādṛṣṇa na vidyate); while in other respects he regards himself as having the advantage (v. 1304). As, then, Krishṇa, creator of the world, preserves the car of Arjuna (Krishṇaḥ ca srasṭā jagataḥ rathaṁ tam abhirakshati216), if, in like manner, Sauri, king of the Madras, the ornament of the battle-field, who is equal to Sauri (Krishṇa) and, as well as Daśārha, (Krishṇa) who knows a horse's heart, is skilled in horses, will act as his charioteer, Karna thinks the victory of Duryodhana's side will be certain (v. 1308: Ayaṁ tu sadṛṣah Saureḥ Salyah samiti-sobhanah | sārathyāṁ yadi me kuryād dhrucās te vijaya bhavet | . . . 1311: Eam abhyadhikah Pārthāt bhavishyāmi gunair aham | Salya 'py abhyadhikah Krishnād Arjunād api cāpy aham | yathā 'śva-hṛidayāṁ veda Daśārhaḥ para-

216 If the words srasṭā jagataḥ, "creator of the world," are not an interpolation, it is not easy to perceive how Karna could have regarded Krishṇa as his equal, as he would never have thought of calling S'alya, or any other of his brother warriors, the creator of the world.
vīra-hā | tathā Sālyo ’pi jānīte haya-jnānaṁ mahārathaḥ | Duryodhana then goes to Sālyo, and asks him to act as charioteer to Karna, saying that he (Sālyo) was equal to Kṛśṇa, that there was no other person who could drive Karna but himself; and that Brahmā had fulfilled the same office to Mahādeva (v. 1328 f.: Sārathyaṁ rathināṁ śreshṭhaṁ pranayāt kartum arhasi | tvayi yantari Rādhyaṁ vidvisho me vijeshyate | abhīshunāṁ hi Karṇasya grahitā ’nyo nā vidyate | rite hi tvām mahābhāga Vāsudeva-samaṁ yudhi | sa pāhi sarvathā Karṇaṁ yathā Brahmā Mahāśvaram |). Sālyo, however, is very much offended (v. 1354 f.) that a person of his dignity should be asked to undertake the office of charioteer, and boasts that he is superior to Karna, and could alone destroy their enemies. He points to his thick arms, which would smite like a thunderbolt, and asserts that he could by his own strength cleave asunder the earth, scatter the mountains, and dry up the seas (v. 1361: Paśya pinau mama bhujau vajra-saṁhananopamau | . . . 1363: Dārayeyam mahīṁ kṛitsnāṁ vikireyam cha parvatān | S’ośhayeyam samudrāṁs cha tejasā svena pārthiva |). He will not brook to undertake the inferior office of driving who is his own inferior217 (v. 1365: Kasmād yunakshi sārathye niĉasyādhhirathe rāne | na mām adhuri rājendra niyoktuṁ tvam ihārhasi | na hi pāpiyasah śreyāṁ bhūtvā preshyatvam utsahe |). He threatens, in consequence of the insult thus offered to him, to go home (v. 1375); and accordingly rises and goes, but is followed by Duryodhana, who endeavours to soothe him by saying that he did not regard Karna as superior to him (v. 1379: Na Karṇo ’bhyadikas tvattaḥ), but considered Karna to be superior to Arjuna; while the world regarded him (Sālyo) as superior to Kṛśṇa, whom he excelled in strength, as well as in knowledge of horses and their dispositions, (v. 1384: Manye’cābhhyadhikaṁ Sālya gunaiḥ Karṇaṁ Dhananjayai | bhavantaṁ Vāsudevāḥ cha loka ’yan iti manyate | Karṇo hy abhyadhikaḥ Pārthād astrair eva nararshabha | bhavān abhyadhikaḥ Kṛṣṇaṁ asva-jnāne bale tathā | yathā ’svahṛdayaiḥ veda Vāsudevo mahāmaṁ | dvīgunaṁ tvāṁ tathā vetti Madavājśvaravātmajaṁ |). Sālyo is flattered by his being reckoned superior to Kṛśṇa, and agrees to act as charioteer to Karna, vv. 1387 ff.: Yad mām braviśi Gāndhāre

217 He regarded Karna as what he was generally supposed to be, a Sūta, or charioteer, by caste (sūta-puṭrasya, v. 1374).
madhye sainyasya Kaurava | viśiṣṭam Devakiḥ putrāt prātimāṇasyaḥ aham aham tvayi | oṣa sārathyam ātishthe Rādheṣyaḥ yaśasvinahi | yudhyataḥ Pāṇḍavāḥ gṛṇena yathā tvam vīra manyase | samayaḥ cha hi me vīra kaścid Vaikartanam prati | utsrijeyam yathā-śraddham aham vācho 'syā sannidhanau | Sanjayah uvācha | tatheti rūjan putras te saha Kṛṇena Bharata | abhavī Madra-rājasya matam Bharata-sattama | “I am pleased with thee, Kaurava, since in the midst of the army thou declarest me to be superior to the son of Devakī. I undertake to be charioteer to the renowned Kṛṣṇa when he fights with the chief of the Pāṇḍavas, as thou, hero, thinkest [I ought to do]. And now that I have entered into a certain agreement with Kṛṣṇa, let me candidly excuse to him the words I have used.” Sanjaya proceeded: “Thy son (i.e. Duryodhana) having assented, declared to Kṛṣṇa the resolution of the king of the Madras (Sālya).”

Though he had thus gained his point, by persuading Sālya to act as charioteer to Kṛṣṇa, Duryodhana is nevertheless represented as proceeding, in the next three sections, the 33rd–35th, vv. 1391 ff., (which, for reasons to be afterwards assigned, I regard as probably interpolated,) to repeat to Sālya an ancient story, telling how Brahmā had formerly done duty as charioteer to Mahādeva in a war between the gods and Asuras. In this war the gods, it is related, were at first the victors (1394). The three sons of the Asura Tāraka thereupon performed severe austerities, which induced Brahmā to grant them a boon (1397). They asked that they might become indestructible by any being whatever, which, however, Brahmā declined to grant, as immortality, he said, was not an universal attribute (1399). They then asked that they should occupy three castles, and from thence move about the earth at will, and that after a thousand years these three castles should become united, and that they themselves should only be destructible by the deity who should be able to overthrow the castles with a single arrow (1402 ff.: Vayam purāṇi trīṇy eva samāstāḥya mahīm imāṁ | vicharishyāmo loke 'śmin . . . tato varsha-sahasre tu sameshyāmaḥ parasparam | ekibhāvaṁ gamishyanti purāṇy etāni chānagha | samāgatāṁ chaiva yo hanyād bhagavāṁ tadā | eśkhunā deva-varah sa no mrityur bhavishyati i). Brahmā granted this boon, and the Asura Maya built them three castles, one of gold, in heaven; a second of silver, in the air; and a third of black iron, on
earth (1406 ff.), which the three Asura kings above mentioned severally occupied, and where innumerable hosts of formidable demons were collected. Maya, by his magical power, gave them everything that any of them wished (1415): and Harî, the son of Târakâksha, obtained as a boon from Brahmâ that there should be a pond within their castle, into which, when any Asuras slain in battle were thrown, they should be resuscitated and become stronger than ever (1418 ff.). Armed with all these powers, the Asuras harassed the worlds, putting to flight the celestial hosts, and destroying the gardens of the gods, and the hermitages of the rishis (1421 ff.). Indra attacked the castles of the Asuras with his thunderbolts, but without effect (1427). He then went with the other gods to consult Brahmâ about the means of overthrowing the titans (1429 ff.). Brahmâ replied that the castles could only be destroyed by a single arrow, and that this could only be effected by Mahâdeva (1434), to whom they should apply. The deities, then, headed by Brahmâ himself, went to supplicate Mahâdeva, who gives security amid alarms, the soul of all things, by whom the universe is pervaded, who, through particular austerities, knows the "yoga" and the "sãnkhya" of himself, (or of spirit,) and whose spirit is always in subjectio,—(they went to supplicate him) practising rites of austerity, repeating the eternal Veda, and uttering awful or fierce hymns, (1437 ff.):

`Tapa-niyamam āsthāya grīnanto brahma sāśvatam | . . . tushedvura
vägbihir ugrābhīr bhayesv abhaya-daṁ niṣpa | sarvātmanām mahātmānam
yenüpataṁ sarvam ātmanā | tapo-viseshārṇa vividhaṁ yogāṁ yo veda
chātmanāḥ | yah sāṁkhyam ātmano vetti yasya chātmā vāse sādā |).`  

They beheld Mahâdeva, to whom a variety of other honorific epithets are applied, such as "the essence of all beings, the unborn, the lord of the world" (1442: `sarva-bhūtānyām drīṣṭvā tam ajāṁ jagataḥ
patim`). Mahâdeva received them smiling, and invites them to state their wishes (1444). They then recite a number of his epithets (1445 ff.), and Brahmâ replies on their behalf (1455 ff.) that he himself, who had obtained from Mahâdeva his rank of Prajâpaṭi, had bestowed a boon on the Dānavaś, that they had in consequence transgressed all bounds; and that now there was no one but Mahâdeva who could destroy them,—which he was therefore implored to do. Mahâdeva answers (1459) that he himself alone could not

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218 See above p. 203; and the 2nd vol. of this work, pp. 378 ff.
destroy them, as they were strong, but that, with the aid of half his strength, they themselves would be able to conquer their enemies. They answered that they could not sustain half of his strength (vibh-artuṁ tava tejo 'raḥaṁ na śakṣyāmaḥ), but proposed that he should undertake the work, aided by half of their strength. To this Mahādeva consented, and became stronger than all the gods, and was thenceforward called Mahādeva, or “the great god,” (ardhaṁ ādaya sarvēśaṁ tejasā 'bhyadhiko'bhavat | sa tu devo balenāsit sarvebhyo balavattaraḥ | Mahādevaḥ iti khyātas tataḥ praḥhrīti S'ankaraḥ). Mahādeva then (1468) desired the gods to provide him with a bow and arrows, and a chariot. The gods promised to provide a chariot which should be composed of all the forms of the universe (1469: mūrtiḥ sarvāḥ samādhyāya trailokyaśya tatas tataḥ | rathaṁ te kalpaśyāmaḥ). The composition of the car, formed by Viṣṇu, Soma, and Agni became different parts of Mahādeva's bow and arrow; the earth became his chariot, the mountain Mandara its axle; and the great river, the regions, the constellations, the Krita age, the serpent Vāsuki, the Himalaya and Vindhya mountains, plants, the sun and moon, day and night, various goddesses, duty, truth, the vashaṭkāra, the gāyatrī, etc., formed portions of the car, or of its appurtenances. Mahādeva's weapons and equipments are then specified (1495 ff.). At verse 1503 it is repeated that “Vishṇu, Agni, and Soma formed his arrow; for all the world,” it is added, “is formed of Agni and Soma, and is said to be composed of Vishṇu, and Vishṇu is the soul of Mahādeva of boundless power. Hence they could not abide the bow, or the contact of the bowstring of Hara. In that arrow the terrible god, dark-blue, and dusky in hue, clad in an antelope's skin, hurled forth the fire of wrath, of fierce fury, intolerable, and sprung from the rage of Bṛgū and Angiras. . . . 1507. He is the constant preserver of virtuous, and destroyer of wicked, men. The divine Sthānu (Mahādeva) shines forth distinguished by these inherent qualities, which are destructive, fearful in power, fearful in form, and rapid as thought. This whole universe, movable and immovable, existing contained in his members, shone forth, wonderful to behold.”

\[219\] Can these words be a Vaishṇava addition to the passage?

**MAHĀDEVA'S EQUIPMENT FOR BATTLE.** 225

Taking the arrow produced from Soma, Vishṇu, and Agni, Mahādeva mounted the car which had been made for him (1510 ff.). He then smilingly asked (1515) who was to be his charioteer. The gods answered that any one whom he should appoint would undertake that office. He then said that the god who was greater than he (matthāḥ śreshṭhatāro hi yaḥ) should be made his charioteer. The gods next went to Brahmā, and asked him to appoint one (1520), expressing an opinion that he himself was the only person who was fit for the office (1526). Brahmā consented (1530 ff.). Mahādeva is again represented as mounting the car, with the arrow produced from Vishṇu, Soma, and Agni in his hand (1535). He then sets out,\(^2\) and arrives at the triple castle of the Asuras (1551), when some of the Asuras are destroyed by the roaring of his bull (1553), and others come forth to battle. Mahādeva becomes insensate with rage. The three worlds tremble. The chariot begins to sink from the agitation of Soma, Agni, and Vishṇu in the arrow, when it is fitted being on the string, and from the movement of Brahmā and Mahādeva. Vishṇu then issues from a portion of the arrow (1556), takes the form of a bull, and raises up the chariot. Mahādeva again fits his arrow on the string (1562), and discharges it against the-triple castle (1567), which falls to the ground, while the Asuras are burnt up and thrown by Mahādeva into the western ocean. The gods praise Mahādeva and depart (1572).

Duryodhana now (1575 ff.) makes his application of this legend by exhorting Salya to follow Brahmā’s example, and act as charioteer to

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\(^2\) In vv. 1545 ff. it is said that the rishis praised Mahādeva, and increased his strength (rishyas tatra devīśaṁ stuvanto bahubhiḥ stavaib | tejas chāśmaṁ vardhayaṁ rājam āsāṁ punah punah). This is a pure Vedic touch, the same power of imparting strength to the gods by their praises being occasionally asserted of the bards in the Rig-veda. See the fifth volume of this work, p. 91. In most of the texts there cited, however, it is perhaps only meant that the gods were gratified by the praises addressed to them.
Karna. Salya, he adds, is superior to Krishna, Karna, and Arjuna, and as Karna resembled Mahadeva in fighting, so Salya resembled Brahma in guiding [a chariot], etc. To supply additional motives for compliance, he then (1581 ff.) goes on to tell Salya another story about Parasurama performing austerity to propitiate Mahadeva and obtain celestial arms. Mahadeva appears to him, and tells him he shall obtain arms when he has qualified himself by purification to receive them. Parasurama renews his austerities and religious ceremonies (1591), and is at length appointed by Mahadeva to slay the Daityas who had been harassing the gods (1599). He successfully accomplishes this task (1806), and receives celestial arms from Mahadeva. Parasurama had, as Duryodhana goes on to say, taught the divine science of archery to Karna (1613), which proves that Karna is free from sin; and Karna is not, as Duryodhana believes, a Suta or charioteer by birth, but a son of one of the gods, born in a Kshatriya family. For how could a doe give birth to a tiger resembling the sun (katham aditya-sadhram mrigi vyaghram janishyati! 1617)? Duryodhana then recurs to the legend of Brahma becoming Mahadeva's charioteer, and renews his exhortation to Salya to perform the same office to Karna. Salya appears now to waver in his determination, formerly expressed, to comply with Duryodhana's request, as he replies (1625) that he himself had often heard this story before; and that Krishna also had no doubt heard of it, as he knows the future and the past, and that he had for that reason consented to be the charioteer of Arjuna. And, Salya adds, if Karna should slay Arjuna, Krishna would himself fight, and armed with the shell, discus, and club, burn up the whole of Duryodhana's army, and no prince would be able to stand before him among his opponents when he was incensed, (v. 1629 ff.: Yadi hanyach cha Kaunteyaṁ Suta-putraṁ kathanchaṁ | drishtvā Pārthaṁ hi nihataṁ svayaṁ yotsyati Keśavaḥ | śankaḥ-chakra-gadā-pānir dhakṣyate tava vāhinām | na chāpi tasya kruddhāya Vārshṇeyasya mahātmānaṁ | sthāṣyate pratyanikeshu kaścid atra nīpas tava). Duryodhana in reply expatiates on the eminent prowess of Karna, and of Salya himself: (1643) Tvam salya-bhūtaṁ satrūṇāṁ avishahyāṁ parākrame | tatas tvam uchyase rājan Salyah ity ari-sūdana | tava bāhu-balam prāpya na sekhaṁ sarva-Sāvyataḥ | tava bāhu-balād rājan kintu Krishno baliṣṭhikah | yathā hi Krishnena balaṁ dhāryaṁ vai Phālyune hata | tathā Karna-
tyayibhave tvayā dhāryam mahād balam | kimarthāṁ samare sainyāṁ
Vāsudevo nyavārayet (sic) | kimarthāṁ cha bhaṇāṁ sainyāṁ na hanishyati
Maṛisha | “Thou art a spear (salya) to [pierce] thine enemies, irresistible in valour: hence, O king, destroyer of thy foes, thou art called Salya.”

Feeling the power of thy arm, all the Sātvatas could not [resist]. But [it is said that] Kṛṣṇa is superior in force to the strength of thy arm. Just as great strength is to be exhibited by Kṛṣṇa, if Arjuna were killed; so is great strength to be put forth by thee, if Karna were slain. Why should Kṛṣṇa withstand [our] army? and why shouldst not thou slay the [enemy’s] host?” Salya then answers (1648 ff.) in nearly the same words222 which had formerly been assigned to him in vv. 1387-9: “I am pleased with thee, bestower of honour, since before the army thou declarest me to be superior to the son of Devakī. I undertake to be charioteer to the renowned Karna,” etc. This repetition of the same speech of Salya at the close of the episode regarding Mahādeva’s conquest of the Asuras with Brahma for his charioteer, and Paraśurāma’s acquisition of celestial weapons, renders it probable, as I have already said, that this episode has been subsequently interpolated. As Salya had already consented, in vv. 1387 ff., to do duty as Karna’s charioteer, it was quite unnecessary to detail at great length the legend of Brahma and Mahādeva, which had been already briefly alluded to in verse 1330, and which is merely followed by a renewed expression of Salya’s willingness to comply with the request of Karna and Duryodhana.

IV. In various parts of the Mahābhārata Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna are singularly represented as having formerly existed in the persons of two rishis, Nārāyaṇa and Nara,223 who always lived and acted together. A

221 In verse 1381 the same thing had been said in nearly the same words: S’alyabhūtas tu satrūṇāṁ yasmāt tvam yudhī mānada | tasmāt S’alyo hi te nāma kathyaṁ prathikave-tale | The repetition of this idea is an additional argument in proof of the probable interpolation of the passage between v. 1389 and v. 1648.

222 The only difference of reading in the two passages is, that in the first line of the later passage the words agre sainyasya mānada, “before the army, conferrer of honour,” are substituted for madhye sainyasya Kaurava, “in the midst of the army, O Kaurava.”

223 In the Vāmana-purāṇa, sect. 6, quoted in Prof. Aufrecht’s Catalogue, p. 45b, it is stated that Dharma with a divine body was the heart-born son of Brahma, that his (Dharma’s) wife was śūlīśa, and that she bore to him Hari and Kṛṣṇa, and Nara and Nārāyaṇa, of whom the two former were devoted to the practice of the Yoga
similar close union exists between the two heroes in the various transactions narrated in the great epic. Their earlier connexion will appear from the following passages, in which, however, these two rishis are always represented as possessed of supernatural or divine powers.

It is related in the Vana-parvan (vv. 461 ff.) that Krishna, having gone with other friends of the Pandus to visit them after they had retired into the forest, expressed great indignation at the way in which they had been treated by Duryodhana and his party. Arjuna (one of the Pandus), with the view of pacifying Krishna, recounts (vv. 471 ff.) his marvellous deeds in former births, his austerities, his slaughter of the Daityas and Danavas (478), his various forms (480), his three strides as the son of Aditi (484), and his destruction of various enemies (487 ff.); and then proceeds thus (vv. 496 ff.):

Yugante sarva-bhātāni sankshipya Madhusūdana | ātmanāivatmasat

kṛitva jagad āṣṭih parantapā | yugādau tava Vārṣheya nābhi-padmād

ajayata | Brahmā charāchara-gurur yasyedaṁ sakalāṁ jagat | taṁ hantum udyaṭau ghorau Dānavu Madhu-kaiṭabhau | tayer vatiḥkramāṁ

drishtvā kruddhasya bhavato Harēḥ | lalāṭāj jātavān Sambhuḥ śūlapāṇis trilochanaḥ | itthāṁ tāve api deveśau tvacchharīra-samudbhavau | tvan-niyoga-karāv etāv iti me Nārādeḥ 'bravit | tathā Nārāyaṇa purā

kratubhir bhūri-dakshinaḥ | ishtavāṁs tvam mahāsatraṁ Krishna Chait-

rataratho vane | naivam pūrve nāpate vā karishyanti kritāṇi vā | yāṇi

carmāṇi deva tvam bālaṁ eva mahābalaḥ | kṛitavān Purāṇākāśa Bala-

deva-sahāyavān | Kailāsa-bhavane chāpi brāhmaṇair nyavasaṁ saha | Vaisam-

pāyanaḥ uvāca | evam uktvā mahātmānam ātmā Krishnaṁya Pāṇḍavaḥ |

tūṣṇīṁ āśīt tataḥ Pārtham ity uvāca Janārādhanaḥ | mamaiva tvāṁ
tavaihāṁ ye madiyās tavaiva te | yas tvāṁ dveshti sa māṁ dveshti yas
tvāṁ anu sa māṁ anu | 'Naras tvam asi durdharsha Harīr Nārāyaṇo hy

aham | kāle lokam imam prāptau Nara-Nārāyaṇo rishi | ananyaḥ

Pārtha mattas tvāṁ tvattaḥ chāhaṁ tathāiva cha | nāvayor antaram sak-

yanṁ veditum Bharatarśabha |

"At the end of the mundane period (yuga), thou, O Madhusūdana,

See also the extract from the Drona-parvan, translated above, p. 185.

See above, p. 136.
vexer of thy foes, having caused all created things to collapse, and by thyself made them subject to thyself, wast the world. At the commencement of the yuga, O Vårshneya (Krishṇa), Brahmā, the chief of things movable and immovable, whose [is] all this world, sprang from the lotus issuing from thy navel. Two horrible Dānavas, Madhu and Kaitabha, were ready to slay him. From the forehead of Hari, who became incensed when he saw their transgression, was produced Sambhu (Mahādeva), wielding the trident, and three-eyed. Thus even those two lords of the gods (Brahmā and Mahādeva) are sprung from thy (Krishṇa's) body, and they execute thy commands,—this Nārada declared to me. So, too, O Krishṇa, Nārāyaṇa, thou didst formerly celebrate a great sacrifice in the Chaitraratha forest, with oblations and many gifts. The ancients [have] not [done], nor shall those who are to come do, the deeds which thou didst, Puruṣarīkākṣa, even when a child, mighty in power, accompanied by Baladeva. And thou didst dwell with the Brāhmans in the abode of Kailāsa.' Having thus addressed that great being, the Pūṇḍava (Arjuna, who was) the soul of Krishṇa, became silent. Then Janārdana (Krishṇa) thus addressed the son of Pṛthā: 'Thou art mine, and I am thine; those who are mine are thine also. He who hates thee hates me; he who loves (lit. follows, or favours) thee loves me. Thou, invincible hero, art Nara, and I am Hari Nārāyaṇa: in due time we came into this world, the rishis Nara and Nārāyaṇa. Thou, son of Pṛthā, are not different from me, nor, in like manner, I from thee; no distinction can be conceived between us.'

Again, it is related in the Vana-parvan that, with the view of obtaining celestial weapons, Arjuna, at the suggestion of Indra (vv. 1513 ff.), went northward, to the top of the Himalaya, to see Mahādeva (vv. 1526 ff.) Arrived there, he performs austerity. The rishis, not knowing his object, are alarmed, and go to tell Mahādeva (vv. 1543 ff.), who assures them that there is no cause for apprehension, as Arjuna cherishes no ambitious designs. Mahādeva then takes his bow and arrows, and assuming the form of a Kirāta (barbarous mountaineer), approaches Arjuna (vv. 1551 ff.). At that moment a

226 The mutual attachment of Nara and Nārāyaṇa, or Arjuna and Krishṇa, may therefore be quoted as an Indian parallel to the renowned friendships which are already proverbial in the western world, viz. those of David and Jonathan, Pylades and Orestes, Damon and Pythias.
Dānava, in the form of a boar, is meditating an attack upon Arjuna, who prepares to shoot him with his arrows. The Kirāta desires Arjuna to allow him to shoot the Dānava, as he had been the first to take aim; but Arjuna will not consent; and they both shoot together, and kill the boar. Arjuna addresses the Kirāta, and complains that he had acted in an unsportsmanlike manner (ṇa hy esho mrigaya-dharmo yas tvayā 'dyā krito mayē), and that he should therefore kill him. The Kirāta replies that he had aimed first, and had killed the Dānava, and would kill Arjuna also. Mahādeva, in the form of the Kirāta, and Arjuna then fight together (vv. 1582 ff.) with a succession of weapons, arrows, swords, trees, stones, etc., till at length Arjuna is squeezed by his opponent, and falls exhausted (v. 1613). He, however, revives, and worships his enemy, falling at his feet. Mahādeva expresses admiration of Arjuna's prowess, and promises to give him an irresistible weapon which he is fit to wield. The narrative then proceeds (vv. 1622 ff.):


"Then Phālguna (Arjuna) beheld the god Mahādeva, Giriṣāṃ, bearer of the trident, resplendent, together with his goddess. Falling on the ground on his knees, and bowing his head, the son of Prithā, conqueror of hostile cities, propitiated Hara (Mahādeva) in these words: 'God with the spirally-braided hair, lord of all the gods, extinguisher of Bhaga's eyes, god of gods, Mahādeva (the great god), blue-necked, wearer of matted hair, I know thee to be śr causes the supreme, Tryambaka, the mighty, the refuge of the gods. From thee this world has been produced. Thou art invincible by the three worlds, including the gods, Asuras, and men. Adoration be to Śiva in the

ARJUNA IS OVERCOME BY MAHĀDEVA, AND WORSHIPS HIM.
form of Vishnu, to Vishnu in the form of Siva, to the destroyer of Daksha’s sacrifice, to Hari-Rudra, to him with the frontal eye, to Sarva, the beneficent, the wielder of the trident, the bearer of the bow, the sun, the Marjaliya, the disposer. I propitiate thee, divine lord of all creatures, lord of troops, benefactor of the world, cause of the causes of the world (i.e. ultimate creator of the immediate creators), who transcendest Pradha and Purusha (matter and spirit), the supreme, most subtle, Hara.’”

Mahadeva then embraces Arjuna, and says to him:

1637 ff.—Devadevaḥ uvacha | Naras tvam pūra-dehe vai Nārāyaṇa-sahāyavaṇ ā | Badaryāṇā taptavān ugraṇ tapo varsha-vyutun bahūn | tvayi vā pāramaṇu tejo Viṣṇau vā purushottamā | yuvāḥbhyām puruṣ-śāgryābhāyaṁ tejasā āharyate jagat | Sākraśhisheke sumahād dhanur jaladā-ḥiśvanam | praṛhiya dānavāḥ śaśtās tvayā Krishṇena cha prabho ityādi | “Thou wast Nara in a former body, and with Nārāyaṇa for thy companion, didst perform dreadful austerity at Badari for many myriads of years. Either in thee is the highest power, or in Viṣṇu the supreme Purusha. By you twain, the chief of men (or Purushas), through your power, the world is upheld. At the inauguration of Sākra (Indra), the Dānavas were chastized by thee and Krishṇa, when thou hast grasped a great bow resounding like the clouds.”

Mahadeva then offers Arjuna the choice of a boon. Arjuna asks the Pāśupata weapon (v. 1643), which Mahadeva gives him (v. 1650), though he cautions him against discharging it rashly, as it might destroy the whole world. Arjuna accordingly receives the weapon (v. 1656).

Again, in the Udyoga-parvan (vv. 1917 ff.) it is related that Bhīṣma informed Duryodhana that on one occasion the gods of different classes came to Brahmapūr, and the narrative then proceeds (vv. 1920 ff.):

Namaskṛityopajagnum to loka-vriddham Pitāmaham | parivārya cha viśveśam paryāsata diva-viṣakaḥ | teṣām manaḥ cha tejaschāpy udadānaḥ ivaujaśaḥ | pūra-devaṃ vyatikrāntau Nara-Nārāyaṇa viṣiḥ | Viśivaspatīs

227 This word is explained in Böhtlingk and Roth’s Lexicon as a spot to the right of the altar, where the sacrificial vessels are cleansed. It is mentioned in Sāyaṇa’s commentary on R. V. i. 1, 4: and (as Prof. Aufrecht has pointed out to me) it occurs in the Vāj. Sanh. v. 32, where the commentator defines it as the place where the (sacrificial) vessels are washed (mārjaliyaḥ | latra hi pātṛāṇi prakshāhyante).
Doing obeisance, the gods approached the Progenitor, the chief (or ancient) of the worlds; and encompassing, they sat around the lord of all. The two ancient and surpassing gods, the rishis Nara and Nārāyaṇa, deprived them, as it were, of thought and of strength by their splendour. Vṛihaspati inquired of Brahmā, ‘Tell us, O Progenitor, who these two are who do not approach thee.’ Brahmā said: ‘These devotees of mighty strength, burning and shining, who sit pervading
and illuminating the earth and the sky, these are Nara and Nārāyaṇa, who have travelled from world to world, strong by their own austerity, of great dignity and valour. These two have perpetually gladdened the world by their deeds. Know, O Priest, that these, destroyers of their foes, of great intelligence, adored of gods and Gandharvas, have become twain for the destruction of the Asuras. Having heard this, Indra, accompanied by all the hosts of gods, headed by Vṛhaspati, went to the place where these two devotees were performing austerity. Alarm having been at that time excited among the celestials by a war between the gods and Asuras, he (Indra) begged of the great Nara and Nārāyaṇa a boon. They replied, 'Choose.' Then Indra said, 'Let us be delivered.' They answered Indra, 'We will do what thou desirest.' And with their assistance Indra conquered the Daityas and Dānavas. Nara, the vexer of foes, having slain in battle the enemies of Indra, thousands and hundreds of Paulomas and Kālakanjas,—he, standing in a whirling chariot, cut off the head of Jambha, who was swallowing up Arjuna in battle. He demolished Hiranyakapura (or the city of gold), on the other side of the ocean, having slain in battle sixty thousand Nivātakavachas. The large-armed Arjuna, conqueror of hostile cities, having, along with Indra, overcome the gods, satiated Jātavedas (Agni,) [with his oblations]. In like manner Nārāyaṇa slew many others. Thus behold those twain arrived—those twain who are of so great strength, Vāsudeva and Arjuna, united together, riders on great cars, Nara and Nārāyaṇa, the deities, the ancient deities, as it is reported, invincible in the world of mortals even by Indra and the other gods and Asuras. This Nārāyaṇa is Kṛiṣṇa, and Nara is called Phālguna (Arjuna). Nārāyaṇa and Nara are one being, divided into twain. These two through their works pervade the undecaying and perpetual worlds. They are born at different places at the time of battle again and again. Wherefore Nārada said that works are to be performed. All this he (Nārada) who knew the Veda said to the army of the Vṛishnis. When thou shalt see Keśava (Kṛiṣṇa) with his shell, discus and club, and Arjuna with the dreadful bow, assuming his arms, these two eternal and glorious beings, of dark complexion, mounted on one car,—then dear Duryodhana, thou shalt remember my words." (Compare the same warning given in p. 218.)

228 The name of a demon. It will occur again below.
It is narrated in another part of the same Udyoga-parvan (vv. 3459-3488) that, in order to persuade the Kuruś to adopt moderate counsels by showing the great power of Arjuna and Krishṇa, Paraśu-rāma told them another story about the two rishis Nara and Nārāyaṇa. There was formerly, he says, an universal sovereign named Dambhodbhava, who had an overweening conceit of his own prowess. Being told by his independent Brāhmans that there were two ascetics whom he could not match, viz. Nara and Nārāyaṇa, he proceeded with his army to the mountain Gandhamādana, where he found the emaciated saints, and challenged them to fight. They tried to put him off by saying that they were divested of all earthly passions, and lived in an atmosphere of peace. Dambhodbhava, however, insisted on fighting, when Nara took a handful of straws, and defied him. With these arms he neutralized all the arrows of Dambhodbhava's host, and as the straws whitened all the air, and penetrated into the eyes, ears, and noses of the assailants, Dambhodbhava was soon forced to fall at Nara's feet, and sue for peace. Being admonished by his conqueror to be more humble in future, he departed homeward, and ever after led a righteous life.

The next passage on the same subject is from the Droṇa-parvan, vv. 419 ff.:  

“Arjunaḥ Kesavasyātmā Krishṇo'py ātmā Kiritiṇāḥ | Arjune vijayo nityaṁ Krishṇe kirtiśca śāsvati | sarvesv api cha lokeshu Tīhatsur aparajitah | prādhānyenaiva bhāyikṣṭhaṁ ameyāḥ Kesave gvanāḥ | mohaḥ Duryodhano Krishṇaṁ yo na vetthāa Kesavam | mohito daiva-yogena mṛityu-pāsa-puraskṛitaḥ | na veda Krishṇaṁ Daśārham Arjunaṁ chaiva Panḍavam | pṛiva-devaṁ mahātmānau Nara-Nārāyaṇāṁ ubhau | ekātmānau dvidhā-bhūtāu dṛiṣyete mānushair bhuvī | manasaḥ 'pi hi durdhar-śau senāṁ etāṁ yaśasvināu | nāśayetām ihechhantau mānushatvāc cha nechhataḥ |

“The reason why Duryodhana, through infatuation, does not know Krishṇa, is that, deluded by destiny, and involved in the bonds of death, he does not recognize Krishṇa the
Dasarha, and Arjuna the Pandava. The former gods, the two mighty ones, Nara and Nārāyaṇa, though, in reality, one in nature, are by men on earth seen separated into two. These illustrious [beings], who are invincible even in imagination, could, if they desired, destroy this army, but from their humanity they do not desire it."

Again, in the Bhīshma-parvan, vv. 2932 ff., Bhīshma exhorts Dur-yodhana to come to terms with the Pāṇḍavas, who, he says, are invincible, in consequence of Krishna's protection. To illustrate Krishna's divine greatness, Bhīshma goes on to tell a story of his being celebrated by Brahmā in a hymn (2944 ff.), and entreated to become incarnate in the tribe of the Yadus, for the establishment of righteousness, the destruction of the Daityas, and the preservation of the world (2964 f.). Vishṇu assents to Brahmā's request, and disappears. Being then asked by the attendant gods and rishis who it was that he had just worshipped, Brahmā replies as follows (2978 ff.):

Yat tat param bhavishyancha bhuvita yachha yat param | bhūtātmā yah prabhuś chaiva Brahma yach cha parson padam | tenāsmi kṛita-saṁ-vādaḥ prasannena surarshabhāḥ | jagato 'nugrahārthāyā yāchito me jagat-patiḥ | "mānushāṁ lokam ātishṭha Vāṣudevaḥ iti śrūtaḥ | asurāṇāṁ badhārthāyā sambhavaśva mahītale | sangrāme nihatāḥ ye te dāitya-dānava-rākshasāḥ | te ime nṛṣhu sambhūtāḥ ghora-rūpāḥ mahābalaḥ | teshāṁ badhārtham bhagavān Nāreṇa sahi to bali | mānushim yonim āsthiyā cha-rishyasi mahī-tele" | Nara-Nāraṇyaṇau tau tu purāṇāṁ rishi-sattamau | ajeyau hi rane yau tau sametaṁ amaraṁ api | sahi to mānushe loke sambhūtāv amita-āyuti | mūḍhāś te tau na jānanti Nara-Nāraṇyaṇāv rishi | yasyāham ātmājo Brahmā sarvasya jagataḥ paṭiḥ | Vāṣudevo 'nuneyo vaḥ sarva-loka-mahēśvarāḥ | tathā maṇushyō 'yam iti kadācit sura-sattamāḥ | nava-jneyo mahāvīryāḥ śankha-chakra-gadā-dharaḥ | etat paramakaṁ guhyam etat paramakaṁ padam | etat paramakaṁ Brahma etat paramakaṁ yaśaḥ | etat aksharam avyaktam etac chhāsavatam eva cha | etat Purusha-sanjno vai giyate jnāyate na cha | etat paramakaṁ tejaḥ etat paramakaṁ sukham | etat paramakaṁ satyaiḥ kirtitaṁ Viśva-karmaṇā | tasmāt surāśuraiḥ sarvaiḥ sendraiś chāmīta-vikramaḥ | navajneyo Vāṣudevo mānusho 'yam iti prabho | yaś cha mānusha-mātro 'yam iti bruyāt sa manda-ādiḥ | Hṛshikesaṁ avajnātām tam āhuḥ purushadhamaṁ | tam yogināḥ mahāṁnaṁ pravishṭam mānushiṁ tanum | yo 'vananyed Vāṣudevaṁ tam āhus tāmasaṁ janāḥ | devaṁ charācharātmā
CELEBRATED IN A HYMN BY BRAHMA.

naṁ śrīvatsaṁśaṁ svarchasam | padma-nābhaṁ na jānāti tam āhus tāmasaṁ jenāḥ | kriyā-kaustubha-āharam mitrāṇām abhayankaram | avajānan mahātmānaṁ āhore tamasi mājjati | . . . 3002: Vārīto 'si purā tāta munibhir bhāvītātmabhiḥ | mā gachha saṁyugam tena Vāsudevaṁ dhanvinā | Pāṇḍavaṁ sārdham iti yat tat tvam mohād na budh-yase | manye tvāṁ ṛākṣaṁ saṁkrāṁ tathā chāsi tamo-vṛtiḥ | tasmād dvīhāsi Govindaṁ Pāṇḍavancha Dhananjayam | Nara-Nāraṁṇaṁ devau ko 'nyo dvīhād hi mānavaḥ |

"That being who is supreme, who is to be, who shall continue to be supreme, who is the soul of beings, and the lord, and who is Brahma, the supreme existence,—it is with him, propitious, that I have been conversing, O eminent deities. The lord of the world was entreated by me [in these words] to show favour to the world: 'Do thou, celebrated as Vāsudeva, appear in the world of men: be born on earth for the slaughter of the Asuras. The Daityas, Dānavas, and Rākshasas who have been slain by thee in battle, they are these who have been born among men, horrible in form and great in might. To slay them, thou, the divine and mighty being, accompanied by Nara, having entered a human womb, wilt act upon earth.' Those ancient and most excellent of rishis, Nara and Nārāyaṇa, who are invincible in battle even by the united immortals, and who are of boundless splendour, have been born together in the world of men. Those fools do not know these rishis, Nara and Nārāyaṇa. He of whom I, Brahма, the master of the whole world, am the son, that Vāsudeva, the lord of all the worlds, is to be propitiated by you. Never, O most excellent deities, is the potent bearer of the shell, the discus, and the club, to be slighted as a mere man. This Being is the highest mystery, this the highest existence, this the highest Brahma, this the highest renown. This Being is the undecaying, the undiscernible, the eternal. This Being which is called Purusha is hymned and is not known. This Being is celebrated by Viśvakarman as the highest power, as the highest joy, and as the highest truth. Wherefore Vāṣudeva of boundless might is not to be contemned by the deities, including Indra, or by the Asuras, as a [mere] man. Whoever says that he is a mere man is dull of comprehension: from his contempt of Ḥrīṣīkeśa they call such a person the lowest of men. Whoever despises Vāṣudeva, that great contemplator who has entered a human body,—men call that person
one full of darkness. Whoever is ignorant of the glorious god whose self is the world, whose mark is the śrīvatsa, from whose navel sprang the lotus,—men call that person a man full of darkness. Despising that great being who wears the diadem and jewel (kaustubha), who relieves his friends from fear, a man is plunged in horrible darkness.”

Bhishma then says to Duryodhana (v. 3302): “Thou wast formerly, my son, prohibited by the contemplative munis [who said]: ‘Engage not in battle with that archer Vāsudeva and the Pāṇḍavas.’ Since thou, through infatuation, regardest not this [prohibition], I look upon thee as a cruel Rākshasa, and thou art enveloped in darkness. It is for this reason that thou hatest Govinda (Krishna) and the Pāṇḍava Dhananjaya (Arjuna). For what other man could hate the gods Nara and Nārāyaṇa?"

The next passage is from the Śānti-parvan, where Krishna, after describing many of his own other forms and functions, is introduced as saying (vv. 13265 ff.):

Purā 'ham ātmajarā Pirtha prathitah karaṅṅāntare | Dharmasya Kurusārdūla tato 'ham Dharmajah smritaḥ | Nara-Nārāyaṇau pūrvaī tapas tepatvur avyayam | dharma-yānaṁ samārūḍhau parvate Gandhamādane |

tat-kūla-samaye chaiva Daksha-yajno babhūva ha | na chaivaśkalpayad bhūgaṁ Dakho Rudrasya Bhārata | tato Dadhīchi-vachanōd Daksha-yajnam apāharat |
sasarja śūlaṁ kopena prajvalantam mūhur mūhūḥ |
tach cchālam bhasmasat kṛite Daksḥa-yajnaṁ sa-vistaram | acayoh sahasā ’gachhad Vadary-āśramam antikāt |

vegena mahatā Pirtha patad Nārāyaṇorasi | tatas tat-tejasā ’vishtāḥ keśaḥ Nārāyaṇasya ha |

ba-bhūvr munjavarrṇas tu tato ’ham munja-kesavān | tachcha śūlaṁ vinirdhūtaṁ kumāraṁ mahatmanā |

jagāma Saṅkara-karaṁ Nārāyaṇa-samāhatam | atha Rudraḥ upādhaṅvat tāv rishi topasaḥ ’nvitau |
aṅgaḥ sahasā ’gachhad Vadary-āśramam antikāt |

vegena mahatā Pirtha patad Nārāyaṇorasi | tatas tat-tejasā ’vishtāḥ keśaḥ Nārāyaṇasya ha |

ba-bhūvr munjavarrṇas tu tato ’ham munja-kesavān | tachcha śūlaṁ vinirdhūtaṁ kumāraṁ mahatmanā |

jagāma Saṅkara-karaṁ Nārāyaṇa-samāhatam | atha Rudraḥ upādhaṅvat tāv rishi topasaḥ ’nvitau |

229 This passage seems to have a polemical aspect, as if aimed at some contemporaries of the author, who did not assign so high a dignity to Krishna.
KRISHNA REFERS TO HIS OWN FORMER HISTORY. 239

vedāḥ na pratibhānti sma rishinām bhāvītāmanām | devān rajas tamaś chaiva samāvivīsitum tadā | vasudhā sanghakampe cha nabhaś cha vipā-phāla ha | nishprabhāṇi cha tejāṁsi Brahmā chaivāsana-ehyutāḥ | agaḥ chhoshuḥ samudraś cha Hinavāṁśi cha vyaśiryata | tasmim eva samutpanne nimitte Pāṇḍunandana | Brahmā vrīto deva-gaṇair rishibhiś cha mahātmabhiḥ | ajagāmāsūbhāṁ dasāṁ yatra yuddham avartata | so 'njali-pragraho bhūvāḥ chatur-vakto nirukta-gaḥ | uvācha vachanaṁ Rudraṁ "lokānāṁ astu vai śivam | nyasyāyudhāni viśveṣa jagato hita-kāmyāḥ | yad aksharam athaḥyaktam īśāṁ lokasya bhāvanāṁ | kuta-sthaṁ kartṛi nirdevandvam akarteti cha yaṁ vidūḥ | vyakti-bhūva-gata-sūṣyaṣ ekaḥ mārtir iyaṁ śubhāḥ | Naro Nārāyaṇaḥ chaiva jātāu Dharmakaullodehaḥ | tapasā mahāta yuktau deva-srśeṣṭhau mahā-eratau | āham prasāda-jas tasya kutaschit kārunāntare | tvāṁ chaiva krodha-jas tata purva-sarge sanātanaḥ | mayā cha sārdhaṁ varadāṁ vibudhaiś cha maharshibhiḥ | prasādayāśu lokānāṁ sāntir bhavatu ma chiraṁ" | Brahmaṁ tv evam uktas tu Rudraḥ krodhāgniṁ uśtriṇaḥ | prasādayāṁśa tato devāṁ Nārāyaṇaḥ, prabhum | śaṇayaṁ cha jagāmādyāṁ vareṇyaṁ varadaṁ prabhum | tato 'tha varado devo jita-krodho jitenāri-yaḥ | prātimān abhavat tatra Rudreṇa saha sangataḥ | rishibhir Brahmaṁ chaiva vibudhaiś cha supūjitāḥ | uvācha devam Īśānam īśāḥ sa jagato Harih | "yaṁ tvāṁ vetti sa māṁ vetti yaṁ tvāṁ anu sa māṁ anu | nāvayor antaraṁ kincid mā te bhūd buddhir anyathā | adya-prabhṛti śrvatasaḥ sūlānto me bhavato ayam | mama pāṇy-ānkitaḥ cāpi śīraṇaṁbhas tvam bhavishyasi" | evam lakṣaṇaṁ utpādyā paraspara-kṛitaṁ tadā | sakhyāṁ chaivātulaṁ kṛitvā Rudreṇa saḥitāv rishi | tapas tepatur avya-grau viṛjya tridivaukasāḥ | esha te kathitaḥ Partha Nārāyaṇa-jayo mrīdhā | nāmāṁ chaiva guhyāṁ niruktāni cha Bhārata | rishibhiḥ kathitaṁsa yāṁ sankṛtaṁsaḥ te | evam bahu-viśdhaṁ rūpaṁṣaḥ charāṁśaḥ vasundhāraṁ | Brahma-lokancha Kaunteya golokancha sanātanaṁ | mayā tvāṁ rakshito yuddhe mahāntam prāptavān jayam | yaṁ tvu te so'grato yatī yuddhe sampraty upasthīte | tvāṁ viśdhi Rudraṁ Kaunteya deva-devaṁ kapardinam | kālaḥ sa eva kathitaḥ krodha-jeti mayā tava | nihatās tena vai pūrvaṁ hatavāṁ asi yān ripūn | aprameya-prabhāvaṁ tvāṁ deva-devam Umā-patīṁ | namasva devam prayaṁ vīśeṣaṁ Hāram akshayam | ityādi | 13265. "Formerly, son of Prithā, most excellent of the Kurus, I was celebrated on another occasion as the son of Dharma: and hence I was
called Dharmaja. In former times Nara and Nārāyaṇa, mounted on the chariot of righteousness, performed an undecaying penance, on the mountain Gandhamādana. At that conjunction of time, the sacrifice of Daksha took place. Daksha did not then divide any share for Rudra, who in consequence, at the suggestion of Dadhīchi, swept away the sacrifice of Daksha, and in his anger launched the trident blazing forth repeatedly. That trident, after reducing to ashes the sacrifice of Daksha with all its appurtenances, suddenly approached our hermitage at Badari, and fell with great impetus on the breast of Nārāyaṇa. The hair of Nārāyaṇa, penetrated by its glow, became of the colour of grass (muniya): from which I am called Munjakeśavat. The trident being repelled by the great being with a yell went back into the hand of Sankara, when struck by Nārāyaṇa. Rudra then ran up to those austere rishis, when Nārāyaṇa, the soul of all things, with his hand seized him by the throat, when he had thus sprung up: hence his (Siva’s) name of Sītikāṇṭha. Nara next raised a straw for the slaughter of Rudra, and applied to it sacred texts, whereby it speedily became a huge axe. Hastily hurled by him, the axe (paraśu) became shattered into fragments (khaṇḍana), from which shattering of the axe, he is called Khaṇḍaparaśu.” Arjuna here interposes to ask who was victorious in this conflict; when Kṛiṣṇa proceeds: 13278. “When Rudra and Nārāyaṇa had become engaged in battle, all the worlds were instantly distressed; the fire did not receive the shining butter offered in the sacrifice; the vedas were not revealed to the contemplative rishis; [the qualities of] passion and darkness invaded the gods: the earth trembled, the sky became split; the luminaries lost their light; Brahmā fell from his seat; the ocean became dried up, and the Himavat wasted. When this prodigy had arisen, Brahmā, surrounded by the host of gods, and the magnanimous rishis, came to that disastrous place where the battle was raging. The four-faced god (Brahmā), the penetrator of mysteries, with joined hands, addressed these words to Rudra: ‘Let the welfare of the worlds be [consulted]; put down thy weapons, lord of all, from goodwill to the universe. This is one auspicious form of him, now in the state of manifestation,—of him whom [sages] know as the undecaying, undiscernible [essence], the lord, the creator of the world, the supreme, the doer, unaffected by pleasure or pain, and not the doer,—[this I say is

230 See above, pp. 176 f.
RECONCILIATION OF RUDRA AND NĀRĀYĀNA.

one form of him, viz.], Nara and Nārāyana, born in the race of Dharma, distinguished by intense austerity, eminent gods, great devotees. I was once on another occasion born as the offspring of his good pleasure, and in a former creation thou didst spring from his anger,\(^{231}\) an everlasting [being]. Together with me and the gods and rishis, do thou speedily propitiate this bestower of boons; let the worlds have tranquillity without delay.' Being thus addressed by Brahmā, Rudra, abandoning the fire of anger, then propitiated the god Nārāyana, the lord; and the god sought as his refuge the primeval, most excellent, boon-bestowing lord. Then the boon-bestowing god, who had conquered anger and overcome his senses, meeting Rudra, became gratified. Being worshipped by the rishis, by Brahmā, and by the gods, Hari, the lord of the world, addressed the god Íśana (Mahádeva): 'He who knows thee knows me; he who loves (lit. favours) thee loves me.\(^{232}\) There is no distinction between us: do not thou entertain any other idea. From this day forward let this śrīvatsa of mine be the mark of the trident: and thou shalt be the śrīkantha marked upon my hand.' Having thus created a mark devised by each for the other, and having joined an incomparable friendship with Rudra, the two rishis practised austerity undisturbed, after dismissing the gods. This, son of Prithā, which I have told thee, was the victory of Nārāyana in battle: and [my] mysterious and unexplained names, too,—those which are celebrated by the rishis, have been declared to thee. In this manner do I frequent this earth and the world of Brahmā, and the everlasting Goloka, in manifold forms. By me thou hast been preserved in battle, and hast gained a great victory. But know, son of Kunti, that he who goes before thee in the conflict which has now arrived, is Rudra, the god of gods, with spirally-braided hair. He, Time, has been declared by me to thee to be the offspring of my anger. The enemies whom thou formerly slewest were slain by him. Devoutly reverence him the god of gods, the lord of Umā, of boundless power, Hara, the undecaying lord of all."

Again, in the Sānti-parvan, Vaiśampāyana tells Janamejaya how Nārada, after returning from Sveta Dvīpa, saw the two saints, Nara and Nārāyana (v. 13337):

\(^{231}\) See verses 13140 and 13145 of the Sānti-parvan, quoted below.

\(^{232}\) A similar expression has already occurred above, p. 230.
"He descended rapidly from the sky to the spacious Badari. There he saw the ancient gods, the two most excellent rishis, performing severe penance, self-sustained, great devotees, in splendour surpassing the sun which illuminates all the worlds, bearing the śrīvatsa mark, adorable, wearing a circle of matted hair, web-footed and web-armed, with the mark of the discus on their feet, broad-chested, long-armed, with four testicles, sixty teeth and eight grinders, with voices sonorous as a host of clouds, with beautiful countenances, broad foreheads, handsome eyebrows, chins, and noses. The heads of those two gods resembled umbrellas. Beholding them, distinguished by such marks, and named the two great males, Nārāyaṇa rejoicing, and saluted by them in return, welcomed, and questioned in regard to his health, became absorbed in reflection, beholding those highest of persons." He then recollected to have previously seen them in the Svēta Dvīpa. Nāra and Nārāyaṇa next ask him if he had seen in the Svēta Dvīpa the supreme Spirit, their own highest substance (avayoh prakṛitiḥ pura). He replies that he had; and that now when he beheld them he beheld Him, as they were distinguished by all the same marks, in a manifested form, as Hari possessed in an invisible manner; and that he had on that occasion beheld them at the side of the deity (vvs. 13351 ff.: Adyāpī chaṁnaṁ paśyāmi yuvānī paśyan sanātaṇau | yair lakṣaṇaṁ upetaḥ sa Hārin ayavakta-rūpa-dhriṅk | tair lakṣaṇaṁ upetaḥ hi vyakta-rūpa-dharau yuvām | drśṭau yuvām mayā tatra tasya devasya pārśvataḥ). Some further conversation ensues; and it is then related (v. 13397 f.) that Nārada remained a thousand years of the gods in their hermitage, worshipping the deity, and Nāra and Nārāyaṇa.
V. In the following passage (which is commented upon by Lassen in his Indian Antiquities, 1st ed., i. 321 ff., and note, p. 622; 2nd ed., pp. 768 ff.\footnote{233} Krishṇa is represented as possessed of extraordinary prowess and superhuman powers; but he is not, unless it be in one or two places, represented as the supreme deity.

To show how little prospect the Kuruś had of vanquishing the Pāṇḍus, aided as the latter were by Krishṇa, Dhṛtarāṣṭra gives an account of the exploits of the Yādava chief:

\footnote{233} His remarks are as follows:—"The history of Krishṇa in the Mahābhārata does not describe his juvenile life with the cowherds, and his numerous adventures with their wives, which at a later period were especially noticed and celebrated. On the other hand, victories over many kings and tribes are attributed to him, which possess no historical value, and are only important in so far as they represent him as a hero, and indicate that the Yādavas waged frequent wars with the tribes of ancient India. In a short enumeration of his feats (the passage quoted in the text) he is named Govinda, or the proprietor of cows, and it said of him that he grew up among the herds. None of the stories regarding him and the cowherds' wives are here mentioned; but another is introduced which describes him as a protector of the herds, inasmuch as he struggled with his arms a Dānava which in the form of a bull slaughtered the father of the herds. His proper and oldest name as the son of Nanda was probably Govinda. There must also have been stories about him in which he was represented as a leader of cowherds, for according to the Mahābhārata he supplied to Duryodhana (by whom he had been solicited to assist him in the great battle) thousands of cowherds, who are called the gopās of Nārāyaṇa. These take no share in the battle, and are very seldom mentioned.—See Udyoga-parvan, v. 130 ff.; and Droga-parvan, v. 3255 ff., where the Nārāyaṇas, the cowherds, are spoken of along with the Kūmbajjas, etc., as having been conquered by Karna, etc. (Nārāyaṇa cha gopātāk Kāmbojānāchā ya gāṇāḥ | Kṛṣṇena viyijitāḥ |)

The Nārāyaṇas are also mentioned in the Droga-parvan, 752 and 759 (see Böhtlingk and Roth, s. v.).

Krishṇa, when applied to by Duryodhana, as well as by Arjuna, for aid in the impending conflict, promises succour to them both, but allows Arjuna the first choice:

Udyoga-parvan, vv. 147 ff.—\textit{Mat-saṁhanana-tulyānōṁ} * gopānāṁ arbudam mahat | Nārāyaṇāḥ iti khyātāḥ sarvāṁ sangrīṇā-yodhinaḥ | te vi yudhi durādharśaḥ bhavanv ekaśya evinikāḥ | ayukhyāmanāṁ sangrīṇāṁ nyastobāṣṭro 'ham ekataḥ | abhyāṁ anyataro mārya yat te kṣidyatra ro matan | tad viyijitāṁ bhavān agrā pravāryas tvāṁ hi dharmataḥ | "Let one of you either take those invincible soldiers, the great hundred millions of herdsmen called Nārāyaṇas, whose bodies are equal to my own, and who are all fighting men; or let him take, on the other hand, myself who do not engage in battle, and have laid aside my weapons. Do thou, son of Pṛithū, first choose the one of these two things which is most acceptable to thee; for thou art justly entitled to the preference."

Arjuna selects Krishṇa himself, "the unborn Nārāyaṇa, destroyer of his foes, who had been at his will born among men" (Nārāyaṇam, anitrāyhaṁ kāmāṁ jātan ajām nrishu), though he was not to fight. Duryodhana chose the army of warriors.

\footnote{* The word saṁhanana occurs also in the Drona-parvan, v. 147.}
Drona-parvan, 382.—Dhritarashtra’s account of Drona-parvan.


v. 400: Praviṣya makaravāśaṁ yaḍobhir abhisāṃvṛitum | jīgāya Varuṇaṁ sankhyāḥ salilantargatam puraḥ | yudhi Panchajānoḥ hatvā pātalatāla-vāsinām | panchajanyāṁ Hṛishiṅeso divyāṁ sankhum avāptavān | Khāṇḍave Pārtha-sahitas toshayītvā Hūtāsanām | āgneyam astraṁ duṁdhārshaṁ chakraṁ lebh mahābalaḥ | Vai-nateyāṁ samārūhaka śraṭayītvā 'marvaṭitum | Mahendra-bhavanād virāḥ pārijaṭam upānayat | tachcha marṣhitavān S'akro jānaṁ tasya parākrāmaṁ | rājānaḥ chāpy ajitaṁ karchit Krishṇenah na sūrūna | yachcha tad mahuda āścharyāṁ sabhāyāṁ mam Sanjaya | kritavān Pundarikākṣah kus tad-nya iḥārhati | labhābhaktyā prasanno 'ham adṛkshah Krishnam īśvaram | tad me suviditaṁ sarvam pratyaṅkṣham iva chāgaṁan | nāntaṁ vikrama-yuktasya buddhyā yuktasya va punah | karmanā śakyate gantuṁ Hṛishiṅeso Sansāyā | tathā Gadaś cha Samba'chā Pradyumno 'tha Vīdārathaḥ | . . . . .

410: Ete 'nye balavantā cha Ṛṛishṇi-virāḥ prahārīnāḥ | kathācita Pāṇḍavaṁkāṁ śrayeyuḥ samare sthitāḥ | āhutāḥ Ṛṛishṇi-vīreṇa Keśavena mahātmanā | tataḥ saṁśayitaṁ sarvam bhaved iti mātir mama | nāgāyuta-
balo virah Kailása-sikharopamaḥ | vapa-māli hāti Rāmas tatra yatra
Janārdanaḥ | yam āhuh sarva-pitaram Vāsudevaṁ dvijatayah | api vā hy
eshā Pāṇḍūnāṁ yotsyate 'ṛthaẏa Sanjayā | sa yadā tāta sannahyet Pāṇḍa-
vārthāya Sanjayā | na tada pratisanyodāhā bhavitā tasya kāchana | yadi
smā Kuravah sarve jayeyur nāma Pāṇḍavān | Vārshneyo 'ṛthaẏa teshāṁ
vai gṛihiniyāt śdstram uttaman | tataḥ sarvān varavyāghro hatvā nara-
patin rane | Kauravāṁś cha mahābāhuḥ Kuntyai dadyāt sa medinim |
yasya yantā Hṛiśkeśo yoddhā yasya Dhananjayaḥ | rathasya tasya kāḥ
sankhya pratyāniko bhaved rathah | na kenaḥ kūpyena Kurūnāṁ drisyate
jayah | tasmād me sarvam āchakshva yathā yuddham avartata | 234

"Dhritarāṣṭra says: Hear, Sanjaya, the divine acts of Krīṣṇa, which Govinda performed, such as no other person [ever did]. While he was growing up as a high-souled boy in the tribe of cowherds, the force of his arms was rendered famous by him in the three worlds. He slew the king of the Hayes [horses], dwelling in the woods of the Yamunā, equal to Ucchaiḥśravas (the horse of Indra) in strength, and to the wind in speed. In his childhood he destroyed with his arms the Dānava, a doer of direful deeds, who arose, as it were, the Death of cattle, bearing the form of a bull. The lotus-eyed [hero] slew Pralambha, Naraka, Jambha and Piṭha, the great Asura, and Mura, resembling the immortals. So, too, Kansa, of great force, supported by Jara-
andha, was, with his hosts, overthrown in battle by Krīṣṇa, through his valour. Sunāman, valiant in fight, the lord of a complete army, the brother of Kansa, who interposed for the king of the Bhojas, the bold and heroic prince of the Sūrasenas, was, with his army, burnt up in battle by Krīṣṇa, destroyer of his enemies, seconded by Balarāma. And a Brāhmaṇa rishi called Ṛurvedas, extremely irascible, was worshipped by him (Krīṣṇa), together with his wife, and bestowed on him boons. 235 So, too, the lotus-eyed hero, having conquered the princes, carried off the daughter of the king of the Gandhāras at the Sway-
amvara: 236 and the princes, being unable to endure him, were

234 Towards the close of Dhritarāṣṭra's speech the following verse of a proverbial character occurs:—v. 429: Pākvīmāṁ hi badhe Sūta vajrāyante triṇāny api | "When meq are ripe for destruction, even straws smite like thunderbolts."

235 See the Anuśāsana-parvan, vv. 7402 ff., referred to above, p. 196.

236 Lassen, Ind. Alt. i., 622, first edition (p. 769, second edition), note, thinks this story has probably some foundation in fact, and adds that Nagnajit, king of the Gandhāras, is mentioned in the Ait. Br., vii. 34. See Colebrooke's Essays, i. 46, and the second volume of this work, p. 353.
yoked like highbred horses to the bridal car, and wounded with the goad. Janārdana, by a clever device, caused Jarāsandha, the large-armed, lord of a complete army, to be slain. This hero also slaughtered like a beast the king of the Chedis (see above, p. 215), the valiant lord of a royal army, who quarrelled regarding the offering [made to Kṛṣṇa]. Assailing Saubha, the self-supporting (i.e. flying) city of the Daityas, on the shore of the ocean, protected by the Sālva (king), and difficult to destroy, Mādhava overthrew it.” [Then follows a list of numerous tribes, Angas, Bangas, etc., etc., conquered by Kṛṣṇa.] . . . . . . . v. 400: “Entering of old the ocean, filled with marine monsters, he overcame in battle Varuṇa, who had sunk within the waters. Having slain in battle Panchajāna dwelling in Pātāla, Hṛishiśkeśa obtained the divine shell Pāνchājanya. Having, along with Pārtha (the son of Pṛithā, Arjuna), propitiated Agni in Khandava, this mighty being acquired the irresistible fiery weapon, the discus. Mounted on Garuḍa, and terrifying Amarāvati (the city of Indra), this hero brought back the pārijāta from the abode of the elder Indra. And to this Sākra submitted, knowing his prowess. And we have not heard of any of the kings who has not been conquered by Kṛṣṇa. Then who but Puṇḍarikākṣa could have performed that very wonderful act which he did in my assembly? Through the faith which I had attained, I beheld Kṛṣṇa, the lord, with delight; of all that I was well assured, and I obtained as it were a distinct vision. No one can by act attain to the limit of Hṛishiśkeśa who is distinguished by valour as well as by wisdom. And Gada also, and Sāamba, and Pradýumna, and Vidūratha, [here follows a list of other warriors] these, and other powerful martial heroes of the Vṛishṇī tribe, summoned by the great Vṛishṇī hero, Keśava, will join in some way the host of the Pāṇḍavas, and stand up in the battle. Hence, in my opinion, everything will be doubtful. Wherever Janārdana is, there is also the hero Rāma, in strength equal to ten thousand elephants, resembling the summit of Kailīsa, wearing a garland of wild flowers, and carrying a plough. Or Vāsudeva, he whom the Brāhmans call the universal father, will fight for

237 See the story as told in the Sabhā-parvan, vv. 848 ff.
238 Compare note 189, p. 191; and see Ādi-parvan, v. 8196, where the story is told.
239 See Wilson’s Vishnu Purāṇa, pp. 585 ff. (vol. v., pp. 97 ff., of Dr. Hall’s ed.).
the Pāṇḍavas. When he shall arm [for battle] on their behalf, no one shall then stand up to encounter him. Even if all the Kuruš were to overcome the Pāṇḍavas, Vārshīṇya (Krishṇa) would on behalf of the latter seize his pre-eminent weapon; and having then slain all the princes and the Kauravas in battle, this great-armed and tiger-like man. (lit. man-tiger) would bestow the earth on Kunti. What chariot can stand in the conflict against that chariot of which Hṛiṣīkeśa is the driven, and on which Dhananjaya (Arjuna) fights? By no contrivance does the victory of the Kuruš appear [to be possible]. Give me therefore a full account of the way in which the battle proceeded."

Then follow the verses which have been already quoted above in p. 235, Arjunah Keśavasyātmā, "Arjuna is the soul of Keśava," etc.

Another account of Krishṇa's exploits is given in the Udyoga-parvan. It is there related that Sanjaya had been sent on an embassy to the Pāṇḍus, and that on his return he reported to the chiefs of the Kuruš the defiant answer which Arjuna had given. The latter chief prophesied that Duryodhana would certainly repent having engaged in conflict with himself and Krishṇa (vv. 1863 ff.) He then enlarges as follows on the prowess of Krishṇa (vv. 1875 ff.):

Purvasōhi māṁ kri-ja-pyāṁ kadācīd vipraḥ pravāchedakānte man-najam | kartavyam te dushkaram karma Pārtha yodhayaṁ te śatrubhiḥ Savyasāchin | Indro vā te harimāṇa vajra-hastah parastāḥ yātu samare 'rīṁ vinigñan | Sūgrīva-yuktena ratheṇa vā te paśchāt Krishṇo rakshatu Vāsudevah | cavo cha hāmaṁ vajra-hastād Mahendrād asmin yuddhe Vāsu-devaṁ saha-yam | sa me labhiḥ dasyu-badhāya Krishṇo manye chaītad vihitaṁ dāvatair me | sa bāhubhyāṁ sāgaram uditirshed mahodahiṁ salilasyāprameyam | tejāsvinaṁ Krishṇam atyanta-śūraṁ yuddhaṁ yo Vāsudevaṁ jīgishet | āhiraṁ sa ichhet tu talena bhettuṁ śilochayaṁ svetam atipramānam | tasyaiva pāṇiḥ sa-nakho viśtryed na čūpi kinchit sa gires tu kuryat | agniṁ samiddhaṁ śamayed bhujābhyaṁ chandrancha sūryanča nivārayeta | hāred devāṁ amritam prasahya yuddhena yo Vāsudevaṁ jīgishet | yo Rukminir eva-rathena Bhojāṁ utṣadya rājnyaṁ samare prasahya | uvāha bhāryāṁ yaśasā jvalamaṁ yasyāṁ ājane Ruk-mineyo mahātmā | ayaṁ Gāndhārāṁs taryā sampramathya jīteva putrān Nagnajitaḥ samagrāṁ | baddham munocha vinodantam prasahya Sudar-śanaṁ vai devatānāṁ lalānan | ayaṁ kapāṭena jaghāṇa Pāṇḍyaṁ tathā
Once, in the forenoon, when I had muttered my prayers, and concluded my ablations, a Brahman addressed to me these pleasant words: "Son of Prithâ, thou hast a difficult work to do; thou hast to fight with thine enemies, O Savyasâchin (a name of Arjuna). Shall Indra with his steeds, and wielding the thunderbolt, go before thee in battle, smiting thy foes, or shall Krîshna, the son of Vasudeva, with his car, to which Sugrîva (one of Krîshna's horses) is yoked, protect thee from behind?" I elected to have in the combat Vasudeva for an ally, rather than Mahendra, wielding the thunderbolt. Krîshna was obtained by me as a helper in slaying the Dâsyus, and I think that this was effected for me by the gods. That man will try to stretch over the ocean, the immeasurable receptacle of waters, with his arms, who thinks to conquer
in battle the glorious and eminently heroic Krishna. If any one should attempt to split with his hand the white mountain (viz. Kailasa), a vast pile of rocks, his hand and nails would be worn away, and he could produce no effect upon the mountain. That man would extinguish blazing fire with his arms, would stop the moon and sun, would daringly plunder the ambrosia of the gods, who should think to conquer Vasudeva in battle,—[Vasudeva] who having boldly destroyed in battle the Bhoja kings, carried off on the same car with himself Rukmini his bride, shining in renown, of whom the great Raukminiya was born. He (Krishna) having by his prowess destroyed the Gandhāras, having conquered all the sons of Nagnajīt, forcibly released [king] Sudarṣana, renowned even among the gods, who had been bound [by the sons of Nagnajīt], and was making an outcry.240 He slew Pāṇḍya with the fragment of a door, and crushed the Kalingas in Dantakūra. Through him the city of Benares, which had been burnt, and remained for many years defenceless, sprang into existence. He regarded Ekalavya the king of the Nishācas as invincible by others in battle, [but slew him], having smitten him furiously with a rock. Jambha sleeps, bereft of life by Krishna.241 Seconded by Baladeva, he also prostrated [Sunāman] the wicked son of Ugrasena standing in the midst of the assembly of the Viṣṇus and Andhakas, and having slain him, gave the kingdom to Ugrasena. He conquered the self-supporting (i.e. flying) [city of] Saubha, and the king of the Śalvas, terrible from his magical powers, and arrested with his arms at the gate of Saubha the weapon Sataghni:242 what mortal can assail him? There was an im-

240 One of the commentators says that Sudarṣana was a certain king, and explains devalāṇam latām by devalāṇam madhye prākastam, “approved among the gods.” Another commentator says latām = sīromāṇam, “a head-jewel or ornament.” The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 34, 8 ff., tells a story of a Vidyādara also named Sudarṣana, who in consequence of a curse had been changed into a serpent, but who renewed his former shape on being touched by Krishna’s foot.

241 The construction and sense of this verse are not very clear.

242 A weapon generally supposed to be a species of firearms, or a rocket, but also described as a stone set round with iron spikes.—Wilson’s Dictionary. See also Williams’s Sanskrit English Dictionary, s.v., and the end of note 189, page 191, above. A double account is given of the destruction of the flying (kūmaga) city of Saubha and of its king in the Vana-parvan. The story is first of all briefly given in vv. 615–635; and afterwards very diffusely in vv. 636–889. Krishna splits the city with his discus Sudarṣana (v. 883), and kills the king of the Śalvas himself (v. 885).—See Lassen’s Indian Antiquities, p. 615, first ed., p. 761, second ed.
pregnable, formidable, and unassailable castle of the Asuras, called Prāgjyotisha. Thither the powerful Naraṇa son of the Earth had carried off the beautiful jewelled earrings of Aditi. The assembled gods aided by Indra, fearless of death, could not overcome him in battle. But perceiving the valour, the strength, and the irresistible weapons of Keśava, and knowing his nature, they appointed him (Krishṇa) to slay the Dasyu. Vāsudeva, possessing divine power in his magical endowments (aiśeṣavān sidhīshu), undertook that difficult task. Having in the city Nirmochana slain six thousand [Asuras], and having violently cut asunder the nooses sharp as razors, having slain Mura and the Rākṣasa Ogha, he proceeded to Nirmochana. There Vishū of surpassing strength had a fight with the powerful foe; who, smitten by Krishṇa, sleeps lifeless, like a kārikā tree overthrown by the wind. Having captured the jewelled earrings and slain Naraṇa, son of the Earth, and Mura, the wise Krishṇa of incomparable power, returned surrounded by splendour and renown. Then the gods having seen that terrible work which he had achieved in battle, conferred upon him these boons: 'Let no fatigue oppress thee when thou art fighting; let thy step traverse the sky and the waters; and let no weapons make any impression on thy body.' With these boons Krishṇa was satisfied. In Vāsudeva, who is of such a character, immeasurable, and of mighty strength, there is always an abundance of virtues. It is this irresistible Vishū, of infinite power, whom the son of Dhṛitarrāṣṭhra hopes to overcome."

243 The story of this demon is told in the Vishṇu Purāṇa.—See Wilson's translation, pp. 581 ff., or vol. v., pp. 87 ff. of Dr. Hall's ed.
244 These nooses are also mentioned in the Vishṇu Purāṇa (see Wilson's translation, as in the last note) and in the Harivamsa, v. 6833. See Langlois's note to his French translation, p. 521, in which he refers to the Asiatic Researches, vol. xiii., p. 278 ff. In that article an account is given of the Phāṇśigars or Thughs, who murder their victims by throwing a noose. The writer refers in illustration to the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 29, 9 (Schlegel's ed.), where three kinds of nooses are mentioned, the dharma-pāsa, the kāla-pāsa, and the Vāruṇa-pāsa. In the Vana-parvan, 879, the epithet kṣhuranta, sharp as a razor, is applied to Krishṇa's discus.
245 See verse 4407 of this same parvan; Nirmochane šaṭṣasahsvāḥ pāsāir bddhāḥ mahāśurvāḥ | This line evidently contains an allusion to the same story as is referred to in the text; and from a comparison of both passages I infer that Nirmochana is the name of a place. Bñāltingk and Roth s.v. do not recognize this signification.
246 Pterospermum acerifolium.
KRISHNA A GREAT DEVOTEÉ AND PERFORMER OF SACRIFICES. 251

It will be noticed that Krishna is here represented as receiving various boons from the gods. It would appear, therefore, as if the author of this passage could not consistently have regarded him as one with the supreme deity.

The following passage from the Vana-parvan describes Krishna as a great devotee, as a performer of sacrifices, as a destroyer of hostile men and demons (referring to some of the legends already alluded to); and also in some places identifies him with the supreme spirit. Krishna, we are told, had gone with some of his clansmen to visit the Pándavas in the forest; and as he showed himself greatly incensed at the conduct of the Kurus, Arjuna, to appease him, related (needlessly, one would think, if he was regarded as the Supreme Deity) his exploits in former births (vv. 471 ff.):

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...
Formerly, Krishna, thou didst roam for ten thousand years on the mountain Gandhamadan, where the muni Sâyangrîha was. Formerly thou didst dwell ten thousand and ten hundred years in ponds, subsisting upon water. Thou didst stand on the spacious Badari a hundred years with thy arms aloft, on one foot, subsisting on air, with thy outer garment thrown off, emaciated, with thy veins swollen. Going also to Prabhâsa, a sacred spot fit for holy men, thou stoodest glorious, Krishna, for a thousand years of the gods, on one foot, practising self-restraint, for the benefit of the world,—this Vyâsa declared to me. Thou, Keśava, art the spirit residing in men's bodies, the beginning and the end of all existences, the receptacle of austerities, and the eternal sacrifice. Having slain Naraka, the son of the Earth, and having carried off the jewelled earrings, thou didst let loose the first-produced sacrificial horse. Having performed that rite, chief of the worlds, and conqueror of all worlds, thou didst slay in battle all the assembled Daityas and Dânava. And then, having conferred the lordship of the universe on Indra, thou, O great-armed, didst become manifested among mankind. Thou, being Nârâyaṇa, wert Hari, O vexer of thy foes. Thou, O Purussottama (or chief of Spirits, or Males), art Brahmâ, Soma, Sûrya, Dharma, Dhâtri, Yama, Anala (Fire), Vâyu, Kûvera, Rudra, Time, Sky, Earth, the Regions, the unborn, the lord of the world, the creator. Thou, Madhusûdana, Krishna, of great glory, didst with sacrifices worship the supreme, high, god in the forest of Chaitraratha. A hundred times a hundred thousands of gold were then severally told out in full tale at each sacrifice." [Here follow the verses quoted above, p. 136, beginning Aditer api putratvam, and ending nihatâh satâso 'surâḥ]. The nooses of Muru were destroyed; Nisunda and
Naraka were slain; the way to the city Prāgjyotisha was again rendered safe. On the Járunthi Āśviti, Krātha, Siśupāla with his men, Jarāsandha, Saivya and Sutadhanavän247 were conquered. So, too, having vanquished Rukmin in battle with thy car, resounding like Parjanya, and gleaming like the sun, thou didst obtain thy queen to be the object of thy love. (See above, p. 215.) Indradyumna was slain by thee in thy wrath, and the Yavana Kaserumat, and Sālva, the lord of Saubha; and Saubha was thrown down. Bhoja, equal to Kārtavīrya248 in battle, was slain by thee on the Irāvatī, as well as both Gopati and Tālaketu. And having subdued to thyself Dvārakā, thou wilt cause the holy Bhogavatī and the Rishikā to flow to the ocean. Neither anger, nor envy, nor falsehood, nor cruelty, abides in thee, Dāsārha (Krishṇa): how then canst thou be deceitful? The rishis came to thee, [Achyuta,] whilst thou wast sitting in the midst of the Chaitya (sacrificial ground), resplendent with thy own brightness, and begged of thee security. [Then follow some lines which have been quoted above, p. 229, beginning Yugante sarva-bhūtāni sankshipya, etc.]

VI. Although, as we have already seen from various passages of the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, Krishṇa is generally identified with Vishnu, and Vishnu with Brahma, or the supreme deity, yet in a text quoted above (p. 49) from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 33, 27, Krishṇa is spoken of as only a partial incarnation of the godhead. The same is the case in another passage in the first section of the same tenth book of the Bhāgavata. The king there says to Sūka that he has heard from him the history of the kings of the solar and lunar races, and among them of Yadu. He then asks the sage to relate the achievements of Vishnu, the creator and soul of all things, who became partially incarnate (tatrāṁśena-vatirnasya Vishno vīryāni saṁsa naḥ | avatirnya Yador vaṁśa bhagavān bhūta-bhāvavah | kritavān yāni viśvatmā tāni no vada viśarat). Sūka in reply goes on to relate that the earth being afflicted by Daityas in the shape of proud princes, had, in the form of a cow, preferred her complaint to Brahmā, who had consequently gone with the other gods to supplicate the help of Vishnu. Brahmā hears a voice in the sky:

247 See Wilson’s Vishnu Purāṇa, pp. 428 ff. (vol.-iv. pp. 80 ff. of Dr. Hall’s ed.)
248 See the first volume of this work, pp. 450 ff.
Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. i. 21 ff.—Girāṁ samādhau gagane samāritāṁ
niśannya Vedaṁ trīdaśāṁ uvācha hu | gām paurūṣam me śriṇūtāmarāḥ

“Having, while in a state of contemplation, heard a voice uttered in
the sky, Vedhas (Brahmā) said to the gods: ‘Hear from me, immortals,
the voice of Purusha, and then speedily act so [as it enjoin]. The
distress of the earth was already understood by Purusha. Do you,
in portions of yourselves, be born among the Yadus, whilst he, the god of
gods, walks upon the earth, removing her burthen by his destructive
power. The supreme divine Purusha shall be born in his own person
(sākshāt) in the house of Vasudeva. To please him, let the wives of
the gods be born. The infinite, thousand-faced, self-resplendent deity
shall first become a portion of Vāsudeva, in order to gratify Hari. The
divine Delusion of Vīṣṇu, by which the world is deceived, being com-
manded by the lord, shall be born in a portion of herself to effect the
desired objects.”

In the Vīṣṇu Purāṇa, also, the incarnation of Vīṣṇu is spoken of
as that of a part, or even a part of a part. At the commencement of
the fifth book of that following lines occur:

Nripānāṁ kathitaḥ sarvo bhavatā vaṁśa-vistaraḥ | Vaṁśānu-charitaṁ
chaiva yathāvad anuvartitam | Aṁśāvatāro brhmaṁśe yo ‘yāṁ Yadu-
kulodhavaḥ | Vīṣṇos tam vistareṇāham ārotam ichhāmy aśeṣhataḥ | Chakrā yaṁ karmāṇi bhagavān Purushottamaḥ | Aṁśāṁśenāvatīry-or-
vyāṁ tatra tāṁ mune vada | Paraśaraḥ uvācha | Maitreyā śṛyāyatām
etad yat prishṭo ‘ham iha tvayaḥ | Vīṣṇoḥ aṁśaṁśa-sambhūti-charitaṁ
jagato hitam |

“You have related to me the complete genealogy of the kings, and
also the entire history of the races. I now wish, divine sage, to hear in
full detail the particulars of the incarnation of a portion of Vīṣṇu
which took place in the tribe of the Yadus. Tell me, Muni, what acts
the divine Purushottama performed when he descended to the earth in a portion of a portion [of himself]. Parāśara replies: 'Hear, Maitreya, that which you have asked me, the history, beneficial to the world, of the birth of a portion of a portion of Vishnu.'"

The sage proceeds to relate (see Wilson’s Vishnu Purāṇa, pp. 493–497; pp. 249 ff. of the 4th vol. of Dr. Hall’s ed.) how the earth had complained to Brahmā and the other gods that the Asura Kālanemi had revived in Kansa, and other demons also had been born as princes; so that she had to bear upon her surface many hosts of strong and haughty Daitya chiefs wearing celestial forms; and that she could not support the load. (V.P. v. 1. 12. Etasmin eva kāle tu bhūri-bhūrā-vapiditā | jagāma dharaṇī Merau samāje tridivaukasām | . . . . . . . . 25 | akshauhinyo hi bahulāh divya-mārti-dhritām surāḥ | mahābalaṇāṁ dṛiptānāṁ dāivatendrāṇāṁ mamopari | tad-bhūri-bhūra-pidārtā na śākmony amareśvarāh | vibhartum ātmanā "tmānam iti vijnāpayami vah | kriyatām tat mahābhāgāḥ mama bhūrāvatāraṇām | yathā rasātalaṁ nāham gachheyam ativihvalā." Brahā proposed that they should

249 The Greek writers, too, speak of the earth being burthened, but from a different cause, viz. with the load of men, and that Jupiter brought about the Trojan war for her relief. In the Helena of Euripides, vv. 38 ff., it is said: Πόλεμον γὰρ εὐφήμεγεν 'Ελλήνων χείνει Καὶ ἄρειτο δυστήρουσα, ὡς ἄκλαυ μπρότων Πνήμου τε κούσσει μνῆτα ἡδύνα, Ἰγνωτε τε θείον τὸν κράτιστον Ἐλλάδος. "For he brought on a war between the land of the Greeks and the unhappy Phrygians, that he might relieve mother Earth of the crowd and multitude of mortals, and make known the bravest man in Greece."

Similarly in the Orestes of the same author, vv. 1639 ff., it is said: Ἐπεί θεὸι τῷ τήδε οἰκοστέωματι Ἐλλήνας εἰς ἐν καὶ Ἰπόγας συνήγαγον, θανάτους τ’ ἔθηκαν, ὡς ἀπαντλοίεν χθονὸς "Τύμισω νητῶν ἀθόνου πληρώματος. "Since the gods by means of her beauty brought the Greeks and Phrygians into conflict, and occasioned deaths, in order that they might remove from the Earth the grievance of being superabundantly replenished with mortals."

And in the Scholia Mipora on the Iliad, i. 5 (quoted in Heyne’s Homer, Oxford, 1821), we read: Ἀλλοι δὲ ἀπὸ ἱστορίας τῶν ἰπόγων εἰρήκειν τὸν Ὀμηρον φασὶ γὰρ τὴν γῆν βαρομένην ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων πολυπληθέσας, μοδεμίας ἀνθρώπων ὑσης εὐσεβείας, αὐξίας τὸν Δία κομψηθῆναι τοῖς ἥχοις. Τῶν δὲ Δία, πρῶτον μὲν ἐνδῖ ροῖς ποιῆσαι τῶν ὑπήμονων πόλεμον, δὲ δ’ ὀπλοῦς πάνω ἀπωλέσαν. Ζυγευόν δὲ πάλιν συμβολὰ τῷ Μᾶραν ἐχρήσατο, ἢν Δίῳ βουλῆν Ὀμηρὸς φησίν. ἔπειθ ὁδὸς τῇ ἡ κεραυνοῖς ἢ κατακυρίωσις πάντας διαφέρει, τοῦτο τῷ Μῶμον καλύπτοντο, ὑποθε- μένου δὲ αὐτῷ γνώμας δίο, τὴν Θετίδος θυντογαμή, καὶ θυγατρὸς καὶ εἶνα γένιαν, ἢς ἄν ἄμφοτέρων πόλεμος "Ελλήσι τε καὶ Βαρβάροις ἐγένετο, οὕτω συμβηνεῖ κοινο- σθῆναι τὴν γῆν, πολλῶν ἀναφεβετῶν. ἢ δ’ ἱστορία παραλ·Στασίνη τῷ τὰ Κύπρια πεποιηκότι, εἰπόντι οὕτω: Ὑν ὅτε μυρία φύλα κατὰ χθόνα πλαζόμενα Βαδυστερνοῦ
INCARNATION and Vamdevasya and Surdscha Uvdcha Eurvantu Praya.dsya TTjjahdrttnanah and Tasydyam Avatlrya mats-hso 'svalpdmend- Tatah purvotpannair being men, her, Earth, speaks two bolts consultation.' daughter, he he whom they avBptairtav hi? assured to of him? Zeus had employed the milky sea, vimarshanaientyuvapraydsyantmahitaiam.106 Another MS. reads mahitalam.

The gods accordingly went to the milky sea, and lauded Vishnu in a long hymn. Vishnu was gratified by their praises, desired them to state their wishes, and assured them that these should be accomplished. Brahma renewed his praises; and we are then told what happened when they were concluded:

58. Eva'm saṁstūyamānas tu bhagavān paramesvaraḥ | Ujjahāratmanāḥ keśau sita-krishnau mahāmune | Uvācha cha surān etau mat-keśau vasudā-tale | Avatīrya bhuvo bhāra-keśa-hāniṁ karishyataḥ | Swāscha sakalāḥ svāmsair avatīrya mahitale250 | Kurvantu yuddham unmatāih pūrvotpannair mahāsūraḥ | Tataḥ kshayam aśeshās te Daiteyāḥ dharaṇī- tale | Prayāsyanti na sandeho mad-drik-pāta-vichārīṇāḥ | Vasudevasya yā patnī Devakī devatopama | Tasyāyam ashtamo garbho251 mat-keśo bhavitā surāḥ | Avatīrya cha tatrāyām252 Kāmsam ghatayītā bhavi |

πλάτος αἰθ. Ζεὺς δὲ ἵδων ἐλέος, καλ ἐν πυκναῖς πραπίδεσσι Σῶθετο κορφίσσα:

Others have declared that Homer used the expression (And the counsel of Zeus was fulfilled') in consequence of a certain history. For they relate that the Earth, being weighed down by the multitude of men, among whom there was no piety, prayed to Zeus to be relieved of the burthen; and that he had first caused the Theban war, whereby he destroyed very many. Afterwards he employed Momus as his counsellor, (an act) which Homer calls 'Zeus's consultation.' When he could have destroyed the whole of mankind by his thunderbolts or by deluges, but was dissuaded from doing so by Momus, who suggested two plans, the marriage of Thetis to a mortal, and the generation of a beautiful daughter, in consequence of which two events a war was occasioned between the Greeks and Barbarians,—it thus came to pass that the Earth was lightened, many being slain. The history is found in Stasinus, who composed the Cypria, and who speaks as follows: 'There was a time when myriads of races wandered over the Earth, on the breadth of the deep-bottomed land. Int Zeus, beholding, pitied her, and in his wise mind resolved to relieve the all-nurturing Earth of [the load of] men, by exciting the great strife of the Ilian war, in order that by slaughter he might clear away the burthen: and the heroes were slain in the Troad. And the counsel of Zeus was fulfilled.' See also above, p. 215, note 212; and Dronap., 2051 f.

250 Another MS. reads mahitalam.
251 Another MS. reads esha garbho 'shtamas tasyāḥ.
252 Another MS. reads tatrāyām.
Being thus lauded, the divine Paramesvara plucked out two of his own hairs, a white and a black, and said to the deities, 'These two hairs of mine, descending to the earth, shall remove her burden and sufferings. And let all the deities, descending in portions of themselves to the earth, fight against those mad Asuras who were formerly born. Then all these sons of Diti (the Asuras) shall no doubt perish, being annihilated by the glances of my eyes. This my hair, gods, shall become the eighth child of Devakî, the wife of Vasudeva who (Devakî) resembles the goddesses. And this [hair] descending there, shall destroy Kansa, the Kàlanemi who has been born.' Having thus spoken, Hari disappeared. Having then bowed down to him the unseen, the gods went to the top of Meru, and descended on the earth.'

The following are the remarks which Ratnagarbha, one of the commentators on the Vishnu Puråna, makes on the first of the preceding passages (p. 254), and which have reference to the sequel also:

"Chakra" iti | tatra Krîshnasvatâre ati-parichhinna-manushyâyakāra-lilā-vigrhaṇāvîrbhâvâhām aṁśāṁśena ity uklam upachârî | na tu sakti-hrâsena Krîshnąy-avatâreshv api viśva-rûpa-darśana-sarvaisvâryâdy-ukteh | Nanu aṁśino 'mśoddhâreṇa sakty-âdi-hrâsas tatha 'mśasyâpi tad-apekṣhyâ alpa-saktitvâdikâm dhânya-râśy-âdi-vibhâgaḥ iwa prasajyeta iti ched na | prakâśa-svarâpe tad-abhâvât | pradîpasya hi tan-mûlaka-dîpântarasya vâ upâdhi-bhede 'pi sakty-âdi-sâmya-darśanât "pûrṇam adâh pûrṇam idam pûrṇat pûrṇâṁ udachyate | pûrṇasyâ pûrṇam âdâya pûrṇam evâvaśishyate" iti bruteḥ | "param Brahma narâkriyâ guḍâm param Brahma manushya-lingam Krîshnas tu bhagavân svayam" ityâdi vâkyebhyas cha | yas tu "mat-keśau vasudhâ-tale" ity-âdāv "ayaṁ Kaṁsâṁ ghâtayita" ity atra keśa-vyaapadesâḥ sa Brahmânaṁ paripûrṇasya bhâ-bhûra-haryâna-rûpaṁ kâryam aty-alpa-yantra-sâdhyam iti khyâyayitum na tu keśayoh Râma-Krîshnatvam vaktum | jaḍayoh keśayos tad-dehakshetrajnatvâbhâvâna tat-kâryam kartum-aśaktatvâ | keśâtmaka- mâyayodbhava-Râma-Krîshna-dehâv âdiśyâ [âvîśya?] bhagavân eva tat tat karishyati iti ched om iti brûmaḥ phalato viseshât "krîshnashtamyâm aham niśi" iti svayam evoktatvâcha ity alaṁ viśâreṇa |
Purushottama is here figuratively said to have become incarnate with a portion of a portion of himself, because in the Krishna incarnation he was manifested in a merely sportive body in the very circumscribed form of a man, and not because of any diminution of his power, since even in the Krishna and other incarnations he is said to have shown himself in every possible form, and to have possessed all divine power, and so forth. But is it not the case that if a portion is taken from a whole composed of parts, there is a decrease of power, etc. [in that whole], and that thus an inferiority of power will attach to the portion relatively to the whole, just as when a heap of grain, or any other such whole, is divided? I answer, No; since such a diminution does not occur in him whose nature is light; for though there is a seeming difference in the individuality of one lamp, and of another lamp derived from it, yet an equality of power is perceived in each; agreeably to the text from the Veda (the Satapatha Brahmana, xiv. 8, 1, p. 1094 = Bṛih. Āraṇyaka Upan. beginning of adhyāya 7, p. 948 of ed. in Bibliotheca Ind.), 'That is full, and this is full; a full arises out of a full: if a full be taken from a full, a full remains;' and also agreeably to such texts as this, 'The supreme Brahma with the form, and with the characteristics, of a man, is a great mystery; but Krishna is the lord himself.' And the employment of the term 'hairs' in the words, 'My hairs shall descend to the earth,' and 'This hair shall slay Kansa,' etc., is intended to signify that the task of removing the earth's burthen was such as Brahma in all his plenitude could effect by a very slight instrumentality, and not to assert that the two hairs were identical with [Bala]rāma and Krishna: for two insensible hairs, not being conscious spirits animating the bodies of those two persons, could not fulfil their task. If it be said that the lord occupying the bodies of Balarama and Krishna, which were produced by the magical operation of the hairs, will do so and so, we reply, 'Yes, for there is no difference in the result, and because he himself said, 'I [shall be born] on the

253 See Dr. Roer's translation of this verse, with his explanatory note at p. 247 of the Bibliotheca Indica, vol. ii., part iii. The Commentary on the verse in the Sūtapaṭha Brahmana, p. 1157 of Weber's edition, may also be consulted. The Atharva-veda has the following verse; x. 8, 29: Purṇat purṇam udachati purṇam purṇena sīchaya | nota tad adyā viṣṭaṃ yatvam yat tat parisṭichaya | "He takes a full from a full: the full is sprinkled with the full: and may we to-day know that from which that is sprinkled."
eighth night of the dark fortnight of the moon.' But there is no occasion for further prolixity."

The passage which follows is from another commentary on the same text:

"Ujjahāra | utpāṭhitavān | ayaṁ bhāvaḥ | mama dushkaraṁ ched yush-mābhīḥ sāhāyaṁ kāryām syat | na tu etad asti bhū-bhārāpaharanadau mahaty api kārye maṭ-keṣā-mātrasayaiва samarthaṁvād iti | na tu keṣa-mātrāvataṁ iti mantavyam | "mad-dṛk-pāta-vichāṛ-nilāḥ" "krishnāshtasyayāṁ aham utpatsyāmi" ityādīshu sākhāt svāvatārātvokteḥ | sita-krishṇa-keśoddharaṇāṁ cha sōbhārtham eva | "Ujjahāra means that he 'plucked out' the hairs. The sense is as follows: 'It would be a difficult matter if aid had to be rendered to me by you: but the same is not the case in regard to the task, though a great one, of removing the load of the earth, etc., since my hairs alone are equal to it.' But it is not to be supposed that there was nothing beyond an incarnation of the mere hairs; for his own incarnation is distinctly asserted in the words 'annihilated by the glance of my eye,' 'I shall be born on the eighth night of the dark fortnight of the moon,' etc., etc. The mention of his plucking out white and black hairs is for the purpose of ornament."

The same story about the production of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa from two hairs is also told in the Mahābhārata, Ādi-parvan, 7306 ff.:

"Tair eva sārdhaṁ tu tataḥ sa devo jāgāma Nārāyaṇam aprameyam | anantam avyaktaṁ ajam purāṇaṁ sanātaṇaṁ visvaṁ ananta-rūpaṁ | sa chāpi tad vyadadhat sarvam eva tataḥ sarve sambhāvavah dhanyām | sa chāpi keśau Harir udvāravo śuklam ekam aparāṁ chāpi kṛishṇām | tau chāpi keśau niviṣeṭāṁ Yadvanāṁ kule striyau Devakīṁ Rohinīṁ cha | tayor eko Baladevo bābhūvā yo 'sau śvetas tasya devasya keśaḥ | Kṛṣṇa dvitiyaḥ Keśavah sambhāvaḥ keśo yo 'sau varnataḥ kṛishṇaḥ uktaḥ |"

"Along with them (viz. four preceding Indras and a fifth deity sprung from Indra) the god (Indra) went to Nārāyaṇa, immeasurable, infinite, undiscernible, unborn, primeval, everlasting, universal, endless

254 The preceding copy of the text, and commentary on the text, from the Vishnu Purāṇa, have been kindly copied, and carefully collated, for me by Professor Monier Williams.

255 I am indebted to Professor Goldstücker for copying this passage for me.

256 See Professor Wilson's notes on these passages of the Vishnu Purāṇa, viz. in p. 492, and in p. 497 (pp. 247 and 258, vol. v., of Dr. Hall's ed.).
in his forms; and he fulfilled all [that they desired]. Then they were all born on earth. Hari also plucked out two hairs, one white and the other black. These two hairs entered into two women of the tribe of the Yadus, Devaki and Rohini. One of them, the white hair of the god, became Baladeva; while the second hair (kesa), which was called black (krishna) in colour, became Krishna, Kesava."

The following remarks are made on this passage by Nilakantha, one of the commentators on the Mahabharata:

\[ Atra kesav eva reto-rupau Pândavänäm eva Rāma-Krishnayor api prakaraṇa-sangaty-arthaṁ sākṣhād deva-retasah utpatter avaktavyatvāt \]

\[ atah eva Devakyaṁ Rohinyāncha sākṣhät keśa-praveśāḥ uchyate na tu Vasudeve | tathā sati tu "devānāṁ reto varṣham varṣhasya retah oshadhayaḥ" ityādi-śrauta-pranādyā 'smad-ādi-vat tayor api vyavādhānena deva-prabhavatvam syāt | tathā cha "etan nānā-vatārānāṁ nidhānaṁ vijam avyayam" iti bhagavataḥ sākṣhād mātyādy-avatāravijayatvam uchyamāṁnaṁ virudhyeta | apiḥa keśa-retasor deha-jatve samāne 'pi retah-prabhavatve 'rvāksrotastvena manushyatvam putratram cha syāt| tathā cha "Krishnas tu bhagavan svayam" iti śrīmad-bhagavatokiḥ sangachhate | na cha kesoddhāranāt Krishnasāsyāpy amśatvam pratiyate iti vācyam | keśasya dehāvyavatvābhavāt | tasmād Namuchi-badhe kartavye yathā apām phene vajraśa praveśaḥ evaṁ Devaki-Rohīnyor jathāre praveśe kartavye keśadacayena dvāra-bhūtena bhagavataḥ kārttyenyena eva āvīrbhāvaḥ esṭhavyaḥ iti yuktam |

"Here the two hairs are of the nature of seed productive of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, just as in the case of the Pándavas, [and this expression is employed] for the sake of conformity to what had preceded, since it is manifest that one cannot speak of production from the seed of a god. For this reason it is distinctly said that the hairs entered into Devaki and Rohini [the mothers], and not into Vasudeva [the father]. But such being the case, according to the process of derivation described in the Veda, that 'rain is the seed of the gods, and plants are the seed of rain,' etc., these two persons also (Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa) will be mediately the offspring of the deity, just as is the case with ourselves and other beings. And thus—since 'this substance of the different incarnations is an undecaying seed,'—it would be opposed to that

257 The MS. in the E. I. Office Library reads avasya-vaktavyatvāt |
258 I put these words between inverted commas, as they appear to be a metrical quotation, though I am not aware whence it is derived.
declaration to predicate of the deity that he is literally the seed of the fish, and other incarnations. Further, although hairs and seed spring equally from the body, yet in the case of production from seed, humanity and sonship will arise, after the manner of the inferior animals. And thus the saying of the Bhāgavata, that 'Krīṣṇa is the Lord himself,' is not contradicted. And it must not be said that from a hair being plucked out, Krīṣṇa also is shown to be only a portion [of the deity]; for a hair is not a part of the body. Wherefore, just as, when [the demon] Namuchi was to be slain, the thunderbolt [of Indra] entered into the foam of the waters,\footnote{I am indebted to Dr. Aufrecht for pointing out to me the legend to which reference is here made, viz. that mentioned in R.V. viii. 14, 13: \textit{Apām phenena Namucēk śīrāh Indrodavartayaḥ} viśvāḥ yad ayahā sprūhāḥ | "Thou, Indra, didst strike off the head of Namuchi with the foam of the waters, when thou didst vanquish all opponents."} on this Sāyaṇa tells the following story: \textit{Purā kila Indro 'surān jītāv Namucēṁ asuṛāṁ grahitūṁ na āśāka} | \textit{sa cha yuddhyāmānas tenāsūrena jagrihe} | \textit{sa cha gṛhitām Indram evam avocat "tvāṁ visṛṣjāmi rātrāv ahīn cha sūsh-keśāṛdṛṇa cāy udhēnena yadi māṁ na hiṁśir" iti} | \textit{sa Indras tena visṛṣṭaḥ sāṁ akhōtrayaḥ sandhau sūshkāra-dvālakṣaṇena phenena tasāya śīrās chirācha | āyun artho 'syām pratipādyate | \textit{He Indra apām phenena vajṛibhūtena Namuchār Asurasya śīrāḥ udavartayaḥ} \textit{"Formerly Indra having conquered the Asuras, was unable to seize the Asura Namuchi; and fighting, was seized by the Asura. The latter said to Indra, whom he had seized: \textit{I release thee if thou wilt not smite me by night, or by day, with a dry or a wet weapon.\textit{'} Indra, being released by him, cut off his head at the junction of day and night with foam, which is different both from dry and wet. This purport is set forth in this verse."} See also S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, xii 7, 3, 1 ff., quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 94; and also Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, i. 7, 1, 6 f.: \textit{Indro Vṛitraṁ hatāv asuṛāṁ parābhāya Namucēṁ āśuṛāṁ na alabhāta | tāṁ S'achya 'grihyāt tāu samalabhetām | so smād abhiśunataro 'bhavat | so 'bravīt "sandhāṁ sandadhāvahat | atha te vāह (ava?) sṛakshyāni | na mā sūsh-keṇa na ārdrēṇa hanāḥ na divā na naktaṁ" iti | sa etam apāṁ phenam asinchat | na vai eśa sūshko na āvyārāḥ | vyuḥśtu āsīd anudītal sūryāḥ | na vai etad divā na naktaṁ | tasāya etasmin loke apāṁ phenena śīrāḥ udavartayaḥ \textit{"Indra, after having slain Vṛitra and defeated the Asuras, could not catch Namuchi, who was one of that race. He (Namuchi) captured him (Indra) with S'achi [or by force]. These two laid hold of each other. The one (Namuchi) was stronger than the other (Indra). He (Namuchi) said: \textit{\text{"Let us make an agreement; then I shall let thee go. Promise that thou wilt smite me neither with dry nor wet, neither by day nor by night." He (Indra) anointed (the thunderbolt) with this foam of the waters, which was neither dry nor wet. It was twilight,—the sun not risen; neither day nor night. He smote off his head with the foam of the waters."} The story is also told in the Indra-vijaya (published by Holtzmann), vv. 185 ff.; Mahābhārata, Udyoga-parvan, vv. 320 ff. This story of Indra destroying Namuchi with foam is again told in the Mahābhārata, S'alya-parvan (vv. 2434 ff.): \textit{Namuchir Vāvāvād bhītaḥ sūrya-raśmiṁ samāvīsit | tenendrāḥ sakhyam abārot samayanehotam abravīt | "na chārōṇa na sūshkeṇa na}}
was to be made into the wombs of Devalī and Rohini, the manifestation of the deity in all his plenitude is to be understood as effected through the medium of the two hairs."

I add an interesting passage from the Vishnu Purana, i. 22, 36ff., where Vishnu is first of all placed on a level with Brahmā and Śiva; but afterwards declared to be the highest form of Brahma:

36. Dee rūpe Brahmaṇas tasya mūrtanān chāmurtanā eva cha | ksharā-
kshara-svarūpe te sarva-bhūteshva avasthite | 37. aksharam paramam
Brahma ksharaṁ sarvam idāṁ jagat | 38. eka-deśa-sthitasyāgnere jyotsnā
vistārīnī yathā | parasya Brahmaṇah saktis tathādham akhilaṁ jagat |
39. tatrāthāsannā-dūratvād bahātva-svalpatāmayaḥ | jyotsnā-bheda 'sti
tachohhaktes tadvad Maitreya vidyate | 40. Brahma-Viṣṇu-S'ivāḥ
brahman pradhānāḥ Brahma-saktayaḥ | tataḥ cha devāḥ Maitreya nyū-
nāḥ. Yakṣādayas tataḥ | 41. Tato manushyāḥ pāsavo mriga-pakshi-
sarīriṇāḥ | nyūnāḥ nyūnatarāḥ chaiva vṛṣksha-gulmādayas tataḥ | tad
etad akshayaṁ nityāṁ jagad muni-varākhilam | āvirbhāva-tirobhāva-
janma-nāsa-vikalpavat | 42. Sarva-saktinayo Viṣṇuḥ svarūpam Brahma-
ṇaṁ pāram | mūrtāṁ yad yogīḥ pāraṁ yogārambheshu chintyate |
43. sālambano mahāyogāḥ savījo yatra samsthitāḥ | manasy avyāhate
samyag yunjatāṁ jāyate mune | 44. sa paraḥ sarva-śāktnaṁ Brahmaṇaṁ
samantaraḥ | mūrtāḥ brahma mahābhāga sarva-brahmamayo Ḫariḥ |
45. tatra sarvam idam protam otaṁ chaivākhiḷaṁ jagat | tato jagat jagat
tasmin sa jagach chākhilam mune | 46. ksharāksharamayo Viṣṇur bibharty
akhilam āsavaḥ | parvahvāyākṛitamayaṁ bhūṣaṇāstra-svarūpavat |

rūtrau nāpi chāhāni | badhishyānya asura-śresṭhaṁ sakhe satyena te s'ape' | evaṁ sa
kritva samayaṁ drīṣṭvā niḥārāṁ īsvarāḥ | chichheśaya iiro rājann āpūṁ phene
Vasvāka | tach chhiro Namuchēḥ chhināṁ prishthateh Śakram aviyāī | ōho mitra-
hana pūpeti bhrūgaṁ Śakrām antikāt | evaṁ śiśāṁ tena chodyamānaṁ punāḥ
punāḥ | Pātaṁāhāya santaptah etam arθhāṁ nyaveyataṁ | tath abraviḥ loka-gurum
arunāyāṁ yathāvedhi | isṭeṇyapriṣa devendra tirthā pāpa-bhayāpahe | "Namuchi
being afraid of Indra, entered into a ray of the sun. Īnūra formed a friendship with
him, and uttered this agreement: 'I shall neither slay thee with wet nor with dry,
neither in the night nor in the day; I swear in truth: to thee, my friend, thou most
eminent of Asuras.' Having made this agreement, the lord Vāsava (Īndra)-, beholding a fog,[when it was neither night nor day], cut off his head with the foam
of the waters [which was neither wet nor dry]. That head of Namuchi, after being
cut off, followed close after Indra, calling out, 'O wicked slayer of thy friend.'
Being thus again and again pressed by the head, and being distressed, he [Īndra]
represented the matter to Piṭāṁśa (Brahmā). The lord (or teacher) of the world
(Brahmā) said to him: 'Having sacrificed, touch [the waters] in the Aruṅa, that
sacred spot, which removes sin and fear,' etc.
"Of that Brahma there are two conditions, one possessed of form, the other formless. These decaying and undecaying states exist in all creatures. The undecaying is the highest Brahma; the decaying is this entire universe. Just as light is diffused from a fire which is confined to one spot, so is this whole universe the [diffused] energy of the supreme Brahma. And as light shows a difference, greater or less, according to its nearness or distance from the fire, so is there a variation in the energy of Brahma. Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva are his chief energies. The deities are inferior to them; the Yakṣas, etc., to the deities; men, cattle, wild animals, birds and reptiles to the Yakṣas, etc.; and trees and plants are the lowest of all [these energies]. This entire universe, which, O most excellent Muni, is subject to appearance and disappearance, to production, to destruction, and to change, is yet undecaying and eternal. Vishṇu, containing all the energies, is the highest form of Brahma, which, at the commencement of their abstraction, is contemplated by Yogins as invested with shape. Directed to him, the great union (mahāyoga) with its basis, and its germs, is produced in the undistracted minds of the devotees. Hari (Vishṇu) is the highest and most immediate of all the energies of Brahma, the embodied Brahma, formed of the whole of Brahma. On him this entire universe is woven and interwoven: from him is the world, and the world is in him; and he is the whole universe. Vishṇu, the lord, consisting of what is perishable as well as what is imperishable, sustains everything, both Purusha and Prakṛiti, in the form of his ornaments and weapons."

[The writer goes on to explain what is meant by the last clause. Vishṇu bears or wears Purusha as the Kaustubha gem, Prakṛiti as the Srīvatsa, etc. See Wilson’s translation, vol. ii. p. 94 of Dr. Hall’s ed.]

In the earlier part of the same section (Wilson, vol. ii., pp. 86 f.) it is said that all kings, whether of men, gods, Daityas, Dānavas, or Rākṣhasas, are portions of Vishṇu.

VII. In several of the passages which have been already cited in the preceding pages, Vishṇu has been identified with the supreme spirit (see above, pp. 38, 50, 181). I shall now proceed to adduce some others of the same kind from the Mahābhārata. In the Sāntiparvan, vv. 1500 ff. Yudhishṭhīra says to Kṛishṇa:

_Tava Kṛishṇa prasūdena nayena cha balena cha | buddhyā cha Yadu- sārdula tathā vikramayena cha | punaḥ prāptam idāṁ rājyam pitri-"
paitāmaham mayā | namas te Pundarikāksha punāḥ punar arindama | tvām ekam āhuḥ Purushaṁ tvām āhuḥ Sāttvataṁ gatim | nāma-bhās tvām bahuvīdhaiḥ stuvanti prayatāh devijāḥ | viśvakarman namas te 'stu viśvātman viśva-sambha ca | Vishnu jishna. Hare Krishna Vaikuṇṭha Puruṣottama | Ādityāḥ saaptadhā tvāṁ tu puruṣe garbhatāṁ gataḥ | Pṛiṣnigarbhas tvam evaikas triyugam tvāṁ vadanty api | S'uchisravāḥ Hṛishi-keśo ghrītāchāh kamsah uchyaśe | trichakshuḥ Sambhur ekas tvāṁ vibhur Dāmodaro 'pi che | Varāho 'gnir vrihadbhānuḥ vṛishabhās Tārkshya-lakṣhaṇaḥ | . . . 1514. Yonis tvam asya pralayaśe Śrī Krishna tvam evedāṁ srijasi viśvam agre | viśvanchedāṁ tvad-vaśe viśvayone namo 'stu te sārṇga-chakrāśi-pāne |

"By thy favour, Krishṇa, chief of the Yadus, and policy, and power, and understanding, and valour, I have recovered this kingdom of my father and grandfathers. Adoration be to thee, lotus-eyed, subduer of thy foes, again and again. Thee alone men call Puruṣa: thee alone they call the refuge of the Śātvats. Devout twice-born men laud thee by names of various kinds. Glory be to thee, thou maker of all, thou soul of all, thou source of all, Vishṇu, conqueror, Hari, Krishṇa, Vaikuṇṭha, chief of spirits (or males). Of old thou didst become the sevenfold offspring of Aditi. Thou alone art Pṛiṣnigarbha: they also call thee [him who exists in] the three ages (yugas). Thou art called Suchīravā, Hṛishi keśa, Ghrītāchā, and Hansa. Thou alone art the three-eyed Sambhu (Mahādeva) and Dāmodara, the pervading, the Boar, Agni, Vṛishabhānu,261 the Bull, he whose sign is Tārkshya (Garuḍa)." A long list of other titles then follows, concluding with these words: "Thou art the source and the destruction of this universe, Krishṇa: it is thou who createst it in the beginning, and it is all in thy power, thou source of all things: glory be to thee who wieldest the bow, the discus, and the sword."

A little further on, at vv. 1604 ff., a long hymn of Bhīshma to Krishṇa is given, in which the following lines occur:

1609 | Yasmin viśvani bhātāni tishťhati cha viśanti cha | gva- bhātāni bhāṭeśe sātre maṇi-gaṇāḥ iva | yasmin nityo tate tantau dṛiḍho srag iva tishṭhati | sad-asād grathitaṁ viśvāṁ viśvāṅgo viśvā-karmanī. |

260 This, I suppose, refers to the Adityas being in the Veda spoken of as only seven in number. See sāvōve, pp. 114 ff.
261 A name of Agni.
Hariṣa sahasra-śirasāṁ sahasra-charanēkhaṇam | sahasra-bāhu-mukutaṁ | sahasra-vadanojjvalam | prāhur Nārāyaṇam devaṁ yaṁ visvasya parāyaṇam | anīṣāṁ anīṣāṁśaṁ sthavīrathāṁ cha sthavīryāṁ | garīyaśaṁ garishthāṁ cha śreṣṭhaṁ cha śreyasāṁ api | yaṁ vākešva anuvākeshu nīshatāpunishatsa cha | grinanti satya-karmānāṁ satyāṁ satyeshu sāmasu | ityādā | . . . . . . . . . . . . 1616. Servātma sarva-vit sarvañāḥ sarva-bhāvanaḥ | yaṁ devaṁ Devāki devī Vasudevād ajyanat | Bhaumasya Brahmaṇo guptyaṁ diptāṁ Agnīṁ ivāraṇiḥ | . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1622. Yasmin lokāḥ sphurantime jale śakunayo yathā |

"In whom, the lord of beings, all beings, existing as his qualities, abide and enter, like gems [strung] upon a thread: upon whom, the universal-membered artificer of all things, extended as a strong and eternal thread, the universe, existent and non-existent, abides, arranged, like a chaplet; Hari, the thousand-headed, thousand-footed, thousand-eyed, with a thousand arms and diadems, resplendent with a thousand faces, whom they call Nārāyaṇa, the god who transcends all, the minutest of the minute, the vastest of the vast, the greatest of the great, the most eminent of the eminent, whom, true, and true in act, they celebrate in ‘vākas,’ ‘anuvākas,’ in ‘nishads,’ and in ‘upanishads,’ and in true ‘sāma’-hymns, . . . 1616. the soul of all, the omniscient, the all, the all-knowing, the producer of all, the god whom the goddess Devākī bore to Vasudeva, for the preservation of the terrestrial deity (i.e. the Vedas, Brāhmans and sacrifices, Comm.) as Arāṇi (the wood used for kindling fire), produced the flaming Agni. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1622. In whom these worlds flutter, like birds in water,” etc.

262 This is the only place in which I have ever met with this word. I am unable to say whether Indian literature contains any such writings as ’nishads,’ or whether the term is a purely fictitious one, invented by the author of this passage to denote a principal and original set of writings to which the Upanishads may have formed, in his idea, a secondary and supplemental class, as the Upapurāṇas do to the Purāṇas. Nilakanṭha, one of the commentators (whether conjecturally, or on good grounds, I cannot say), explains nishatsu as meaning "karmāṇi-devatāḥ-jnāna-vākyeshu," "works treating of the knowledge of the deities, etc., connected with the ceremonial part of the Veda," etc. The Upanishads "reveal the knowledge of soul alone" (kevalātma-jnāpaka-vākyeshu). Vākas, according to the same authority, “make known ceremonies generally” (sāmānyātāḥ karma-prakāsakeshu); while anuvākas are "texts of the Brāhmaṇas, explanatory of the sense of the mantras, or Vedic hymns" (mantrārtha-vivarana-bhūteshu brāhmaṇa-vākyeshu).

263 See the 5th vol. of this work, pp. 208 ff.
In the following passage, also from the Śānti-parvan, Kṛishṇa identifies himself with the supreme Spirit, and represents Brahmā and Mahādeva as having proceeded from him. In it the writer likewise endeavours to explain away the effect of certain texts in other parts of the poem (see above, pp. 185-204), in which Kṛishṇa is related to have worshipped Mahādeva, and which were no doubt felt to be inconsistent with the supreme deity of the former. The difficulty is attempted to be overcome by the explanation that in worshipping Rudra, he was only worshipping himself. In the verses 13133 ff. Arjuna asks Kṛishṇa to interpret the different appellations which had been applied to him in the Vedas and Purāṇas; and this Kṛishṇa accordingly proceeds to do, remarking, by the way that Arjuna had been of old declared to be his own half (tvam hi me 'rdhaḿ smritaḥ purā). Nārāyaṇa (i.e. Vishṇu), he says, was the source of all things, and from him Brahmā and Śiva were produced; the one from his good pleasure, the other from his anger (13140. Yasya prasādajo Brahmana Rudraścha krodha-sambhavaḥ). He then goes on (13144): Brāhma rātri-kshaye prōpte tasya hy anita-tejasah | prasādāt prādurabhavat padnam padma-nibhekṣaṇa | tato Brahmana samabhavat sa tasyaiśa prasādajah | ahnoḥ kshaye lalātāchcha suto devasya vai tathā | krodhāvīśṭasya sanjaṇe Rudraḥ saṁhāra-kārakaḥ | etau dvau vibudha-śreshṭhau prasāda-krodhajāv ubhau | tad-ādesita-panthānau śrīśṭi-saṁhāra-kārakau | nimmattām kāvṝya atra sarva-prāṇi-vara-pradāv | kapardā jāṭilo muṇḍaḥ śmaśāṇa-grīha-sevakaḥ | ugra-vṛṣṭa-dharo Rudro yogy parama-dūruṇaḥ | Daksha-kratu-harāshaśiva Bhaga-netra-harase tathā | Nārāyaṇātmako jneyaḥ Pāṇḍaveya yuge yuge | tasmin hi pūjyamāne vai deva-deva Maheśvare | sampūjito bhavet Pārtha devo Nārāyaṇah prabhuh | aham ātmā hi lokānāṁ viśveshām Pāṇḍu-nandanaḥ | 13152. tasmād ātmanām evāgra Rudrāṃ sampūjayāmy aham | yady aham nārchetayaṁ vai Īśānam varadāṁ Śivam | ātmanāṁ nārchayet kaścid iti me bhāvītāmanāḥ | mayā pramāṇaṁ hi kriyāṁ lokaḥ sansuvartate | pramāṇāni hi pūjyāṁ tatas tam pūjyāmy ahām | yas taṁ vetti sa māṁ vetti yo 'nu taṁ sa hi mām anu | Rudro Nārāyaṇaḥ chaiva sattvam ekaṁ dvidhākṣitaṁ | loka charuti Kaunteya vyakti-sthāṁ sarva-karmaśu | na hi me kenaḥcitu deyo varaḥ Pāṇḍava-nandanaḥ | iti sanchintya manasā purāṇam Rudram iṣvaram | putrārtham ārūdhhitavāṁ aham ātmānam ātmanā | na hi Vīshṇuḥ

264 See the other passages about their identity, or intimate union, above, pp. 228 ff.
pranamati kasmaichit vibudhaya cha | rile atmamam eveti tato Rudram bhajamy aham | sabrahmakah sarudarasha sendrahe devah saharshibhih | archayanti sura-sreshthaiv devaṁ Nāruśman Harim | bhavishyatam varatlāncha bhutanānchaiva Bhūrata | sarvesham agranir Vishnuḥ savyah pujyaśca nityaśah ityādi |

"When the end of Brahmā's night had arrived, there sprang from the good pleasure of that being of boundless power a lotus, O thou whose eyes are like a lotus. From it was produced Brahmā, who was the offsprings of his (Vishnu's) good pleasure; and at the end of the day Rudra the destroyer was born from the forehead of the god when he was possessed with anger. These two eminent gods, produced [the one] from his good pleasure, [the other] from his anger,265 have their

265 I quote the following from the Maitrī Upanishad, 5th Prapūṭhaka: Tamo vai idam agre uṣīd ekaṁ | tat pare svat | tatah pariṇāma viṣhmatvam prayatī | etad rūpaṁ vai rajaḥ | tad rajaḥ khalv iṁśitam viṣhmatvam prayatī | etad vai sattvasya rūpaṁ | tat setteca eva iṁśitam rasaṁ samprāsvat | sa 'īnō 'yam yaś chetā-mātraṁ pratipurusah khetrajñaṁ sankalpādyavasāyābhimānaṁ-līnaṁ | Prajañpatir Viśvā ity asya prāg uktāḥ etās tanaṁ | atha yo ha khalu vāva asya tāmaso 'īnō 'sa u sa brahmaṇāriṁo yo 'yam Rudraḥ | atha yo ha khalu vāva asya rūjaso 'īnō 'sa u sa brahmaṇāriṁo yo 'yam Brahmā | atha yo ha khalu vāva asya sattveko 'īnō 'sa u sa brahmaṇāriṁo yo 'yam Vishnuḥ | sa vai eva esha tridāḥ bhūto śhādāḥ ekādāśadhā devādāśadhā aparimśitadhā vā ubhūtahā vādūbhūtāh vādhūtātvād bhūtām bhūteshu cha- rati praviṣṭhaṁ sa bhūtānām adhipatibhāvāvata | ity asaḥ ātmā antar bahiḥ cha antar bahiḥ cha | This passage is translated as follows by Professor Cowell: "Verily this was at the first darkness alone; it abode in the Supreme; then, being set in motion by the Supreme, it passes into inequality. This condition becomes activity (rajas): this activity, being set in motion, passes into inequality. This becomes the condition of Goodness. This goodness alone was set in motion; and Flavour flowed forth. This is a portion [of the Soul] which is only measured by the Soul, reflected in each individual, cognizant of the body, and possessing as its signs volition, ascertainment, and consciousness. Prajñāpāti, Viśvā—these and the like, before mentioned, are its forms. As for its darkness-characterized [tāmasāḥ] "portion, that, O ye students, is the same as Rudra; as for its activity-characterized [rajasāḥ] "portion, that, O students, is the same as Brahman; and as for its goodness-characterized [sattvākāḥ] "portion, that, O students, is the same as Vishnu. He truly is one, existing as threefold, as eightfold, as elevenfold, as twelvefold, as infinite fold; he is manifested everywhere; and, from being thus manifested, he is the Being; he enters and pervades all beings, he is the lord of beings. Thus he, the Soul, is within and without, within and without."

In the Vāyu-purāṇa, sect. 66, as quoted by Professor Aufrecht in his "Catalogus Codicium Sanscriticorum," p. 566, it is declared by Sūta that there is but one God, who assumed three forms (rajasā, sattvākā, tāmasā tānis) for the creation, preservation, and destruction of the world. In the Devā-Bhāgavata Purāṇa, book i., sect. 4, v. 46, quoted in the same Catalogue, p. 80a, Nārada tells Viśṇa that Viṣṇu had once spoken to Brahmā as follows: Svashtā tvam pālakaḥ chāhaṁ Harah saṁkūra-kāraṇaḥ |
courses prescribed by him, [and are] the accomplishers [respectively] of creation and destruction. In this, these bestowers of boons on all creatures are merely instrumental causes. Rudra, with braided hair and matted locks, shaven, the frequenter of cemeteries, the performer of awful rites, the devotee, the very terrible, he who swept away Daksha's sacrifice, and put out Bhaga's eyes, is to be understood by thee to possess in every age the nature of Nārāyaṇa. For when that god of gods Maheśvara is worshipped, then, son of Prithā, the god Nārāyaṇa, the lord, will also be worshipped. I am the soul of all the worlds. 13152. It was therefore myself whom I formerly worshipped as Rudra. If I were not to worship Īśāna, the boon-bestowing Śiva, no one would worship myself [or the Soul]—this is [the reflection made] by me who am contemplative in spirit. An authoritative example is set by me [which] the world follows. Authoritative examples are to be reverenced: hence I reverence him (Śiva). He who knows him knows me; he who loves him loves me. Rudra and Nārāyaṇa, one essence, divided into two, operate in the world, in a manifested form, in all acts. Reflecting in my mind that no boon could be conferred upon me by any one, I [yet] adored the ancient Rudra, the lord, [that is] I, with myself adored myself, to obtain a son (see p. 195). For Vishṇu does not do homage to any god, excepting himself: hence I [in this sense] worship Rudra. The gods, including Brahmā, Rudra, and Indra, together with the rishis, worship the god Nārāyaṇa, Hari, the most eminent of the deities. Vishṇu the chief of all who shall be, are, or have been, is to be served and worshipped continually."

In the following passage (Anuśāsana-parvan, vv. 6295 ff.), some

kṛitāḥ keneti sa tarkāḥ kriyate veda-pūragaḥ | 47 | Jagat-saṇjanane śaktis tvayi vartati rājasī | sāttvikī mayi Rudre cha tāmasi parikirtitaḥ | 48 | tvā śaktih tvāna tu na hy etat karate prabhūḥ | nāham pālayitum śaktah saṁ hartaṁ nāpi Śankaraḥ | 49 | tad-adhīnāṁ vayaṁ saṁ satataṁ satataṁ vīhō | 46. "The question by what thou art made the creator, I the preserver, and Hara the destroyer, is proposed by those who have studied the Veda. 47. In thee there exists a passionate [or 'active,' as Professor Cowell translates rājasī] energy, [which operates] in the production of the world, in me there is declared to be a pure [sāttvikī], and in Rudra a dark [tāmasi], energy. 48. If we were destitute of these several energies, thou wouldest be unable to create, or I to preserve, or Śankara to destroy. 49. We are continually dependent upon these our [respective energies]."

266 See above, p. 88, the quotation from the Bhagavad-gītā, iii. 21 ff.
267 Compare a similar sentiment in p. 230.
parts of which may be later interpolations, Kṛishṇa is described as performing a ceremony to obtain a son, at the same time that he is represented as the supreme deity. Bhīshma, at the request of Yudhishṭhira, tells him a story illustrative of the glory of Kṛishṇa. He states that Kṛishṇa had performed a ceremonial (vṛata) of twelve years' duration (6397), which many rishis came to witness. In presence of these rishis flakes issued from the mouth of Kṛishṇa, which set on fire the mountain where he was, and burnt up everything on it; and having done so, came back, and submissively touched his feet. The mountain was afterwards restored to its natural condition. Seeing the rishis astonished at this display, Kṛishṇa asks the cause of their surprise. They request that he who is the creator and destroyer of all things will explain to them the phenomenon which they have just witnessed. He replies that this was the power (tejas) of Vishṇu which had issued from his mouth. He had come, he informs them, to this mountain to perform a ceremony with the view of obtaining a son like himself (6320); and the soul residing in his body had become fire, and blazed forth, and had gone to see the parent of the world, when Mahādeva had declared that a son should be created for him out of the half of his power (tejas). Kṛishṇa next calls on the rishis to tell him any wonders they had seen or heard of in heaven or on earth. The rishis then, after celebrating Kṛishṇa's praises, appoint Nārada to describe the wonders which had been witnessed by the rishis on the Himālaya mountain, when they had gone thither on a pilgrimage to the holy places. Nārada accordingly proceeds to give an account of a long conversation which had taken place between Mahādeva and his wife Umā or Pārvatī, the daughter of the Himālaya. Mahādeva, it appears, had been performing austerity (tapas, vv. 6340, 6348) on that mountain, where he was surrounded by his attendant demons (Bhūtas) and by the nymphs (Apsarases), etc., etc. While he was sitting in that delightful region, clothed in tigers' and lions' skins, with a serpent for his sacrifice's cœrd (6355 f.), his wife Umā comes up, clothed in the same style as her husband, with her attendant demonesses (Bhūta-stri-gana), and playfully puts her hands over his eyes. The effects of this act are tremendous. Suddenly the world becomes darkened, lifeless, and destitute of oblations and vashaṭkāras, etc. This gloom, however, is as suddenly dispelled by a great flame
which bursts from Mahādeva's forehead, in which a third eye, luminous as the sun, was formed (6367). By the fire of this eye the mountain was scorched and everything upon it consumed. Umā hereupon stands in a submissive attitude before her lord, when in a moment her parent, the Himālaya, is restored to his former condition. A long conversation then ensues between Mahādeva and Umā. The latter inquires why Mahādeva's third eye had been formed (6379), and puts a number of questions about himself, and the various duties of men (6412 ff.), all of which he answers. Mahādeva next, in his turn, asks Umā to describe the duties of women. She says she will consult the rivers in regard to the question. The Gangā replies on their behalf that Umā herself should furnish the answer, which, as Bhīshma tells us, she accordingly does (6780 ff.). Bhīshma then informs us (v. 6804) that, at the close of Umā's discourse, Mahādeva dismissed his attendant demons, with the rivers, nymphs, and celestial choristers (Gandharvas). We might have expected here that Nārada (who had hitherto been the narrator of what was done and said on the Himālaya) would have finished his account of all that occurred there, without the introduction of the other interlocutor; but, as I have said, he is interrupted by Bhīshma at v. 6804, and afterwards introduced again at v. 6870. Whatever may be the reason, we are first told by Bhīshma (v. 6804) that the rishis now requested Mahādeva to describe to them the greatness of Vasudeva (Krishṇa). At the close of Mahādeva's discourse, Nārada is again abruptly introduced (6870), and relates that a great sound of thunder accompanied with lightning was then heard, and the sky became covered with thick clouds and veiled in darkness. Mahādeva and his attendant demons were now no longer visible to the munis. (The departure of the demons and the other classes of beings had, however, been previously told in v. 6804.) The darkness then suddenly clears away. Nārada next observes to Krishṇa (6875) that he was the eternal being, one with Brahma, about whom they had been instructed on the mountain. At the close of Nārada's discourse, the rishis express their devotion to Krishṇa (6879 ff.), and say that as he knew all things, he had no occasion to ask them for any information such as had been given at his request. They end by giving him what, after this avowal of his omniscience, was (one would have thought) a needless assurance, that he
should have a son like himself. Bhishma then relates that, after completing the rite on which he had been engaged, Krishna returned to Dwarka, where a son was born to him (6889), and goes on to expatiate yet further on his divine character. Yudhishthira, however, is still unsatisfied, and inquires as follows (6937 ff.):

Kim ekam duivataṁ loke kīṁ vā pī ekam pāriyānam | kaṁ stuvantaḥ kam archantaḥ prāpnyur mānarāḥ śubham | kā dharmāḥ sarva-dharmānām bhavataḥ paramo nataḥ | kīṁ japam muchyate jantur janma-saṁsāra-bandhanāt | Bhishmaḥ uvācha | Jagat-prabhuṁ deva-devaṁ anantāṁ purushottamam | stuvan nāma-sahasreṇā purushaḥ satatotthitaḥ | tam eva chārchaṇyaṁ nityam bhaktāṁ purusham avyayaṁ | dhyāyan stuan nama-syaṁśa yajamānaṁ tam eva cha | an-ādi-nidhanaṁ Vishnuṁ sarva-loka-mahēsvaram | lokādhyakṣhaṁ stuvan nityāṁ sarva-duḥkhaṁ bhavet | brahmanaṁ sarva-dharma-jnaṁ lokānāṁ kirti-vardhanan | lokānātham mahād bhūtaṁ sarva-bhūtā-bhavodbhavam | esa me sarva-dharmānāṁ dharmo 'dhikatamo nataḥ | . . . 6946. Yataḥ sarvāṁ bhuṭāni bhavanty ādi-yugāgane | yasmiṁśa praśayaṁ yānti punar eva yugakṣaye | tasya loka-pradhānasya jagannāthasya bhūpate | Vishnuṁ nāma-sahasraṁ me śrīnu pāpa-bhayāpahāṇam |

"What is the one deity in the world, or what is the one highest object? By lauding and worshipping whom can men attain to felicity? What duty is regarded by you as the highest of all duties? By muttering what, is a creature freed from the bonds of birth and of the world? Bhishma answers: A man, rising continually, and lauding with his thousand names the supreme infinite Purusha, the lord of the world, the god of gods, worshipping perpetually with devotion this undecaying Purusha, contemplating, praising, reverencing, and adoring him, Vishnu, without beginning or end, the great lord of all the worlds, lauding continually the ruler of the worlds, who (the ruler) is devout, skilled in all duty, the augmenter of the renown of the worlds, the lord of the world, the great being, the source of the existence of all beings, [doing all this, a 'man] will overpass all grief. This is regarded by me as the greatest of all duties. . . v. 6946. Hear, king, from me the sin-and-fear-removing thousand names of this Vishnu, chief of the world, lord of the world, from whom all creatures spring on the arrival of the commencing yuga, and in whom again they are absorbed at the end of the yuga."
These thousand names of Vishnu are then detailed, among which the following occur, all, or most of them, ordinarily appellations of Mahadeva, viz. Sarva, Sarva, Siva, Sthana (v. 6953), Isana (v. 6957), Rudra (v. 6962).

Again, we are informed in the Anusasana-parvan, that the rishis requested Mahadeva to expound to them the greatness of Vāsudeva (Krishna), which he accordingly does in vv. 6806 ff.


266 Quere, Brahmāna-sammite, "equal to Brahmans"?
devaḥ pratāpavān | drishṭe tasminn ahaṁ drishṭo na me 'trāsti vichārāṇaḥ |
pitāmaha vā deveṣāḥ iti vittā tapodhaḥah |

"Superior even to Pitāmaha (Brahma) is Hari, the eternal Purusha, Krishṇa, brilliant as gold, like the sun risen in a cloudless sky, ten-armed, of mighty force, slayer of the foes of the gods, marked with the śrīvatsa, Hṛishi keśa, adored by all the gods. Brahma is sprung from his belly and I (Mahādeva) from his head, the luminaries from the hair of his head, the gods' and Asuras from the hairs of his body, and the rishis, as well as the everlasting worlds, have been produced from his body. He is the manifest abode of Pitāmaha, and of all the deities. He is the creator of this entire earth, the lord of the three worlds, and the destroyer of creatures, of the stationary and the movable. He is manifestly the most eminent of the gods, the lord of the deities, the vexer of his foes. He is omniscient, intimately united [with all things], omnipresent, facing in every direction, the supreme Spirit, Hṛishi keśa, all-pervading, the mighty lord. There is no being superior to him in the three worlds. The slayer of Madhu is eternal, renowned as Govinda. He, the conferrer of honour, born to fulfil the purposes of the gods, and assuming a human body, will slay all the kings in battle. For all the hosts of the gods, destitute of Trivikrama (the god who strode thrice), are unable to effect the purposes of the gods, devoid of a leader. He is the leader of all creatures, and worshipped by all creatures. Of this lord of the gods, devoted to the purposes of the gods, who is Brahma, and is the constant refuge of gods and rishis, Brahma dwells within the body, abiding in his face, and all the gods are easily sheltered in his body. This god is the lotus-eyed, the producer of Śrī, dwelling together with Śrī . . . 6827. For the welfare of the gods, Govinda shall arise in the family of the great Manu, possessed of eminent intelligence, and [walking] in the excellent path of the Prajāpati Manu, characterized by righteousness." [Govinda's ancestors are then detailed.] 6835. "In this family, esteemed by Brahmins, of men renowned for valour, distinguished by good conduct and excellent qualities, priests, most pure, this Sūra, the most eminent of Kshatriyas, heroic, renowned, conferring honour, shall beget a son Anakadundubhi, the prolonger of his race, known as Vasudeva. To him shall be born a four-armed son, Vāsudeva, liberal, a

benefactor of Brāhmans, one with Brahma, a lover of Brāhmans. . . .

6842. You (the gods) should, as is fit, worship this deity, like the eternal Brahmā, approaching him with reverential and excellent garlands of praise. For the divine and glorious Vāsudeva should be beheld by him who desires to see me and Brahmā the Parent. In regard to this I have no hesitation, that when he is seen I am seen, or the Parent (Brahmā), the lord of the gods: know this 'ye whose wealth is austerity.'

Further on in the same Anuśāsana-parvan (7356 ff.), it is related that Bhīshma, when called on by Yudhishṭhira to inform him what are the benefits resulting from reverence rendered to Brāhmans, refers him to Krishṇa, whose divine greatness he then proceeds to set forth as follows (vv. 7360 ff.):

"Krishṇa created the earth, the air, and the sky; from Krishṇa's body the earth was produced. He is the ancient boar of fearful strength; he created the mountains and the regions. Beneath him are the atmosphere and the heaven, the four regions, and the four intermediate regions: and [from him] this creation sprang forth: he formed this ancient universe. In his navel a lotus grew up, where he himself [in the form of Brahmā] was born of boundless power. By him the dreadful darkness was pierced, that threatening ocean which abides. . . .

7388. Becoming Vāyu, he dissipates this universe; becoming Fire, he burns it, universal in his forms; becoming Water, he drowns all things; becoming Brahmā, he creates all the hosts [of beings]. He is
whatever is to be known, and he makes known whatever is to be known: he is the rule for performance, and he who exists in that which is to be performed. Believe that Keśava [abides] in righteousness, in the Veda, in strength, and that he is the whole world, movable and immovable. Since he, the supreme, being by nature luminous, shines from the beginning, in every form of splendour, this soul and source of all beings, having created the waters, formed of old this entire universe." Krishna then (vv. 7402 ff.) proceeds to set forth the benefits of reverence to Brahmans, who he says (7412 ff.) could reduce this world to ashes, and create new ones, and rulers of worlds, (bhasma kuryur jagad idain kruddhah prayyaksha-darsinaḥ | anyān api srjeyus'cha lokān lokesvarāms 'tathā) and illustrates his opinion of their importance by the results of his own experience regarding Durvāsas (see above, p. 196). He afterwards goes on, in the passage which I have already cited in pp. 197 ff., to return the compliment paid to him by Mahādeva, by celebrating the greatness of that deity; and in the course of his description he makes nearly as explicit an avowal of the supreme divinity of the other god, as the latter has made in regard to him in the text (Anuśāsana-parvan, 6806 ff.) which has just been adduced in p. 273 f.

In the Āśvamedhika-parvan it is related, vv. 1536 ff., that when Krishna had left the city of the Pāṇḍus, and was journeying to Dvārakā, he fell in with the muni Uttanga, who asked him whether he had reconciled the Kurus and Pāṇḍus with one another. Krishna replied (1559) that he had made the attempt to do so, but without success, and that the Kurus had perished in consequence. On hearing this Uttanga becomes greatly incensed, and threatens to curse Krishna because he had not rescued the Kurus, although he was perfectly able to do so. To pacify the muni’s wrath, Krishna offers to explain the circumstances, and to unfold the mystery of his own nature; which he accordingly does in vv. 1564 ff.:

Vāsudevaḥ uvācha | tamo rajas cha sattvāṁ cha viddhi bhāvān mad-
āśrayān | lathā Rudrān Vasūn vā'pi viddhi mát-prabhavān duṣja | mayi sarvāni bhūtāni sarva-bhūteshu chāpy aham | sthitāḥ ityādi | . . . .

1567. Sad asachehaiva yat prāhur avyaktam vyaktam eva cha | aksharaṁ cha kṣaranaḥiva sarvam etad mad-ātmakam | ye chāṣrūmeshu vai dharmāḥ chaturdhā viditāḥ mune | vaidikani cha sarvāni viddhi sarvam mad-ātmā-
KRISHNA DECLARES HIS OWN NATURE.

Know that the qualities of darkness (tamas), passion (rajas), and goodness (sattva) have their abode in me. Know also that both the Rudras and Vasus are sprung from me. All beings reside in me, and I in all beings, etc. 1567 ff.: That which men call entity and non-entity, the unmanifested and the manifested, the undecaying and the decaying,—all this consists of my essence. And know, O muni, that the fourfold duties which are recognized as belonging to the [four] conditions of life, as well as all the Vedic [ordinances], partake of my essence. As regards non-entity, and that which is both entity and non-entity, and that which transcends both entity and non-entity,—know that [of all this] there is nothing which transcends me, the eternal god of gods. Know, descendant of Bhrigu, that I am the Vedas which are introduced by the omkāra, [that I am], the sacrificial post,

270 See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, under apyaya; and Udyoga-parvan, v. 2569.
the soma, the charu, the homa, which satiates the immortals, tridaśa-pyāyana in the sacrifice. Know that I am both the hotṛi (priest), and the ṛgya (oblation). [I am] also the adhvaryu of the ceremony, and the highly purified butter. The udgātri celebrates me with sounds of hymns at the great sacrifice. And at the rites of atonement, the priests who utter propitiatory and auspicious texts continually, O excellent Brahman, praise me, the architect of all. Know that Dharma (Righteousness) is my beloved first-born mental son, whose nature is to have compassion on all creatures. There I exist among men, both present and past, passing through many varieties of mundane existence, in different disguises and forms, in the three worlds, for the preservation and establishment of righteousness. I am Vishnu, Brahman, Indra, and the source as well as destruction [of things], the creator and the annihilator of the whole aggregate of existences. When all men live in unrighteousness, I, the unfalling, build up the bulwark of righteousness, as the ages pass away, entering into various wombs, from a desire to promote the good of creatures. Whenever I assume a divine birth, I act in every respect agreeably to my character of a god." ... (He adds that he acts agreeably to all the other natures which he assumes.) 1582. "But during the existence of my mortal condition, though they (the Kurus) were humbly entreated by me, they, through delusion, were not touched, and did not listen to my words. Though terrified by me, when I was incensed, with great alarms, and again fittingly admonished, they, influenced by unrighteousness, and overcome by fate, have been righteously slain in battle, and have undoubtedly gone to heaven." 271 On hearing this reply of Krisna, the sage Uttanga breaks out: "I recognize thee, Janardana, as the creator of the world," etc. Krisna then shows him his divine form.

271 See Mahābhārata, Śaṭni-parvan, v. 3655 ff., where Indra says: Āhate tu hataṁ śūram na śocheṣa kathanchana | aśoṣhya hi hataḥ śūraḥ svarga-loke māhiyate | na hy annaiḥ nōdayaṁ tasya na svānaiḥ nāpy ausauchakam | hataṣya kartuṁ tehhaṁ tasya lokān śrīnukhaṁ me | varāpsarasah-sahasrāṇi śūram ayodhane hatam | tvaramāṇaḥ 'bhidhāvanti "mama bhartā bhaved" iti | "Let no one ever lament a hero slain in battle. A hero slain is not to be lamented, for he is exalted in heaven. Men do not desire to offer to him food or water, or perform aubutions, or [contract?] impurity [on his account]. Hear from me the worlds to which he goes. Thousands of beautiful nymphs (apsarasas) run quickly up to the hero who has been slain in combat, saying to him, 'be my husband.' " Professor Weber refers to this passage, Indische Studien, i. 398, note, and notices the parallel it forms to similar representa-
VIII. In the preceding pages, various passages have been adduced in which the supremacy of Mahâdeva and his identity with the soul of the universe have been asserted (pp. 185 t., 194, 196), and other texts have been quoted in which the same rank and character are assigned to Vishnu (pp. 263 ff.). The reader will likewise have noticed that in some places also (pp. 241, 268), an attempt is made, by alleging the essential oneness of the two deities, to reconcile their conflicting claims. Another passage of this description occurs in the Harivaṃśa, vv. 10660 ff. It had been related in the preceding section that Siva had come to the assistance of Bâna and the Dânava in tions about Huris in the Coran. So also in vv. 3591 ff., it is said: Abhirûṣī nam pratyâhâra tathâ na tasmât tridaśaḥ śreyo bhūvi pasyanti kinehana | tasya sâstra-vâm yâvanti tvacam bhûdanti saṁyugo | tâvataḥ so 'snute lokan sarvan-kâma-duho 'kshayān | yad asya rudhirān gârâd āhaye saṃpravortate | aha tenaiva pâpena sarva-pû Climate pramucyate | "The gods see nothing on earth superior to the man who, fearless, scattering his foes, receives arrows in his body. As many weapons as pierce him in the fray, so many worlds yielding all enjoyments does he enjoy. With the blood which flows from his body, and through that misery so endured, he is freed from all his sins." Much more follows in praise of valour and reprehension of timidity. In vv. 3626 ff. a battle is compared to a sacrifice, and their corresponding parts described. In vv. 3666 ff. we are told that King Janaka showed his warriors the shining heavens, filled with Gandharvas' daughters, and yielding all manner of delights, destined for the courageous (ahitrugam ime lokah bhâsante hanta pasyata | pûrṇāḥ gandharvas-kanyâbhīḥ sarva-kâma-duho 'kshayāḥ); and the hells prepared for such as fled from battle. In the same way Krisna says to Jara-sandha (Subhā-parvan, v. 869): Ko hi jñann abhibhanam âtmave kshatriyo nripaḥ | naeisat svargam atulan roñânantaram avyayam | svaragā hy eva savâsthāya râja-yajnesu dîkshtāḥ | jayanti kshatriyāh lokâms tad visdhi manuvârshabha | svarag-yonis mahad brahma svarga-yonis mahād yaśaḥ | svarga-yonis tapo yuddhe purîtyuh | so 'vyabhichârave | "For what Kshatriya king, who was wise, and appreciated his own noble birth, has not, after the battle, entered into an incomparable and undecaying paradise? Know, chief of men, that Kshatriyas, consecrated in the sacrifice of battle, attain to paradise and conquer the worlds. Great scriptural knowledge is the source of paradise, and so is great renown; austerity (tapas) in fight, too, is the source of paradise; such a death never fails of its reward." See also R.V. x. 154, 3, quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 310.

272 Compare Vayu Purâna, as quoted in Aufrecht's Catalogue, p. 56, col. 2 (partly referred to above, p. 267, note); Varahap., ibid., p. 58, col. 2, note 2, and p. 59, col. 2; Devibhâg., ibid., p. 81a; also Padmap., ibid., p. 16, note 1. The last text is as follows: Krâsha speaks: S'avâh Sourâs cha Gañêhâ Vaishnavâh S'aktrim-pûjatkah | mām eva prâpnuvṛñ̄a sarvâpah sâgarâh yatha | eko hi yanehadhâ jutah | Bantar paurânam pûrânam kila | Devadatto yathâ kâshtâ putrâd-arvâna-namabhīḥ "The worshippers of Siva, Sûra (the Sun), Gañëśa, Vîshnu and S'akti, come to me, as all streams flow to the ocean. For, though one, I am born with fivefold forms and names, just as the man Devadatta when called [is addressed] by the appellations of 'son,' etc."
their conflict with Kṛṣṇa (v. 10587 ff.), when a terrible combat ensues between the latter and Śiva, which causes the earth to tremble, and throws the whole universe into disorder (v. 10601 f.). Śiva is at length paralyzed by a weapon of his adversary called ārjumbha, which causes him to yawn incessantly (v. 10632 f.). The earth is distressed (v. 10641 ff.) and appeals to Brahmā for assistance. Brahmā (v. 10647) remonstrates with Śiva against his conflict with Kṛṣṇa, who, he says, is in reality one with himself. Śiva perceiving by yoga (mental union with the object contemplated) the truth of what Brahmā had stated, says to Brahmā that he will no longer fight against Kṛṣṇa, and the two combatants embrace (v. 10648 ff.). Brahmā then says to the sage Mārkaṇḍeya (v. 10656 ff.) that he had formerly, in a dream, seen the two deities on the northern side of the mountain Mandara, each invested with the emblems of the other, Hara (Śiva) in the form of Hari (Vishnu) with the shell, discus, and club, clothed in yellow vestments and mounted on Garuḍa, and Hari in the form of Hara, bearing the trident and axe, clad in a tiger’s skin, and mounted on a bull; and he asks the sage Mārkaṇḍeya to explain this phenomenon which had occasioned him great astonishment. Mārkaṇḍeya replies (vv. 10660 ff.):


273 See the same words above, p. 231.
274 The M.S. in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society reads ārṣṭaḥ.
parataram guhyam kathitam te Pitamaha | yaś chainam paśhate nityaṁ
yaś chaināṁ śrīnyād narāḥ | prāpnoti paramāṁ sthānam Rudra-Viṣṇu-
prasūda-jam | devau Hari-Haraṃ stoshye Brahmanā saha saṅgatau | etau
cha paramau devau jagataḥ prabhavāyanaḥ | Rudrasya paramo Viṣṇur
Viśnoścha paramaḥ S'ivāḥ | ekāḥ eva dvidhā-bhūta loke charati nityaśaḥ |
na vinā S'ankaraṁ Viṣṇur na vinā Keśavaṁ S'ivāḥ | tasmād ekatvam
āyātau Rudropendrau tu tau purā | ityādi.

"When thou showest me this auspicious [vision], I perceive
thereby no difference between Śiva who exists in the form of Viṣṇu,
and Viṣṇu who exists in the form of Śiva. I shall declare to thee
that form composed of Hari and Hara (Viṣṇu and Mahādeva) com-
bined, which is without beginning, or middle, or end, imperishable,
undecaying. He who is Viṣṇu is Rudra; he who is Rudra is Pitā-
aḥa (Brahmā): the substance (mūrti) is one, the gods are three,
Rudra, Viṣṇu, and Pitāmaha. Bestowers of boons, creators of the
world, sovereigns of the world, self-existent, they are the half-female
lords, and have performed austere rites. Just as water thrown into
water can be nothing else than water, so Viṣṇu entering into Rudra
must possess the nature of Rudra. And just as fire entering into fire
can be nothing else but fire, so Rudra entering into Viṣṇu must
possess the nature of Viṣṇu. Let Rudra be understood to possess the
nature of Agni; Viṣṇu is declared to possess the nature of Soma
(the Moon); and the world, moveable and immovable, possesses the
nature of Agni and Soma.275 The lords, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara, are
the makers and destroyers of things moveable and immovable, and
the benefactors of the world. The gods Nārāyaṇa and Maheśvara
are the [first] makers of the cause, and of [the secondary] maker,
the [first] causers of the cause, and of the [secondary] makers,
existing in the past, future, and present. And these two are the
revealers, they possess a luminous essence, they are declared to be the
preservers of the world, and the creators. They rain, they shine, they
blow, and they create. This which I have told thee, Pitāmaha, is the
highest mystery. The man who continually repeats it, and hears it,
obtains the highest abode, granted by the grace of Rudra and Viṣṇu,
I shall laud the gods Hari-and Hara, associated with Brahmā; and
these two are the supreme deities, the originators and destroyers of the

275 See above, pp. 201 and 225.
world. Vishnu, the highest [manifestation] of Rudra, and Siva, the highest [manifestation] of Vishnu,—this [god] one only, though divided into twain, moves continually in the world. Vishnu does not [exist] without Sankara, nor Siva without Kesava; hence these two, Rudra and Upendra (Vishnu), have formerly attained to oneness," etc.

Then follows a hymn to the double deity.

The various representations of Krisha given in the different sets of passages above cited possess a certain interest in themselves, even independently of the light which they may be considered to throw on the process by which his deification was effected. Among the texts adduced from the Mahabharata there are some (see pp. 185 ff.) in which he is distinctly subordinated to Mahadeva, of whom he is exhibited as a worshipper, and from whom, as well as from his wife Uma, he is stated to have received a variety of boons. Even in these passages, however, a superhuman character is ascribed to Krisha.

A second class of texts has been brought forward in pp. 205 ff., in which his superiority is represented to have been denied by Sisupala, Duryodhana, Karna, and Salya. Of course we are not to imagine that any claim to a superhuman character was ever advanced on behalf of the Yadava hero in his lifetime, either by himself or his friends. These narrative passages, therefore, in which his divine dignity is denied by his enemies, and asserted by his partisans, as well as vindicated by the miraculous exploits which are attributed to him, are nothing more than poetical fictions (possibly of a polemical import) put forward at a period when his godhead had come to be recognized by the Vaishnavas, though perhaps doubted or disputed by other sects. Such a resistance to the pretensions set up on Krisha's behalf may be indicated in the verses I have quoted in p. 237 f., where all who regard him as a mere man are stigmatized as being under the dominion of the quality of darkness.

In the third class of passages, quoted in pp. 243 ff., where the achievements of Krisha are described with a supernatural colouring, it seems not unreasonable to recognize a basis of simpler legend (if not of actual history) underlying the miraculous narrative, and to trace a reference to a variety of warlike adventures in which the Yadava chief contended as a mere man with the warriors of other tribes. The supernatural powers which are here ascribed to him are not in their

character essentially different from those which are attributed to his enemies, who, it will be observed, are, in like manner represented as endowed with superhuman faculties; while Krishna himself is in various places described as being indebted to the gods for his weapons, or for other advantages (see the Droṇa-parvan, v. 402, and the Ādi-parvan, v. 8196, quoted or referred to in pp. 244 ff., and the Udyoga-parvan, quoted in p. 247).

The identification of Arjuna and Krishna with the saints Nara and Nārāyaṇa (pp. 228 ff.) is curious; but I am unable to conjecture whether it may have originated in a previously existing legend respecting two rishis of that name (the one of whom, as bearing the same name which was ultimately applied to Vishṇu and Krishna, was, in the fanciful spirit of Indian mythology, and in consonance with the tenet of metempsychosis, declared to have been an earlier manifestation of Krishna,—when Arjuna, the bosom friend of the latter, would naturally be regarded as the same with Nara, the inseparable companion of Nārāyaṇa); or whether the whole legend was originally invented for the glorification of Krishna and Arjuna.

In the passages above adverted to, where Krishna is subordinated to Mahādeva, the latter is identified with the supreme Deity (see pp. 185 ff., 194). In another set of texts, however (pp. 230, 264 ff.), Krishna, as Vishṇu, is asserted to be one with the supreme God, while Mahādeva is represented as springing from, and dependent on, Vishṇu. But here and elsewhere, as we have already seen, an attempt is made to reconcile the claims of the two rival deities by affirming their identity (pp. 241, 268). How are we to explain this circumstance, that in one place Mahādeva is extolled at the expense of Krishna, and that in another place Krishna is exalted above Mahādeva? Must we assume the one set of passages to be older

277 In Böthlingk and Roth's Dictionary the word Nārāyaṇa is explained as the "son of man," and as a patronymic of the personified Purusha, the rishi of the Purusha-sūkta (R.V., x. 90). Nara is in the same work interpreted as the "primeval man."

278 Even in the parts of the Vishṇu Purāṇa and Mahābhārata (see pp. 49 and 253 ff.), where Krishna is represented as a partial incarnation of the godhead, there does not appear to be any intention to question the plenitude of his divine nature. Compare the 27th with the 34th and following verses of the 33rd section of the 10th Book of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, quoted in p. 49.
than the other, or are we to suppose them to be contemporaneous, or nearly contemporaneous, and to have been inserted in the Mahābhārata by different classes of sectaries in order to give a sort of catholicity to the great epic, by making it a storehouse in which the votaries of all the different deities might find something to satisfy their various tendencies?

Though deeper study might lead to a different conclusion, it does not, I think, result from a superficial comparison of the principal passages which I have quoted relative to Mahādeva, with those which have reference to Kṛṣṇa, that the one class bears in its general complexiön the impress of any greater antiquity than the other. Both, in their present form at least, appear to belong to the same age, as we find in both the same tendency to identify the god who is the object of adoration with the supreme Soul. The passages relating to both gods, as they now stand, would therefore seem to be the products of a sectarian spirit, and to have been introduced into the poem by the Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas for the purpose of upholding the honour of their respective deities. But on the other hand the mere fact that a poem in which Kṛṣṇa plays throughout so prominent a part, and which in its existing form is so largely devoted to his glorification, should at the same time contain so many passages which formally extol the greatness, and still more, which incidentally refer to a frequent adoration, of the rival deity, by the different personages, whether contemporary or of earlier date, who are introduced,—this fact is, I think, a proof that the worship of the latter (Mahādeva) was widely diffused, if indeed it was not the predominant worship in India, at the period to which the action of the poem is referred. Various references to such a worship of Mahādeva as I have alluded to will be found in the preceding pages, 184 ff., 230 ff., and 269 (where the abode of this deity is described as being in the Himalaya, p. 230 and 269). I shall quote some further illustrations of its prevalence.279

Lassen remarks (i. 780; i. 922 in second ed.), that in the epic poems the worship of Vīṣṇu is but seldom280 mentioned—a fact which he

280 Lassen (i. 679 = p. 828 in second ed.) refers to a passage of the Vana-parvan (15283 ff.), where Duryodhana, being prevented from offering a rājasūya sacrifice, is advised by his priest to offer a sacrifice to Vīṣṇu. This story will be quoted further on.
regards as proving that at the period when they were composed no special worship of that deity had been extensively spread, at least among the Brahmans and princes, to the description of whose manners and customs those works almost exclusively confine themselves. On the other hand he quotes (note to i. 561, 1st ed.; i. 675, 2nd ed.) the following passages to prove the wide extension of the worship of Mahâdeva in different parts of India. In the Tirtha-yâtra, or section on visiting places of pilgrimage, in the Vana-parvan, 6054 ff., it is said of the Vaitaraṇi river, in the country of the Kalingas:

Tatas Tripishtapam gachchhet trishu lokesha viśrutam | tatra Vaitaraṇi punyā nadi pāpa-praṇāśinī | tatra snātvā 'ṛchayitvā cha Sālapāṇiṁ Vṛishadhvajam | sarva-pāpa-viśuddhātmā gachheta paramāṁ gatim |
“Let him then go to Tripishtapa, renowned in the three worlds. There is the holy river Vaitaraṇi, which destroys sin. Having bathed there and worshipped the god who wields the Trident and whose ensign is the bull (Mahâdeva), he shall be purified from all sin, and attain the highest felicity.”

At vv. 11001 of the same book (p. 569 of the printed Calcutta ed.) it is said of the north bank of the same river:

Atraiva Rudro rājendra paśum ādattarān makhe | paśum ādāya rājendra bhāgo 'yam iti chābraśit | hrite paśau tada devās tam uchur Bharatarshabha | mā para-svam abhidroghdhaḥ mā dharmān sakalan vaśī | tataḥ kalyāṇa-rūpābhīr vāgbhis te Rudram astuvan | ishtyā chaināṁ tarpayitvā mānayānchakrire tada | tataḥ sa paśum uṣṭrijya deva-yānena jagmīvān | tatrānuvauṁo Rudrasya tam nibodha Yudhisṭhirā | ayātayāmaṁ sarvebhyo bhāgebhyo bhāgam uttamam | devāḥ sankalpayā- māsur bhayād Rudrasya śāvataṁ | imāṁ gāthāṁ atra gāyann apaḥ spīśati yo narāḥ | deva-yāno 'syā pānthāś cha chakshushā 'bhiprakāśate |

“In this very place, O king, Rudra seized a victim at a sacrifice, and having done so, said, ‘This is [my] portion.’ When he had seized the victim, the gods said to him, ‘Do not attack the property of others; do not covet all the offerings.’ They then lauded Rudra with words of auspicious import; and having satiated him with an oblation, they paid him honour. He then relinquished the victim, and departed by the path of the gods. Referring to this is the following traditional verse of Rudra, which learn from me, Yudhisṭhirā: ‘Through dread of Rudra, the gods allotted to him for ever the most excellent of all
portions, the āyatayāma (or fresh portion). The man who, here reciting this verse, touches the waters, obtains a distinct vision of the path leading to the gods.”

In the same Vana-parvan, v. 8166, it is said that Mahādeva was worshipped at Gokarna, on the west coast of the Dekhan:

Ātha Gokarnam āśādya trīshu lokeshu viśrutam | samudra-madhya rājendra sarva-loka-namaskritam | yatra Brahmnadayo devaḥ rīshayaḥ cha tapodhanāḥ | . . . . . 8169: Saritaḥ sāgarāḥ sailāḥ upāsanta Umā- patim | ityādi |

“Then having reached Gokarna, renowned in the three worlds, standing in the sea, adored by all worlds, where Brahman and the other gods and rishis rich in austerity,” [various other kinds of beings are here enumerated, Bhūtas, Yakshas, etc., etc.], “rivers, oceans, and mountains worshipped the lord of Umā (Mahādeva).”

The same place is also mentioned in the Rāmopākhyāna of the Vana-parvan, v. 15999 f.:

Trikūṭaṁ samatikramya Kālaparvatam eva cha | daḍarāsa makarāvāsam gambhiradom mahodadhim | tam uttiyātha Gokarnam abhyagachhat Daśānanaḥ | dayitvāṃ sthānam avyagras Sālapāner mahātmanaḥ |

“Having passed Trikūṭa, and the Black Mountain, he (Rāvaṇa) saw the deep ocean, the abode of marine monsters. Having crossed it, he then approached Gokarna, the beloved undisturbed abode of the mighty wielder of the trident.”

[The same Tirtha-yatra, however, from which the passages preceding the last are taken, contains the following lines celebrating Krishṇa:

Vana-parvan, v. 8349 f.—Punyā Dvāravatī tatra yatrasau Madhusūdanaḥ | sūkṣhād devaḥ purūṇaḥ 'sau sa hi dharmāḥ sanātanaḥ | ye cha vedavid vīprāḥ ye chādyātma-vido janāḥ | te vadanti mahātmānaṁ Krishṇaṁ dharmāṁ sanātanaṁ | pavitrāṇāṁ hi Govindāḥ pavitrāṁ param uchyate | punyāṇāṁ api punyāḥ 'sau mangalānāṁ cha mangalam | trairokyate Punḍarīkāksho deva-devaḥ sanātanaḥ | avyāyātmā vyayātmā cha kṣetraṇāḥ paramesvarāḥ | āste Harir achintyātma tatraiva Madhusūdanaḥ |

“There is the holy Dvāravatī where that Madhusūdana [abides], that manifest, ancient god; for he is the eternal righteousness. Brāhmans who know the Veda, and who know the supreme spirit, call the mighty Krishṇa the eternal righteousness. Govinda is called the supremely pure among the pure, the holy among the holy, the blessed among the blessed. In the three worlds the lotus-eyed is the eternal god of gods,
the undecaying in essence, and the decaying, the conscious occupant of the body, the supreme lord. There the inconceivable Hari, Madhusūdana, abides.”]

The following passages supply some further instances of the worship of Mahādeva by personages introduced in the poem:

Ādi-parvan, v. 7049.—Evam teshāṁ vilapatāṁ viprānāṁ vividhāṁ girāḥ | Arjuno dhanusho 'bhyyāse tathāu girir ivāchalaṁ | sa tad dhanuḥ parikramya pradakshinaṁ athākarot | pranamyā śirasā devam Īśānaṁ vavādam prabhum | Krishṇaṁ cha manasaṁ kriyāṁ jagrihe chāṛjuno dhanuḥ | yat pārthivaiḥ Rukmi-Sunītha-Vaktraīḥ Rādheya-Duryodhana-S'alya-S'ālvaiḥ | tada dhanur-veda-parair nṛśiṁhāṁ kriyāṇaṁ sa sājayam mahato 'pi yatnāt | tad Arjunāḥ ityādi | “While the Brāhmans thus uttered various speeches, Arjuna stood firm as a mountain, trying the bow. He then made a circuit round it, bowing down in reverence to the boon-bestowing lord Īśāna (Mahādeva); and having meditated on Krishna,” Arjuna seized the bow. And that bow which the lion-like kings Rukmin, Sunītha (Śīṣupāla), Vaktra, Rādheya, Duryodhana, Sālya, and Sālva, skilled in archery, could not with great effort bend [so as to fix the bowstring], Arjuna bent, and hit the mark,” etc., etc.

In the Vana-parvan, vv. 15777, it is related that Jayadratha, after being captured by Bhishma and released at the request of Yudhisthīra, went to worship Mahādeva (v. 15801):


Lassen (Indian Antiquities, vol. i., p. 646, first ed.; p. 794, second ed.) regards this reference to Krishna as a later interpolation in the older story.
"He went, O king, distressed with grief, to Gangadwāra (Haridvāra). There, resorting to the distorted-eyed lord of Umā as his refuge, he practised long austerities. Gratified with this, the three-eyed god, whose ensign is a bull, himself received his oblation, and offered him a boon, which he accepted. Hear how [he did so]. The king (Jayadratha) said to the god, 'May I vanquish all the five Pāṇḍavas with their chariots in battle.' The god said, 'No; thou shalt withstand them all, though they are unconquerable and not to be slain, excepting only the great-armed Arjuna, who is called Nara, the lord of the gods, who performed austerity at Badari, attended by Nārāyaṇa, who is invincible by all the worlds, and irresistible even by the gods. He obtained the Pāśupata, a divine, incomparable missile, given by me, and thunderbolts and other great weapons from the guardians of the worlds. For the infinite Vishṇu, the god of gods, the chief of the deities, the chief spirit (Purusha), the undiscernible, the soul of all things, the universal-formed, at the end of the yuga burns up the world, with its mountains, oceans, continents, rocks and forests.' Mahādeva then goes on to relate how the destruction and the restoration of the world is effected by Vishṇu, and describes his various incarnations. He concludes by saying that Arjuna who was aided by him could not be conquered even by the gods. In this legend it will be observed that the warrior goes to worship Mahādeva, and not Vishṇu, though the latter is represented as being magnified by the rival deity. But this part of the story may be interpolated.

In the Śanti-parvam also (vv. 1748 f.), it is related how Parasurāma worshipped Mahādeva on the mountain Gandhamādana, and obtained his celebrated axe, by which he became renowned in the world (tosha-yītvā Mahādevam parvate Gandhamādane | astraṇi varayāmāsa paraśuṁ chāti-tejasam | sa tenākunṭha-dhāreṇa jvalitānala-vracho | kuṭhāreṇa-prameyaṇa lokeshv apratimo 'bhavat). Then follows the story of Kārtavīrya (see the first volume of this work, pp. 450, 478).

In the following passage, Jarāsandha is introduced as a zealous votary of Mahādeva. Yudhishṭhira had been purposing to celebrate a Rājasūya sacrifice, which presupposed that he was the most powerful of contemporary monarchs; but Kṛiṣṇa in the following words tells him that he cannot do so while Jarāsandha lives:

Sabhā-parvan, v. 626.—Na tu śakyam Jarāsandhe jīvamāne mahābale |
288 JARASANDHA WISHES TO SACRIFICE CAPTIVES TO MAHĀDEVA.

rājasūyaṁ teṣām 'vāptum eṣāṁ rājaṁ matir mama | tena ruddhaḥ hi rājanāḥ sarve jītvā Girivraje | kundure parvatendrasya śīṃheneva mahā-devipāḥ | sa hi rāja Jarāsandho yiyakshur vasudhādiḥpiḥ | Mahādevam mahātmanām Umāpatim arāndana | ārādhya tapasoreṇa nirjītaṁ tena pārthivāḥ | pratijnayaḥ cha pāram sa gataḥ pārthica-sattamaḥ | sa hi nirjītya nirjītya pārthivāṁ prītanāgataṁ | puram anīya baddhva cha chakrā purusha-vrajan | vayāṁ chaiva mahārāja Jarāsandha-bhayat tadaḥ | Mathurāṁ samprāṇya jaya gataḥ Dwāravatim purīṁ |

"But whilst the powerful Jarāsandha lives, a Rājasūya sacrifice cannot be attained by thee; such, king, is my opinion. For all the kings have been conquered, and are imprisoned by him in Girivraja, as elephants by a lion in a cave of a great mountain. For this monarch Jarāsandha desired to sacrifice to the glorious Mahādeva, the lord of Umā, with these kings [as victims]; and they were conquered by him after he had worshipped the god with dreadful austerities. And this eminent prince has attained to the accomplishment of his design. For after repeatedly conquering the princes who had come against him in battle, he has brought them to his capital, confined them, and made them a human herd. And we too," (confesses Kṛishṇa) "from dread of Jarāsandha, deserted Mathurā, and went to the city of Dwāravatī."

Kṛishṇa returns, a little farther on, to Jarāsandha’s cruelty to the kings:

-Sabhā-parvan, v. 653.—Ratna-bhāja hi rājano Jarāsandham upāsatē | na cha tushyati tenāpi bālyāḥ anayam āsthitaḥ | mṛdhaḥbhishiktam nṛpitam pradhāna-purusho balāt | ādattē na cha no drishṭo 'bhagah purushataḥ kvaṁhit | evāṁ sarvān vāse chakre Jarāsandhaḥ satāvaran | taṁ durbala-paro rāja katham Pārtha upaishyati | prakṣhitānām pramṛṣh-ṭanāṁ 282 rājāṁ Paśupater grihe | paśūnāṁ ivā kā prītir jīvete Bharat-arrashadha | "For jewelled kings wait upon Jarāsandha; and yet he is not contented even with that, having through folly become imprudent. A prince seizes by force a consecrated king, and we do not see that he has failed to master any mortal anywhere. 283 In this manner

282 The commentator’s remark on this is as follows: Pramṛṣh-ṭanāṁ | Rudra-dāivatyo ‘yam iti prayāyakam abhirīṣhṭanāṁ |

283 These words are explained by the commentator in the above sense: Jarāsandhaṁ abhaṅgaḥ asvīkṛitaḥ | purushataḥ mṛdhaḥbhishikṣetu purusheṣu | tena sace vaśik-ṛiṭaḥ ity arthaḥ | “Abhaṅgaḥ means ‘unappropriated’ by Jarāsandha. Purushataḥ means ‘among anointed kings.’ The sense is, that ‘all have been subdued by him.’"
Jarāsandha has reduced to subjection in all at least a hundred persons; how, then, can a feeble prince approach him? What pleasure can those princes have in existence, when they have been sprinkled for slaughter and devoted as victims like beasts in the temple of Paśupati (Mahādeva)?

Krishṇa afterwards proceeds to Jarāsandha's capital with Bhīma and Arjuna, with the view of slaying their enemy. They are admitted to his palace in the disguise of Brahmins, and after some conversation, Krishṇa says to Jarāsandha:

Sabhā-parvan, vv. 861 ff.—Tvāya chopahritāḥ rājan kshatriyāḥ lokāvāsinaḥ | tad āgaḥ krūram utpādyā manyase kim anāgasya | rājā rājñāḥ kathāṃ sādhūn hiṃsyād nṛpati-sattama | yaq rājñāḥ sannigrihyā tvāṁ Rudrāyopajīhṛshāsi | astamāṃs tad enopagacchhet kritaṁ Vāhrdrathra tvāya | vayaṁ hi saktāḥ dharmasya rakshane dharmachāriṇāḥ | manushya-nām samālambho na cha drīṣṭāḥ kadāchana | sa kathām mānushhair devaṁ yashṭum iĉhāsi S'ankaram | savarṇo hi savarṇānam 284 paśu-sanjñāṁ.

284 On this the commentator remarks: Nanu “Brahmaṇe brāhmaṇam ālabheta” ityādīnā saeva-jātiyānāṁ saeva-karmaṇāṁ manushyañāṁ ālambho devatārtham bādhāḥ śrūyate ity āśankyaḥ āha savarṇo hi iti | “But is not the immolation,—the slaughter as an offering to a god,—of men of all classes, and all occupations, enjoined in such Vedic texts as this, ‘let him immolate a Brāhmaṇa to Brahman,’ etc.? Having raised this doubt, he says, ‘For thou, belonging to the same tribe,’ etc.”

Texts such as that here quoted by the commentator occur in the Taitt. Br., iii. 4, 1, 1 ff. (Brahmaṇe brāhmaṇam ālābhate ityādī | “He sacrifices a Brāhmaṇa to Brahman,” etc., etc.) and in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, xxx. 5 ff. (Brahmaṇe brāhmaṇam ityādī). In regard to the question whether human sacrifices were practised in the earliest Vedic age, see Prof. Haug, as quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 11, and in the second volume, p. 463; the story of Śunās'epa, adduced in vol. i., pp. 355 ff.; Prof. Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 419 f.; Prof. Weber's paper in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. xviii., pp. 262 ff. (reprinted in his Indische Streifen, i., pp. 54 ff.). The two last-named writers quote texts from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, ii., 8, and the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, i., 2, 3, 6, which I shall here cite. The former begins thus: Purushāṁ vai devīḥ paśuṁ ālābhanta | tasmād ālādbhād medhai udakrāmat | so 'svam praviṣat | tasmād asvo medhīyo 'bhavat | atha enam utkṛṇta-medham atyājṛanta | sa kimpurusho 'bhavat | te 'svam ālābhanta | so 'svād ālādbhād udakrāmat | sa gām praviṣat | tasmād gaur medhīyo 'bhavat | atha enam utkṛṇta-medham atyājṛanta sa gauramriga 'bhavat | te gām ālābhanta | so gaur ālādbhād udakrāmat | so 'śuiv praviṣat | “The gods sacrificed a man as a victim. When he had been sacrificed, the sacrificial element went out of him. It entered into this horse, which consequently became suitable for sacrifice. They then dismissed the man, after the sacrificial element had left him; and he became a kimpurusha,” [probably an ape, according to Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, vol. ii., p. 228, and vol. v., p. 1296; with whom Weber agrees, Ind. Stud., ix., 216. “The author very
karishyasi | ko nyah evam yatha hi tvam Jarasandha vrithe-matih | ya-
yam yasyam avasthayam yat yat, karma karoti yaah | tasya-
tasyam avasthayam tat-phalam samavayum | tete tvam jnati-kshaya-karanam vayam
artanusari" | jnati-vriddhi-nimittartha vimihantum ihagatah |...

Jarasandhah uvicha ... 882: Devat"rtham upah"rtya r"ajnah Krishn
katham bhayat | ah"am adya vimucheyam kshatra"m vratam anusmaran |

"Thou, king, hast devoted [to Mah"adeva] Kshatriyas dwellers in
this world. Having devised this cruel iniquity, dost thou regard thy-
self as guiltless? How should a king slaughter virtuous kings? Inas-
much as thou hast confined kings, and seekest to offer them up to
Rudra, the guilt committed by thee, son of Vrihadratha, would attach
to us. For we who practise righteousness are able to protect right-
ousness. And [such a thing as] the immolation of men has never been
seen. How [then] dost thou seek to sacrifice to the god Sankara
with human victims? For thou, belonging to the same tribe [as those
likely means a dwarf;" Haug's transl. of the Ait. Br., p. 90, note; "M"uller regards
the word as meaning "a savage."]... They sacrificed the horse, from which the
sacrificial element then departed, and entered into the ox, which consequently became
fit for sacrifice. They then dismissed the horse out of which the sacrificial element
had departed, and it became a white deer. They next sacrificed the ox, from which
the sacrificial element then departed, and entered into the sheep," etc. The same
thing happens to the goat (in which the sacrificial element remained longest), then
to the earth, in which it (the thing fit for sacrifice), when followed by the gods,
became rice.

On this Prof. "M"uller remarks: "The drift of this story is most likely that in
former times all these victims had been offered. We know it for certain in the case
of horses and oxen, though afterwards these sacrifices were discontinued."

The text from the Satapatha Br"ahmana, i., 2, 3, 6, is as follows: Purusahm ha
vai devah agre pasum "alebhare | tasya alabdhasya medho 'pachakra"ma | so 'svam
pravivea | te 'svam alabhanta | tasya alabdhasya medho 'pachakra"ma sa gam
pravivea | te gam "a——— | so 'vim pravivea | te 'vim "a——— | so 'jam pravivea | te 'jam
alabhanta | tasya alabdhasya medho 'pachakra"ma | 7 | sa imam prithivim pravivea |
tam khanantah iva anvishuk | tam anvavindam"s "av imau vr"iki-yavau | . . . . . . . .
sa yuvad-vi\rya\nd ha vai asya ete sarve pasava\nh alabdhah syus tuva\nd-\rya\nd ha asya havir bhavati yaah evam veda | "The gods formerly offered up a man as a
victim. The sacrificial element left him when he had been sacrificed and entered
into the horse. They offered up the horse; whereupon the sacrificial element went out
of him and entered into the ox." The same thing happens with the ox, and then
with the sheep and the goat successively. "The sacrificial element went out of
the goat, and (7) entered the earth. Digging, they searched for it, and found it (the
ing thing fit for sacrifice) in the shape of rice and barley. . . . . An oblation of these
grains has as much efficacy, for him who knows this fact, as resides in all these
victims when sacrificed."
princes], wilt designate as victims men of thine own tribe. What other person, Jarāsandha, is so foolish as thou? Whosoever, in any condition, perpetrates any particular act, will reap the fruit of it in that particular condition. We, the avengers of the afflicted, seeking the welfare of our kindred, have come hither to slay thee, the destroyer of thy kindred." Krishna, then, after some further arguments, calls upon Jarāsandha either to liberate the kings, or to submit to be destroyed in combat. Jarāsandha (v. 880) says he has conquered the kings, and has a right to act as he is doing. He adds (v. 882): "How, Krishna, can I, who have devoted the kings to the god, remembering my duty as a Kshatriya, to-day release them through fear?" He then accepts the challenge, and is killed by Bhumasena.

The birth of Jarāsandha is thus related in the Sabha-parvan; and the narrative contains at the close a reference to his being a worshipper of Mahādeva. His father, Vṛihadratha, had two wives, who, after having been long barren, at length bore him two halves of a boy (v. 711), which, being regarded with horror, were thrown out (v. 714). A female demon (Rākshasī) named Jarā, an eater of flesh, takes them up (v. 715), and puts them together in order that they may be more easily carried away. A boy is thus formed who cries; and people in consequence come out of the inner apartments of the palace, and among them the two queens and the king. The Rākshasī assumes a human shape, and gives the child to the king, who then asks who she is. She replies (vv. 729 ff.):

Jarā-nāma 'smi bhadraṁ te Rākshasī kāma-rūpinī | tava vośmani rājendra pūjita nyavasāṁ sukham | grihe grihe manushyānāṁ nityāṁ tīsthāmi rākshasi | grihe-deviti nāṁvai purā srishtā Svayambhūvā | dānavānāṁ vināśaya sthāpitā divya-rūpinī | yo mām bhaktyā likhet kudye saputraṁ yawanānteitam | grihe tasye bhaved vṛiddhir anyathā kshayam āpunyat | tvad-grihe tīsthamaṁā tu pūjita 'haṁ sadā vibho | likhitā chaiva kudye 'ham putrair bahunhir āvṛtī | gandha-pushpaṁ tathā dhūpair bhakṣyair bhojyāṁ supūjita | sā 'ham prayupakāṟārthaṁ chintayāmy aniśāṁ tava | tāvema putra-sakale drishtavaty asmi dhārmika | saṁśeṣhite mayā daivat kumārah samapadyata | tava bhāgyād mahārajā hetu-mātram ahaṁ tv iha | Meruṁ vā khaḍitūṁ sakā kim punas tava bālakam | griha-sampūjanat tushṭyā mayā prayarpītas tava |

"I am, bless thee, a Rākshasī named Jarā, who can change my shape.
at will. Worshipped in thy house, I have dwelt there in comfort. Named the house-goddess, I dwelt constantly in every separate house of men, having been created of old by Śvayambhū; and placed [there], of celestial form, for the destruction of the Dānavaś. Prosperity will remain in the house of that man who devoutly paints me in a youthful form, together with my sons, upon his wall;—otherwise he shall decay. Abiding in thy house, O king, and continually reverenced, painted upon the wall,²²⁵ surrounded by my numerous sons, worshipped with odours and flowers, with incense, and various kinds of food, I continually consider how I may benefit thee in return. I saw, righteous prince, these two pieces of thy son; I put them together by chance, and a boy was produced, through thy good fortune, great king, and I was merely the instrument. I could devour Mount Meru, much more thy son: but being gratified by the domestic worship I have received, I have restored him to thee."

The Rākshasī then disappears. King Vṛihadratha orders a great festival to be celebrated among the people of Magadha in her honour; and calls the boy Jarāsandha, because he had been put together (sandhitah) by the Rākshasī Jar (v. 738. Ājnāpayach cha rākshasyāḥ Magadheshu mahotsavam | tasya nāmākaroch chaiva Pitāmah-samāḥ pītā | Jarayā sandhīto yasmāj Jarāsandho bhavatv ayam). The rishi Chanḍakausīka arrives on a certain occasion in the country of the Magadhas, and prophesies the future greatness of Jarāsandha (vv. 745 ff.). He ends by saying that this mighty prince of Magadha should have a manifest vision of Rudra, Mahādeva, Hara, the destroyer of Tripura (v. 753. Eṣaḥ Rudram Mahādevam tripurānta-karaṇaḥ Haram | sarvalokesu atibalo sākshād drakṣhyati Magadhāḥ).

The description here given by the Rākshasī of the worship paid to herself, furnishes, as Lassen (who quotes it, i. 609, first ed.; p. 755, second ed.) remarks, an instance of the local adoration of particular deities in ancient India.

In the account given of the transactions connected with the Rājaśūya sacrifice which Yudhishṭhira sought to celebrate, we find (as Lassen, i. 673, first ed.; p. 821, second ed., remarks) the Pāṇḍavaś represented as the partisans of Kuṣumā; and this legendary narrative may perhaps

²²⁵ Lassen remarks, vol. i., p. 755, note, that this is one of the oldest references in Indian literature to images of the gods.
be taken as an indication that they actually were the votaries of Vishnu, and opposed to the worship of Mahadeva. In the story of Siṣupāla, which has been given above (pp. 205 ff.), we have seen that, in the assembly of princes who were gathered together on the occasion of that ceremonial, Kṛishṇa’s claims to veneration were strongly maintained by the Pāṇḍavas, and others who took their side, while they were strenuously resisted by Siṣupāla, an adherent of the Kauravas, and, according to Lassen, a representative of the Saiva worship. The same opposition to the worship of Kṛishṇa was, as I have already noticed, manifested by Duryodhana, Karna, and Salya (pp. 216, 218, 220, etc.).

It is true that there is one passage (referred to above, p. 283, note 280), to which Lassen has drawn attention, in which Duryodhana is represented as having offered up a sacrifice to Vishnu; and as this legend exhibits some features of interest, I shall give some account of it here. In the Vana-parvan, 15274 ff., Karna, after having conquered the earth, says to Duryodhana that the earth was now his, and he should rule over it like Indra. Duryodhana answers that he wished to celebrate a Rājasūya sacrifice. Karna replies that he should make preparation for that purpose (15278 ff.). Duryodhana then sends for his priest (purohita), whom he desires to perform the sacrifice (15284). The priest, however, states that the Rājasūya sacrifice cannot be celebrated by Duryodhana while Yudhishthira lives, and while his own father, Dhritarāśtra, survives (15285 ff.); but he suggests that there is another great sacrifice which Duryodhana may offer (15287 ff.):

"Asti tv anyad mahat satraṁ rājasūya-samam prabhō | tena tvam yaja rājendra śrīnu chedaṁ vacho mama | ye ime prithivi-pālaṁ kara-dās tava pārthīva | te karān samprajyachchantu suwarñancha kriyākritam | tena te kriyatāṁ adya lāṅgalāṁ nṛipa-sattama | yajna-vājasya te bhūmīḥ kriyātāṁ tena Bhārata | tatra yajno nṛipa-śreshṭha prabhūtānāṁ susamkriyāḥ | pravartatāṁ yathānyāyaṁ sarvato hy anivāritāḥ | esha te Vaisnava nāma yajñāḥ satpurushochitāḥ | etena neṣṭavaṁ kaścid rite Vishnum purātanam | rājasūyaṁ kriyāṁ śrēṣṭhaṁ spardhāty esha mahākratuh | "But there is another great ceremonial equal to the Rājasūya, with which, O great king, do thou sacrifice: and hear this which I have to say. Let those princes who are your tributaries

See above, p. 211, note 210.
present to you their contributions, and gold both wrought and unwrought. With this let a plough be to-day made, and with it let the ground of thy sacrificial inclosure be ploughed. There let a sacrifice, well arranged, and with abundant food, be duly celebrated; for it will be completely unobstructed. This is to thee the Vaishnava sacrifice (the sacrifice of Vishnu), a ceremony suitable for virtuous men. With it no one ever sacrificed except the ancient Vishnu. This great ceremonial vies with the Rājasūya, the most excellent of sacrifices."

Duryodhana and his friends consented to this proposal (15295 ff.), and the sacrifice was accordingly performed (15301 ff.). Amid the rejoicings which followed the ceremony, however, some foolish persons said to Duryodhana that his sacrifice was not a sixteenth part so good as Yudhishṭhira's Rājasūya sacrifice, while his friends said that this sacrifice surpassed all other ceremonies, and that Yayāti, Nahusha, Māndhātṛi, and Bharata, had celebrated this rite, and had in consequence gone to heaven (15327 ff.): Apare tv abruvans tatra vātikās tam mahipatim | Yudhisṭhirasya yajnena na samo hy esha te kratuḥ | naivyā tasya kratör esha kalām arhati shoḍasīm | evaṁ tatrābruwan kechid vātikās tāṁ janesvaram | sukhīdas tv abruvans tatra ati sarvān ayaṁ kratur ityādi |

I am not aware of any passage of the Mahābhārata in which Duryodhana is represented as a special worshipper of Mahādeva; but in a passage in the Karna-parvan, quoted above, pp. 223 ff., (which, however, I have supposed may be a later interpolation) he is declared to have narrated a legend descriptive of Mahādeva's prowess, and in which Vishnu is generally subordinated to his rival. Duryodhana is also in two passages of the Mahābhārata connected (as if he was considered to be heretically disposed) with a Rākṣasa named Chārvāka, and is represented as his friend (Śānti-parvan, 1414–1442), and as calling him to mind after he has received his death-blow, and expressing a belief that if once informed of his fate, the eloquent mendicant Chārvāka would perform an expiation for him in the holy lake Samantapanchaka.

I subjoin both of these passages: the substance of the first is given at the close of the preceding sentence.

Salya-parvan, v. 3619: Yadi jāṇāti Chārvākāh parivṛddh vāg-visā-

237 It must, according to this, have been very uncommon. Further on, however, it is said to have been celebrated by Yayāti and others.
“When the Brahmans were again standing silent, the Rākshasa Chārvāka, the friend of Duryodhana, a pretended Brahman, in the garb of a mendicant, with a rosary, a lock of hair on his head, carrying three staves, bold, and shameless, addressed the king. Surrounded thus by all the Brahmans, thousands in number, who were devoted to austere observances, and who sought to utter blessings, this wretch, who wished ill to the great Pāṇḍavas, without consulting the Brahmans, thus spoke to the monarch: ‘All these Brahmans, assigning the speech to me, utter an imprecation against thee, thou wicked king, slayer of thy kindred. What can come of this? Since thou hast destroyed thy kinsmen, and slaughtered thy elders, death is better for thee than life.’ Hearing the words of this wicked Rākshasa, the Brahmans were pained, and cried out, being provoked by his speech. ‘All the Brahmans and king Yudhishthira, being ashamed and extremely vexed, remained silent. Then Yudhishthira said: ‘Let all your reverences be gracious to me, who bow down, and supplicate you. You ought not to curse me, who have so recently been involved in calamity.’ All the Brahmans replied: ‘These were not our words: prosperity be thine, O king!’ These great Brāhmans, learned in the Veda, purified by austerities, understood by the eye of knowledge (who Chārvāka was). They said: ‘This is a Rākshasa called Chārvāka, the friend of Duryodhana, who has assumed the form of a wandering mendicant, and desires his welfare. We say nothing (of what he pretends); let such an apprehension pass away from thee: may good fortune be the lot of thyself and thy brothers!’ The holy Brahmans then, furious with anger, slew the wicked Rākshasa, reviling him with loud menaces. Burnt up by the fervour of these utterers of the Veda, he fell, like a sprouting tree consumed by the lightning of Indra. The Brahmans honoured, departed, after saluting the king; and the Pāṇḍava monarch and his friends were glad. The all-seeing Janārdana, son of Devaki, then said to the king as he stood there with his brothers: ‘The Brahmans are always to be revered by me in this world: they are gods who walk on the earth, whose words are poison, and also beneficent. Formerly, in the Kṛita age, a Rākshasa named Chārvāka practised austerity for many years at Badari. Having again and again received from Brahmā the offer of any boon which he might prefer, he chose that of security against all creatures. Prajāpati granted the incomparable boon which
he asked, on condition that he should not contemn the Brāhmans. But the wicked Rākṣhasa of boundless valour, fierce in act, and great in force, having obtained the boon, began to vex the gods." The result is that they appeal to Brahmā, who assures them that he has provided for the speedy death of Chārvāka. Duryodhana will become his friend; and out of regard to him, he will treat the Brāhmans with disrespect; and they will destroy him. This has now been fulfilled.288

In his Indische Studien, i. 206, Professor Weber conjectures that "the Kurus may have been the representatives of the Rudra (=Siva)-worship, and the Pāṇḍus or Panchālas of the Indra (=Vishnū)-worship," and this supposition seems to derive support from the considerations which have just been adduced.

The following passage from the Sabhā-parvan (where Krishṇa is describing to Yudhishṭhira the different partisans of Jarāsandha) appears as if it contained a tradition indicating some struggle, at a period antecedent to that of the writer, between the worship of Vishnū, and that of some local deity who was venerated in the provinces east of Magadha.

Jarāsandhaṁ gatas tvo eva purā yo na mayā hataḥ | Purushottama-vijnāto yo 'sau Chedishu durmatih | ātmānam pratijānāti loke 'smīn Purushottamam | ādattē satataṁ mohād yah sa chihnaṁ cha māmakam | Vanga-Pundra-Kīrāteshu rājā bala-samanvitaḥ | Pundrako Vāsudeveti yo 'sau loke 'bhivīrataḥ | "And he who formerly was not slain by me, has also taken the side of Jarāsandha—(I mean) the wicked man who is known as Purushottama among the Chedis, who in this world professes himself to be Purushottama, who through infatuation continually assumes my mark—He who is a powerful king among the Bangas, Pundras, and Kīrātas, and is celebrated in the world as the Vāsudeva of the Pundras.289 He is mentioned also Ādip. v. 6992.

288 Both passages had been previously translated by me in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xix., pp. 308 f. I have not been able to find any other text in the Mahābhārata in which the connexion of Duryodhana with this Chārvāka (who stands here, no doubt, as a mythical representative of the well-known heretics of that name) is more explicitly described; though, from the two passages above adverted to, one would have expected to find some further references to Duryodhana’s connexion with him. The passage referred to in the summary of the contents of the Mahābhārata, i. 340, must be the second of those here quoted.

289 On this Lassen remarks (i. p. 608, first ed.; p. 754 f., second ed.): "Since
The following remarks of Prof. Weber on the preceding chapter (translated from a notice of this work, in the "Literarisches Central-Blatt," reprinted in his "Indische Streifen," ii. 226 f.) may be introduced here, though they might perhaps have been more appropriately quoted in p. 97, or p. 163. "As regards the second part, the representation of the Vishnu legends, it is impossible to arrive at any certain conception of the proper nature of this god from the documents presented to us. According to our view it would have been perhaps more advantageous for the course of the representation in general to start, not from the later triad of gods, but from the Vedic triad, which so often appears in the Brāhmaṇa texts themselves, viz. that of Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya, the rulers of the earth, the air, and the heaven; as we have in fact actually to recognize this as the foundation of the later triad. The sun, as the generative, creative, principle, is throughout the ritual texts regarded as the equivalent of Prajāpati, the father of the creation. The destructive power of fire in connexion with the raging of the driving storm lies clearly enough at the foundation of the epic form of Siva. By the side of Vāyu, the wind, stands his companion Indra, the lord of the light, clear, heaven; and with him again Vishnu, the lord of the solar orb, stands in a fraternal relation (see my two Vedic texts on omens and portents, p. 338). This close relation of Vishnu to Indra is far from being estimated by the author in its full significance. Vishnu owes to Indra his blue colour, his names Vāsava and Vāsudeva, and his relations to the human heroes, as Arjuna, Rāma, and Kṛishṇa, which have become of such great importance for his entire history."

these (Purushottama and Vāsudeva) became in later times two of the most venerated names of Vishnu, it is clear from this passage, that among the Eastern tribes, and those too not of Arian origin, a supreme god was worshipped, whose name was afterwards transferred to Vishnu."
CHAPTER III.

RUDRA AND MAHĀDEVA, AS REPRESENTED IN THE VEDIC HYMNS, AND, THE BRAHMAṆAS.

In the preceding chapter I have quoted a variety of passages from the Mahābhārata, which, though primarily adduced to illustrate the ideas entertained of Krīṣṇa's nature, afford at the same time a pretty full representation of the attributes of Mahādeva as he was conceived in the period of the epic poems and Purāṇas. I have thus anticipated much that would otherwise have found its place towards the close of the present chapter, of which it is the purpose to compare the earlier and the later accounts furnished to us by Indian literature of the deity or deities to whom the name of Rudra was applied. I shall now proceed to adduce the passages relating to this divinity which occur (1) in the Rig-veda, (2) in the Yajur-veda, (3) in the Atharva-veda, and (4) in the Brāhmaṇas, and to compare the representations which they contain with those which are found in the texts descriptive of Mahādeva which I have quoted in the preceding chapter.

SECT. I.—Rudra as represented in the Hymns of the Rig-veda.

In the present Section I purpose to quote all the texts of the Rig-veda in which the word Rudra occurs in the singular, whether as an epithet of Agni or as the name of a separate deity.

R.V. i. 27, 10 (S. V. i. 15; Nir. x. 8).—Jārābodha tād vividdhi viśe viśe yajniyāya stomaṁ rudrāya driśikam | "Thou who art skilled in praise, utter therefore for every house a beautiful hymn to the adorable, the terrible (Agni)." In connexion with this verse, Yāska remarks:

Nir. x. 7 and 8.—Agniḥ api rudraḥ uchyate | tasya esṣā bhavati. . . . jara stutih | jaraḥ stuti-karmaṇaḥ | tām bodha taye vodhayitar iti vā | tād vividdhi2 tat kuru manushyasya manushyasya yajanaṁ Rudrāya darśanīyam | "Agni also is called Rudra, as in this verse

1 See Prof. Benfey's version of this and following texts of the first mandala of the R.V. in his "Orient und Occident."
2 See Westergaard, Benfey's Glossary to Sama-veda, and Böhtlingk and Roth, s. v. viṣh.
(the one before us). *Jarā* means 'praise.' One who perceives it, or awakens [another] by it, is *jarādāhā.* 'Compose that for the worship of every man,—a sightly hymn for the terrible.' Roth (Illust. of Nir., p. 136) remarks that "rudra" in this verse is an epithet of Agni, to whom the whole "trīcha," or aggregate of three verses in which it occurs, is addressed; and he refers to R.V. x. 70, 2, 3, and R.V. viii. 26, 5, where the same epithet is applied in the dual to Mitra and Varuṇa, and to the Asvins, respectively. Roth also quotes from Jayatirtha the following short *itihāsa* in reference to this verse, which, however, applies it to Rudra: *Agniḥ stūyamānaḥ Sūnaśeṣpham uvācha "Rudrāṁ stuhi raurdrāḥ hi paśavaḥ" iti | Sa tam pratyuvācha "nāhaṁ jānāmi Rudrāṁ stotuṁ tvam eva tamaṁ stuhi" iti tad idam uchya te "He jarābodha Rudra-stuti-vettas tat kuru" ityādi | "Agni, when he was being praised, said to Sūnaśeṣpha, 'Praise Rudra, for cattle (or victims) belong to him.' He (Sūnaśeṣpha) answered, 'I do not know how to praise Rudra; do thou praise him.' It is this which is here expressed, 'O thou who art skilled in the praise of Rudra, do thou do so.'"

R.V. i. 43, 1 ff.—*Kad Rudrāya prachetat milhushṭamāya tavyase | vohema śantamaṁ hride | 2. Yathā no Aditiḥ karat paśe nṛbhyo yathā gave | yathā tokāya rudriyam* 4 | 3. *Yathā no Mitro Varuno yathā Rudrāṁ chiketati | yathā viśve sajōshasah | 4. Gathā-patim medha-patiṁ Rudrāṁ jalāsha-bheshajam | tat saṁyog sumnam tinahe | 5. *Yāḥ sukraḥ iva sūryo hiranyam iva rochate | śreshṭho devānāṁ vasuḥ | 6. Sāṁ naḥ karatī avarte sugam mēshāya meshye | nṛbhyo nāribhyo gave | *What can we utter to Rudra, the intelligent, the most bountiful, the strong, which shall be most pleasant to his heart? 2. That so Aditi may bring Rudra's healing to our cattle, and men, and kine, and children. 3. That so Mitra, Varuṇa, Rudra, and all the [gods] united, may think of us. 4. We seek from Rudra, the lord of songs, the lord of sacrifices, who possesses healing remedies, his auspicious favour. 5. [We seek this from him] who is brilliant as the sun, who shines like gold, who is the best and most bountiful of the gods. 6. He grants prosperity and welfare to our horses, rams, ewes, men, women, and cows.'*

R.V. i. 64, 2.—*Te jojnire divaṁ rishvāsah ukshano Rudrasya maryčh asurāḥ arepasah | pāvakāśdaḥ suchayah sūryāḥ iva satvāno na drāpsino*

3 See also R.V. viii. 22, 14, which will be quoted further on.
4 "Rudra's favour" (Benfey). Compare mārutasya bhesajasya in R.V. viii. 20, 23.
ghora-varpasah | 3. Yuvano Rudraḥ ajarāḥ abhogghano vavakshur-adhri- gāvah parvataḥ iva | dṛilḥa chid viśvābhuvanāni pārthivā prachyavayanti diveyāni majmanā | . . . 12. Ghrishum pūvakaṁ vanināṁ vicharsha- niṁ Rudrasya sūnuni havasā griñmāsi | rajasturunā tavasaṁ mārutasāṃ gaṇam rīṣhīnaṁ vṛishanāṁ saṣchata śriye | “These followers of Rudra have been produced from the Sky, exalted, fertilizing, divine, purifiers, bright as suns, like heroes, shedding drops, fearful in form. 3. The youthful Rudras, undeaying, destroyers of the niggardly, resistless, [firm as] mountains, have increased [in vigour]. By their power they cast down all terrestrial and celestial creatures, however firm . . . 12. We praise with invocations the fierce, purifying, rain-dispensing energetic offspring of Rudra. To obtain prosperity, worship the host of Maruts, which sweeps over the atmosphere, vigorous, impetuous, and fertilizing.”

R.V. i. 85, 1.— Pra ye śumbhante janayo na saptayoṛ yāman Rudrasya sūnavaḥ sudāṁsasaḥ | rodast hi marutaḥ chakrire vridhe madanti vīrāḥ vidatheshu ghrishvayāḥ | “The swift Maruts, energetic sons of Rudra, who, in their course, are bright like wives, have made the two worlds to prosper, and, impetuous heroes, rejoice in sacrifices.”

R.V. i. 114, 1 ff. (Vāj. S. 16, 48; Taitt. S. iv. 5, 10, 1).— Imāḥ Rudrāya tavase kapardineḥ, kshayad-vīrāyaḥ prabharāmahe matiḥ | yathā

5 See Prof. Max Müller’s version of this hymn, and of that next quoted, in his Translation of the R.V., vol. i.

6 See Prof. Max Müller’s note on this word, Translation of R.V. i. 110 ff. The word also occurs in R.V. x. 142, 2, as well as in the other texts enumerated by Müller, p. 112

7 Kapardin is also an epithet of Pūshan in R.V. vi. 55, 2: Rātḥītamāṁ kapardinam iśānaṁ rāṣhaso mahaḥ | vayaḥ sakhīyam īmāhe | “We solicit the great charioteer, adorned with spirally-braided hair, the lord of great bounty, and our friend, for wealth.” And also in R.V. ix. 67, 10, 11: Avitā no ajāśvāḥ Pūṣā yāmanī yāmanī | ābhākṣat kanyāsu naḥ | 11. Ayāṁ somah kapardine ghritāṁ na parate madhu | ā bhākṣat kanyāsu naḥ | “Pūshan, who has goats for steeds, is our protector on every journey. May he make us possessors of damself. 11. This soma is purified for the god with spirally-braided hair, like sweet butter. May he make us possessors of damself.” The word is also applied to the Tritsus in R.V. vii. 83, 8 . . . . . . . s’vityaneho yatra namasā kapardino dhīṣā dhīrvanta asapanta Tritsavaḥ | . . . . . . . . “Where the white-robed Tritsus with braided hair have worshipped you with obesiances and prayers.” With this compare dakshinatas- kapardīḥ in R.V. vii. 33, 1. The word Kapardin also occurs in R.V. x. 102, 8.

8 This word is rendered “governing men” by Böhtlingk and Roth, vol. ii. (published 1856–1858), who first cite, as determining the sense of the word, R.V.
śam asad dvipade chatushpade viśvan pushtaṁ grāme asmīn anāturan | 2. (=T. S. iv. 5, 10, 2) Mṛila no Rudra uta no mayas kṛidhi kshayad-virāya namasā vidhema te | yat śaṁ cha yoschu Manur ā yeje pītā tad aśyāma tava Rudra praṇītishku | 3. Aśyāma te sumatim deva-yajayā kshayad-virāsya tava Rudra mīdhvāḥ | sumnāyann id viśo asmākam āchara arishta-vaṁrāḥ juhavāma te haviḥ | 4. Tveshaṁ vayaṁ Rudraṁ

8ii. 19, 10: Yasya tvam ūrđha advhārya tisṭhāhy kshayad-virānah sa śūdhan | so arvadbhiḥ sanītāv sa vipanubhiḥ sa śūraviḥ sanītāḥ kriyāni | ‘The man to whom thou hoystest over the sacrifice, prosperous as a commander of heroes: he, with horses, with triumphant men, with heroes, will acquire spoil.’ Benfey also (Orient und Occident, iii. pp. 140 and 156) renders the word ‘governing heroes’; and adds in a note on the latter page: ‘Are the heroes, the single stormy winds, the maruts (comp. v. 6) over whom Rudra rules; or is Rudra generally designated as the lord of all heroes, inasmuch as he makes them swift, and destructive as storm-winds, in battle? ‘Destroyer of heroes,’ as Whitney proposes, ‘slayer of men,’ Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. iii., p. 319, published in 1853, is not especially suitable in R.V. viii. 19, 10, or in other places.” Professor Aufrecht translates the word ‘ruling over men’ (as well as gods). Rudra, he remarks, is called ṛṣiṇād asya bhurānasya bhūreḥ, ‘lord over this manifold creation,’ in R.V. ii. 33, 9; and compares sed u rāja kshayati charshaṁnāṁ in i. 32, 15, and the similar phrases in i. 112, 3, and x. 9, 5. Kshayadviṣa is, he believes, nothing more than the usual nṛpata. It is true, Professor Aufrecht adds, that in i. 114, 8, it is said of Rudra, ‘do not strike our children in thy anger,’ and that in iv. 3, 6, he is called nṛhan; but he does not think it likely that in one particular hymn a word should have a quite different meaning from that which it has in all other passages; and regards it as quite possible that nṛhan may be based on a false interpretation of kshayadviṣa. Ṣayana renders the word variously. On the passage above referred to, viii. 19, 10, he interprets it: nivasадbhir ivasvāiḥ vā virāḥ putrādibhibhuptaḥ | i.e. ‘attended by heroes, sons, etc., dwelling or moving.’ On i. 106, 4, where it is an epithet of Pūshan, he explains it ati-balīnam | yasvin sarve virah kṣhayanante, i.e. ‘very powerful: he in whom all heroes are consumed.’ On the passage before us, i. 114, 1, he gives two possible explanations of it: Kshayanto visānaya virah yasvin tādṛśayā | yadvā kṣhayatir aśṣvāra-karmā | kṣhayantar praptīsaṁyavāḥ virah Marudvāṅgāḥ putrāḥ yasya | ‘He in whom heroes perish; or, as the root kṣi, also means ‘exercising authority,’—he of whom the Maruts, heroes, exercising authority, are the sons.” The same verse occurs in Vāj. S., xvi. 48, where Mahādhraka interprets the phrase: Kshayanto nīvasānto virah śūrāḥ yatra sa kshayadviṣas tasmaī śūra-yuṭāya iti arthaḥ | kshayanto nāyantaṁ virah ripavo yasmād iti vā | ‘He in whom heroes dwell is kṣhayadviṣa; to him who is possessed of heroes. Or, he through whom heroes perish.” On the second and third verses of i. 114, Ṣayana repeats in different words the explanations he had given on the first verse (Kṣhayata-sarva-virah praptīsaṁyavāir marudhbhir yuktāṁ vā | kṣhayata-pratipakshasya Marudbhīr yuktāsyā vā). On verse 10, he confines himself to the one explanation, Kṣhayata-sarva-saṁtvā-jana. In R.V. i. 125, 3, the same epithet is applied to Indra; where Ṣayana expounds it thus: Kṣhiyanto nīvasanto virah putra-bhṛityādayo yasya taṁ tādiśam tva-d-īṣṭa-sājāna-bahu-dhana-pradātāram | ‘He in whom heroes, sons, servants, etc., abide—the giver of much wealth, which is the instrument of obtaining thy wishes.”
"We present these prayers to Rudra, the strong, with spirally-

Sāyāṇa, in his note on this verse, gives no less than six explanations of the word Rudra, which I subjoin, as a specimen of commentorial ingenuity:

Rudayaḥ sarvaṃ antakāle iti Rudraḥ | yadvā rut saṁśrākhyām daśkham | tad drāvyayat aparajayati vināśayati iti Rudraḥ | yadvā rutah sabda-rupāḥ upanishadāḥ | tābhir drāyate gamyate pratipādyate iti Rudraḥ | yadvā rut sabdātmikā vāni tat-pratipādyātma-vidyā vā | tam upāsaḥkhyo rāti dadāti iti Rudraḥ | yadvā runādhy āvṛṇoti iti rud andhakārādi | tad drīṇati vidārṇayati iti Rudraḥ | yadvā kadāchid devāsura-sangārāme 'gny-ātmako Rudro devair nikshiptān dhanam apahṛtya niragāt | aswān jītvā sevāḥ enam anvishya drishtvā dhanam apāharan | tadāṁn arudat | tasmād Rudraḥ ity ākhyāyate | "He is called Rudra (1) because he makes every one weep (rodayaḥ) at the destruction of the world. Or (2) rut means the suffering called the world. He drives away (drāvyayat), removes, destroys, that: therefore he is named Rudra. Or (3) rut in the plural means the Upanishads, which are composed of words: by them he is attained, expounded (drūyate): therefore he is termed Rudra. Or (4) rut signifies language composed of words, or the science of soul which is to be explained by it: this he gives (vāti) to his worshippers: hence he is denominated Rudra. Or (5) the root rudḥ means to shut, cover; and therefore rut means darkness, etc.: he tears (drīṇati), rends, it: therefore he is designated as Rudra. Or (6) when on one occasion there was a battle between the gods and Asuras, Rudra having the nature of Agni carried off the treasures which had been thrown down by the gods and went away. But the gods, after conquering the Asuras, sought him, saw him, and took the treasures from him: then he wept (arudat), and from that he is called Rudra."
TRANSLATION OF HYMN cxiv., BOOK I. OF THE R.V.

braided hair, ruling over heroes, that there may be prosperity to our two-footed and four-footed creatures, that everything in this village may be well fed and free from disease. 2. Be gracious to us, Rudra, and cause us happiness; let us with obeisance worship thee, the ruler over heroes. Whatever prosperity and blessing our father Manu acquired by worship, may we attain it all under thy guidance, Rudra. 3. May we by our divine worship obtain the goodwill of thee, Rudra, who art the ruler of heroes, and beneficent; act favourably towards our people: may we, with our men unharmed, offer thee our oblation. 4. We invoke to our succour the impetuous Rudra, the fuller of sacrifice, the swift, the wise. May he drive far away from us the anger of the gods, for we desire his favour. 5. We invoke with obeisance the ruddy boar of the sky, with spirally-braided hair, a brilliant form. Carrying in his hand most choice remedies, may he give us protection, defence, shelter. 6. This exhilarating hymn, sweeter than the sweetest, is uttered to Rudra, the father of the Maruts. Bestow on us, O immortal, the food of mortals; be gracious to ourselves, our children, and descendants. 7. Slay neither our great, nor our small, neither our growing nor our grown, neither our father nor our mother; injure not, Rudra, our dear selves. 8. Injure us not in our children and descendants, nor in our men (life, V.S.), nor in our cattle, nor in our horses. Slay not our men in thine anger (angry men, V.S.): we continually worship thee with offerings. 9. As a keeper of cattle (brings victims), so have we brought praises near to thee: 10 bestow on us thy favour, O father of the Maruts. For kind and most gracious is thy benevolence, and now we desire thy succour. 10. Far from us be thy cow-slaying and thy man-slaying [weapon]: ruler of heroes, let thy blessing be with us. Be gracious to us, O god, and take our side; bestow on us mightily thy protection. 11. We have uttered to him our adoration, desiring his help. May

10 Compare R.V. x. 127, 8, quoted by Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v. kar+upa+ā: upa te gāh iva ākaram evinīshva duhitār divāh | Rātri stomaṁ na jījyushe | “I have, O Night, brought before thee (praises) as it were cows; choose (them, daughter of the Sky), as it were a hymn to a conqueror.” Sūrya (on R.V. i. 114, 9) explains the comparison as follows: Yathā paśūnāṁ pālayitaṁ gopāḥ prātākālāṁ svāswai samarpitāṁ paśūn sāyaṅkāle svāmiḥśyaḥ pratārpaṇayai evaṁ tev sa kāśāē labdhāṁ stutiśrūyāṁ mantraṁ stuti-sādhanaatyā tubhyāṁ pratārpaṇāmi | “As a cattle-herd returns to the owners in the evening the cattle entrusted to him in the morning, so I, by the fulfilment of praise, give back to thee the laudatory hymns received from thee.”
Rudra, attended by the Maruts, listen to our invocation. Then may
Mitra, Varuṇa, Aditi, Sindhu, Earth and Sky, gladden us.”

In Śāyaṇa’s annotations on the sixth verse, he quotes the following
later story to explain how Rudra (here identified with the later Mahā-
deva) came to be called the father of the Maruts:

Rudrasya Marutām pitṛtvam evam ākhyāyate | purā kadāchid Indro
'surān jīgaya | tadānīm Ditir Asura-mātā Indra-hanana-samartham
putrāṃ kāma-yāmanā tāpāsā bhartuh sakāśād garbhaṁ lebe | imaṁ vri-
tāntam avagachhann Indro vajra-hastah san śūkṣma-rūpo bhūtāv
tasyāḥ udāram praviśya taṁ garbhaṁ saptadhā bibheda | punar apy ekaiṃa
saptā-kaṇḍaṃ akarot | te sarve garbhaika-desāḥ yoner nirgatyārūdan |
etasmīn avasare līlārthāṁ gacchhante Pārvatī-paramesvarāv imaṁ da-
dṛṣṭaḥ | Mahēśam prati Pārvatī evam avochat | “ime māṁsa-kaṇḍāḥ
yathā pratyekam putrāḥ sampadyantām evam tvayā kāryam mayi chet
prītir asti’’ iti | sa cha Mahēśvaras tān samāna-rūpān samāna-vayasaḥ
samānālankārān putrān kṛiṇāv Gauryai pradaṇāu “tavem putrāḥ
santu” iti | aṭāḥ sarceshū Māruteṣu sūkteshu Māruto Rudra-putrāḥ iti
stāyante Raudreshu cha Marutām pītā Rudraḥ iti |

“The story of Rudra being the father of the Maruts is thus re-
counted. Formerly, once on a time, Indra overcame the Asuras.
Then Diti, the mother of the Asuras, desiring a son who should be
able to slay Indra, through austerity became pregnant by her husband.
Indra, learning this news, entered into her womb in a very minute
form, with a thunderbolt in his hand, divided her fœtus into seven
parts, and again made each of these parts into seven. All these being
in one part of the fœtus, issued from the womb and wept. At this
conjuncture, Parameśvara (Mahādeva) and Pārvatī were passing by
for amusement, and saw them. Pārvatī spoke thus to Parameśvara,
‘If you love me, effect that all these bits of flesh may become severally
sons.’ Mahēśvara made them all of the same form and age, and with
the same ornaments, and, gave them to Gaurī (Pārvatī), saying, ‘Let
these be thy sons.’ Hence in all the hymns addressed to the Maruts,
they are lauded as the sons of Rudra; and in the hymns to Rudra, he
is praised as the father of the Maruts.”

11 On R.V. viii. 28, 5, Śāyaṇa has the following note: Atra purātani kathā
Indra-samānam putram ichhantyāḥ Aditer garbhasya kenachit kāraṇaeva Indreṇa
saptadhā bhīnmatvat sa garbhaḥ sapta-gaṇātmaco bhavat | tato Marutāḥ sampannāḥ

VOL. IV.
R.V. i. 122, 1.—Pra vaḥ pāntāṁ rāghu-manyavo ’ndho yajnāṁ
Rudrāya māḥushē bharadvejam | dīvo astoshi asurasyaṁ
iva Maruto radosyoḥ | “Present, ye zealous (priests), to the bountiful
Rudra, the draught of soma, your offering. I have praised him with
the heroes of the divine Sky: may I (with my prayer) as it were aim
at the Maruts in heaven and earth.”

R.V. i. 129, 3.—Dasmo hi shma vrishayam pinnast tvachāṁ kāṁ chid
yāvīr araruṁ śūra martyam parivarinakshi martyam | Indrota tubhyam
tad Dive tad Rudrāya sva-yaśaśe | Mitrāya vochāṁ Varunāya sapratāḥ
sumrīlikāya sapratāḥ | “Thou (Indra), who art energetic, fillest
the teeming skin (the cloud?): thou, hero, hast chased away every
hostile mortal, thou puttest to flight the mortal. Indra, I have
uttered this to thee, and this to the Sky, and to Rudra, who derives
his renown from himself, and to Mitra, and to Varuṇa abundantly, to
the very gracious, abundantly.”

R.V. ii. 1, 6.—Tvam Agne Rudro asuro maho divas tvam śardho
mārutam prīkshāḥ ṭīśihe | tvam vātair arunair yāśi śaṅgayas tvam Pāśā
vīdhataḥ pāśi nu tmanā | “Thou, Agni, art Rudra, the great spirit
(asura) of the sky. Thou art the host of the Maruts. Thou art lord
of nourishment. Thou, who hast a pleasant abode, movest onward
with the ruddy winds. Thou [being] Pūshan, by thyself protectest
those who worship thee.”

“saptā-ganōḥ vai Marutāḥ” iti bruteḥ | “Regarding this there is an ancient story.
The fetus of Aditi, who desired to have a son equal to Indra, having been for some
reason divided by Indra into seven parts, it became formed into seven troops. Thence
the Maruts were produced. For a Vedic text says, “The Maruts are divided into
seven troops.” Unless the reading in the latter of these two passages is incorrect,
it will be observed that the mother of the Maruts is variously represented to be Diti
and Aditi. As in the first of the two texts Diti is defined as the mother of the
Asuras, the reading there must be correct; and the Maruts must have been regarded by
the writer as her sons. In the hymns they are said to be the sons of Rudra and
Prīṣṇi; and the sons of the Sky and Ocean. See the fifth volume of this work,
p. 147 f.

12 Compare with dīvo asurasya, R.V. i. 131, 1, and iii. 53, 7, where the phrases
Dyaṁ asurah, “the divine Sky,” and Divas puṁśo asurasya, “the sons of the
divine Sky,” occur. I am indebted to Prof. Aufrecht for an explanation of the
sense of this half verse. He holds ishudhyā as put for ishudhyāni, the 1st pers.
sing. of the imperative of the root ishudh. See Dr. Bollensens article in the
p. 577, where other instances of the suffix ni being omitted in this part of the verb
are given.
REGARDING AGNI AND RUDRA.

See above (p. 76 f.) the third verse of this hymn, where Agni is identified with Rudra, and Vishnu, in the same way as he is identified with Rudra and Pushan in the verse before us.—See also verses 4, 5, and 7. Sayana, in his commentary on this verse, gives two derivations of the word Rudra:

Rud duhkhāṁ duḥkha-heṭur vā pāpādiḥ | tasya drāvayitaḥ etan-nāmako devōśi | “Rudro vai esha yad Agnir” ity ādishv Agneḥ Rudra-sabdena vyavahārāt | yadvā tvam Rudrāḥ | rauti | mām anishṭvā narāḥ duhkhe patishyanti | Rudras tāḍriśo ‘si | “Rut means suffering, or sin, etc.; which causes suffering. Thou (Agni) art the god so called, who drives this away (rud-dṛavayitaḥ); for Agni is intended by the word Rudra in such passages as this, ‘He who is Agni is Rudra.’ Or, thou art Rudra. He cries: Not worshipping me, men will fall into grief. Thou art such a Rudra,” etc.


13 See Dr. Bollensen’s article in Benfey’s Orient und Occident, ii. 474, where he says ghrinī is a locative or instrumental. Bohtlingk and Roth judge differently. See s.v.
14 Compare R.V. vii. 100, 3, above, p. 87.

"1. Father of the Maruts, may thy blessing come (to us): remove us not from the sight of the sun. May the hero spare our horses: may we, Rudra, increase in offspring. 2. Through the auspicious remedies conferred by thee, Rudra, may I attain a hundred winters. Drive away far from us enmity, and distress, and diseases, to a distance. 3. Thou, Rudra, art in glory the most eminent of beings, the strongest of the strong, O wielder of the thunderbolt. Carry us happily across our calamity: repel all the assaults of evil. 4. Let us not, Rudra, provoke thee by our prostrations, by our unsuitable praises, vigorous [deity], or by our common invocations. Raise up our heroes by thy remedies: I hear that thou art the greatest physician of physicians. 5. May I with hymns aver (propitiate)-that Rudra who is invoked with praises and oblations. Let not him who is mild, easily-invoked, tawny, with a beautiful chin, deliver us up to this ill will [of our enemies]. 6. The mighty [god], attended by the Maruts, has gladdened me his suppliant with robust health. May I, free from injury, obtain [thy protection], as it were, shade in the heat [of the summer]: may I seek the blessing of Rudra. 7. Where, Rudra, is that thy gracious hand which is healing and restorative? Removing the evil which comes from the gods, spare me, thou vigorous [deity]. 8. I joyfully send forth a great encomium to this tawny, vigorous, luminous god.

¹⁵ Compare similar modes of speaking about Vishṇu, Indra, Varuṇa, etc., above, p. 69 and note 18.
¹⁶ See in the note to Roth's Illustrations of the Niruktas, p. 86, other instances of similar forms, apparently of the 2nd pers. sing., standing for the 3rd pers.
Reverence the fiery [deity] with prostrations: we celebrate the glorious name of Rudra. 9. With firm limbs, multiform, fierce, tawny, he has been arrayed with bright golden (ornaments). Divine power can never be removed from Rudra, the lord of this vast world. 10. Thou, fitly, holdest arrows and a bow; fitly, thou [warest] a glorious necklace of every form (of beauty). Fitly, thou possessest all this vast [world]. There is nothing, Rudra, more powerful than thou. 11. Celebrate the renowned and youthful god, mounted on his chariot, terrible as a wild beast, destructive, and fierce. Be gracious to thy worshipper, Rudra, when praised: may thy hosts prostrate some one else than us. 12. Even a boy, when his father approaches and salutes him, makes obeisance to him in return; [so] O Rudra, I praise [thee], the giver of much [good], the lord of heroes. Thou, when lauded, grantest to us remedies. 13. Those pure remedies of yours, Maruts, those which are salutary, ye strong [gods], those which are beneficent, those which our father Manu desired—those, as well as the blessing and favour of Rudra, I desire. 14. May the bolt of Rudra avoid us; may the great malevolence of the impetuous [deity] depart far from us. Unbend thy strong [bows so as not to strike] thy wealthy worshippers. Dispenser of good, be gracious to our children and descendants. 15. O tawny and vigorous god, so taking heed of us, as neither to be incensed against us, nor to injure us—think of us now, Rudra, hearing our invocations; let us with our vigorous men utter a great hymn at the sacrifice."

R. V. ii. 34, 2.—Dyávo na strihíś chitayanta khādino vi abhriyāḥ na dyutayanta vrishṭayaḥ | Rudro yad vo Maruto rukma-vakhshas vo vrīśa 'jani priśnyāḥ sukre udhāpi | "Adorned with armlets, [the Maruts] have shone like the skies with their stars, they have glittered like showers from the clouds, at this time when the prolific Rudra generated you, O Maruts, with jewels on your breasts, from the shining udder of Priśni."

R. V. ii. 38, 9.—Na yasya Indro Varūṇo na Mitro vratam Aryamā na minanti Rudraḥ | na arātayas tam idāṁ svasti huve devamā Savi-

See śukra-piś, Nir. viii. 11 = R.V. x. 110, 6; and Roth, Erl. See the fifth vol. of this work, p. 453 ff., where some remarks of Dr. Bollensen (Journ. Germ. Or. Society, xxii. 587 ff.) are quoted, in which this passage, with others, is adduced to show that images of the gods were common in the Vedic age.

18 Compare i. 114, 2, above, pp. 302 and 304.
taryān namobhiḥ | "With prostrations I invoke this blessing from the god Savitri, whose purpose neither Indra, nor Varuṇa, nor Mitra, nor Aryaman, nor Rudra, nor any enemies can resist."

In the next text, ‘rudra’ is merely an epithet of Agni.

R. V. iii. 2, 5.—Agniṁ sumnāya dadhīre puro janāḥ vāja-sravasam19 iha vṛkta-barhishāḥ | yata-suruchāḥ suruchāṁ visva-devyam rudraṁ yajnā- 

nāṁ sādhad-īśṭim apasāṁ | "Men, having prepared the sacrificial grass, and holding ladles, have, to obtain his blessing, placed in their front Agni, renowned for wealth, the brilliant, acceptable to all the gods, the terrible (rudra), who fulfils the objects of sacrifices and rites."

In the first verse of the hymn next quoted also, ‘rudra’ is merely an epithet of Agni. In verse 6, on the other hand, Rudra is the name of a god.

R. V. iv. 3, 1.—Ā vo vājānam adhvarasya rudraṁ hotāraṁ satya- 

yājaṁ rodasyoḥ | Agnim purā tanayitnor achittād hiranya-rūpam avase kṛiṇudhvam | 6. Kad dhishhyāsu vṛidhasāno Agne kad Vātāya pratavase 

śubhaṁye | parijmane nāsatyāya kshe bravah kad Agne Rudrāya nri-ghne20 | (verse 7 is quoted above, p. 78). "Before the thunderbolt [falls] unawares, call to your succour Agni, the terrible (rudra) king of the sacrifice, the invoker in both worlds, offering genuine worship, the golden-formed. . . . 6. Wilt thou, Agni, who delightest in the altars, wilt thou declare [our sin]21 to Vāta, the energetic, the bestower

19 This word is explained by Sayana in this place as = munnahyebhyah preritāṁnam, "who has sent food to men," and on R. V. vi. 35, 4, as = vājaṁ balair prasiddhāḥ, "famed for force." In the Nighantus (ii. 7, 17) two senses are assigned to vāja, "food," and "battle," and to vrasas are ascribed (ii. 7, 10) the meanings "food," and "wealth." In the Nirukta iv. 24 (where R. V. iv. 38, 5, is explained), the senses "praise" or "wealth" are attributed to the latter word; in Nir. ix. 10, the sense of "praise"; in Nir. x. 3, that of "food"; and in Nir. x. 9, that of "renown." Böhtlingk and Roth assign to vāja the senses (1) of "swiftness, spirit," (2) "running a race, conflict," (3) "prize of victory in a race, spoil," (4) "gain, reward, valuable possession," etc.; and explain the compound vāja-srvasas, "contending in a race," comparing it with vāja-srīt, to which they ascribe the same meaning, and which is explained by Sayana in R. V. ix. 43, 5, as = sangrāma-sarayāh, "moving in battle."

Prof. Aufrecht sees no reason why vāja-srvasas should be interpreted differently from vāsa-srvasas, and translates it "renowned for power or wealth," comparing gomād vāja-srvasas, R. V. i. 9, 7; vājaṁ, śrvasas ishe cha, vi. 17, 4 (vi. 1, 11); ix. 67, 5; iv. 36, 9; mahī śrava vājam, vi. 70, 5; sa vājam ārshā sa iha śrava-dhāḥ, x. 69, 3; vājam uktahyam, x. 140, 1; abhi vājaṁ uta śrvaḥ, ix. 1, 4; ix. 6, 3; vājam jeshi śravo brīhat, ix. 44, 6; ix. 63, 12; ix. 87, 5.

20 Comp. pūrusha-ghanam in i. 114, 10, above, p. 303. 21 See the preceding verse.
of blessings, the circumambient, the truthful? Wilt thou declare it to the earth, and to the man-slaying Rudra?"

R.V. v. 3, 3, quoted and translated above, p. 80.

R.V. v. 41, 2.—*Te no Mitro Varuna Aryaman yur Indraḥ Ribhuksahḥ Maruto jushanta namobhir vā ye dadhate suvriktiṁ stomāṁ Rudrāya mihushe sajoshahḥ* "May Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Āyu, Indra, Ribhuksṣaṇa, the Maruts, be favourable to us, [and to those] who, united together, offer with obsequies hymns and praises to the bountiful Rudra."

R.V. v. 42, 11.—*Te no Mitro Varuna Aryaman "yur Indraḥ Ribhuksahḥ Maruto jushanta namobhir devam asuraṁ dwasya* ... 15. *Eṣaḥ stīmo marutaṁ sārdho achha Rudrasya sūnān yuvanyān ud aṣyāḥ | ityādi | "Praise him who has excellent arrows and bow, who commands all remedies. Worship Rudra to [obtain his] great benevolence: with prostrations adore the spiritual deity. ... 15. May this hymn ascend to the troop of Maruts, to the sons of Rudra, who comport themselves as youths," etc.

R.V. v. 46, 2 (V.S. 33, 48), quoted and translated above, p. 80.

R.V. v. 51, 13.—*Viśva devaḥ no adya svastaye vaisvānaṁ vasur Agnīḥ svastaye | devaḥ avantu Ribhavahḥ svastaye svasti no Rudraḥ pātu aṁhasahḥ* "May all the gods, may Agni, the beneficent, worshipped by all men, may the divine Ribhush, preserve us for our welfare. May Rudra bless and preserve us from calamity."

R.V. v. 52, 16.—*Pra ye me bandhveshagāṁ vochanta sūrayāḥ Priśniṁ vochanta mātaram | adha pitaram ishmīnāṁ Rudraṁ vochanta śikvasahḥ | "These wise and powerful [Maruts], who, when I was inquiring after their kindred, declared to me that the Earth, Priśni, was their mother, and that the rapid Rudra was their father" (see above, p. 306, note 11).

R.V. v. 59, 8.—*Mānātu Dyaur Aditiṁ vītaye naḥ sam dānu-chitrāḥ ushāyo yatantāṁ | āchuchyavur divyāṁ kośam ete rishē Rudrasyā Maruto grīnānāḥ | "May Dyaus and Aditi provide for our enjoyment: may the dawns, glittering with moisture, strive [in our behalf]. These Maruts, [the sons] of Rudra, when lauded, O rishi, have caused the celestial treasure to drop down."

R.V. v. 60, 5.—*Ajyeshtāso akanishṭāsaḥ ete sam bhrātaro vāvridhah saubhagāya | yuva pāta svapāḥ Rudraḥ esāṁ sudughā Priśniḥ sudinā Marudbhyaḥ | "These brothers (the Maruts), among whom there
is no distinction of elder and younger (comp. R. V. v. 59, 6, where also these epithets occur), have grown to prosperity. Rudra, their young and energetic father, and the prolific Priśni, [have created] fortunate days for the Maruts.”

R.V. vi. 16, 39.—Ya ugraḥ iva śarya-hā tigma-śringo na vaṁsagāḥ | Agne puro rurojitha | “Thou, Agni, who art fierce (ugra), like an archer, like a sharp-horned bull, hast broken down castles.”

On this the commentator remarks: “Rudṛv vai esha yad Agnir” iti śruteḥ | Rudra-kritam api Tripura-dhanam Agni-kritam eva iti Agniḥ stūyatē | “For the Veda says that ‘this Agni is Rudra.’ It is here said in praise of Agni, that the burning of the Tripura (or the three cities), though done by Rudra, was done by Agni.” Another explanation of the commentator is that Agni was present in Rudra’s arrow on that occasion. All this, however, is merely said with the view of bringing the Veda into harmony with later stories.

R.V. vi. 28, 7 (A. V. iv. 21, 7).—Prajāvatih sūyavasāṁ rikantiḥ sūddhāḥ apah suprapāne pibantīḥ | mā vah stenah āsata mā ‘ghaśaṁsaḥ pari vo hetih Rudrasya vṛjjyāḥ | “Be ye (cows) prolific, consuming excellent pasture, drinking pure waters in a good pond. May no thief or wicked man have power over you. May the bolt of Rudra avoid you.”

R.V. vi. 49, 10.—Bhuvanasya pitarāṁ ūrbhir ābhiḥ Rudrāṁ divā vardhaya Rudram aktu | bṛihantam rishram ojāram sushumnam rīḍhag hwema kavineshitāsāḥ | “Magnify with these songs, the father of the world, Rudra, by day, [magnify] Rudra by night. Let us, impelled by the poet, severally invoke [him] the mighty, the exalted, the un-decaying, the beneficent.”

R.V. vi. 50, 4.—Āno Rudrasya sūnava namantām adya hūtāso Vasavo adhrishtaḥ | ityādi | (verse 12 is quoted above, p. 82). “May the sons of Rudra, the irresistible Vasus (or gods), invoked to-day, stoop down to us,” etc. . . . v. 12 (translated above, p. 82).

R.V. vi. 66, 3.—Rudrasya ye mālhushah santi putrāḥ yāṁśe cho nu dādhirvīr bhāradhyai | vide hi māta maho mahī sa sa it Priśniḥ subhee garbham ā adhāt | . . . 11. Tam vṛidhantam mārutam bhrājad-rishtiṁ Rudrasya sūnava ṣāvasa ā cīvāse | ityādi |—“Those who are the sons of the bountiful Rudra, and whom he upholds for their nourishment. For the mighty mother possessed these mighty sons. This Priśni was
pregnant for an illustrious birth. . . . . 11. I worship with invocation this growing race of the, Maṭuts, with shining weapons, the offsprings of Rudra,” etc.’

R.V. vi. 74, 1 ff.—Somā-Rudrā dhārayethāṁ asuryam pra vāṁ iṣṭayau ’ram āśnuvantu | dame dame sūpta ratnā dādhāṁ āśāṁ no bhūtaṁ dvipade āśāṁ chatushpade | 2 (A. V. 7, 42, 1). Somā-Rudrā vi vrihatāṁ vishūchīṁ amīvā jā no gayam āśiṣvēṣa | ēre bādhethāṁ Nirṛtiṁ purāchaṁ asme bhadrā sauṣravaśāṁi santu | 3 (A. V. 7, 42, 2). Somā-Rudrā yuvaṁ etāṁ asme viśvā tanūṣu bhashajāṁ dhattam | ava syatam mun-chatāṁ yad no asti tanūṣu bādhāṁ kṛitaṁ eno asmat | 4. Tigmā-yudhau tigma-heti suṣevau Somā Rudrāv iha su mṛiṣṭataṁ naḥ | pra no munčhatāṁ Varuṇasya pūśad gopāyataṁ naḥ sumanasyamāṇā | “Soma and Rudra, do ye grasp divine power. May oblations in abundance reach you! In every house, bearing with you seven jewels, be favourable to our bipeds and our quadrupeds. 2. Soma and Rudra, drive far away that disease which has entered into our abode. Chase Nirṛti far away from us. May we have excellent renown. 3. Soma and Rudra, infuse into our bodies all these remedies. Remove and banish from us whatever sin we have done which attaches to our bodies. 4. Soma and Rudra, whose weapons are sharp, and whose bolts are piercing, be beneficent and favourable to us. Deliver us from the noose of Varuṇa; protect us, regarding us with favour.”

R.V. vii. 10, 4.—Indraṁ no Agne Vasubhir sajoshaṁ Rudraṁ Rudrebhir ā vaha brihatam | Ādityebhir Āditiṁ viśva-janyāṁ Brihaspatim ṛikvabhīr viśva-vāraṁ | “Agni, united with the Vasus, bring hither to us Indra; with the Rudras [bring] the powerful Rudra, with the Ādityas [bring] Āditi, who is acceptable to all, and with the bards [bring] the Brihaspati who grants all boons.”

R.V. vii. 35, 6.—... Sam no Rudro Rudrebhīr jalāshāḥ ... “May the healing Rudra, with the Rudras, be favourable to us,” etc.

R.V. vii. 36, 5.—Yajante asya sakhyam vayaṁ cha namasvināṁ sve rītasya dhūman | vi prikṣho bābadhe mṛiṣṭih stavānāḥ ādaṁ namo Rudrāyā presktam | “Men making obeisance in their own place of sacrifice, seek by worship his friendship, and life. Lauded by men, he has distributed food amongst them. This reverence is most dear to Rudra.”


R.V. vii. 41, 1 (V. S. 34, 34; A. V. 3, 16, 1).—Prātar Agnim
prātar Indraṁ havāmahe prātar Mitra-Varuṇa prātar Āsvinā | prātar Bhagam Pūshaṇam Brahmanaspatiṁ prātaḥ Somam uta Rudraṁ huvema |
“In the morning we invoke Agni, in the morning Indra, in the morning Mitra and Varuṇa, in the morning the Āsvins; in the morning let us invoke Bhaga, Pūshan, Brahmanaspati, Soma, and Rudra.”

R.V. vii. 46, 1 (Nirukta x. 6).—Imāh Rudrāya sthira-dhanvane girah kshiprashave devāya svadhāvne22 | ashālḥāya sahamānāya vedhase tigmā- yudhāya bharata śrīnotu nāḥ | 2. Sa hi kshayena kshamyasya janamanaḥ sāmṛṭyena divyasya chetaiti | avanvantir upa no durāṣa chara anamīvo Rudra āsu no bhava | 3 (Nirukta x. 7).—Yā to didyud avaspiṣṭā divas pari kshmaya charati pari sa vṛīṇaktu nāḥ | sahasraṁte svapīvāta23

22 Prof. Roth (Illust. of Nīr., p. 135) considers the word svadhāvat to signify “independent,” “whose glory is inherent,” etc., and refers to R.V. vii. 20, 1; vii. 37, 2; vii. 86, 4. At p. 40 f. of his Illustrations Roth assigns to svadhām anu, etc.,

23 This word is not explained in the printed text of Sāyaṇa; although in the “Varietas Lectionis,” appended to his preface, Prof. Müller notes that in one MS., B. 4, svapīvāta is rendered by jītaproṇa, “he by whom life (or breath) is conquered.” In the Nirukta, x. 7, it is explained by svāptavachana, “thou whose words are very suitable or authoritative.” In his Illustrations of the Nirukta, pp. 135 f., Prof. Roth has some remarks on the word, which I translate: “Svapīvāta in the Pada text is divided into su−apīvāta, and is consequently to be derived from api−vat, a compound, which is often found in the R.V., viz. in vii. 3, 10, api kruṇaṁ suchetasaṁ vatema; vii. 60, 6, api kruṇaṁ suchetasaṁ vatantah; i. 128, 2, tāṁ yajna−sādhām api vatuvaṁsana; i. 165, 13, manmāni chitrāḥ api vatojantah; x. 25, 1, bhadranom api vātaya nano daksaham uta kruṭaṁ; x. 13, 5, piitre putraśc api aviccetanam ritam. It has the signification of ‘learning to understand,’ ‘approportioning to one’s self,’ and in the causal ‘to teach to understand,’ agreeing entirely with the Zend word of similar form, which as yet no one had been able to discover in Sanskrit. The word (svapīvāta) thus means ‘readily understanding, hearing, accessible, gracious.’ Yāśka’s explanation appears right, and Durga has misunderstood it, when he explains the word by anatikramanāyajña (‘thou whose command cannot be transgressed’).” I have to remark, however, that if Yāśka’s phrase svāptavachana have the sense I have above assigned to it of “speaking with authority,” (see the third vol. of this work, pp. 124, 127 f., and elsewhere) it means nearly what Durga asserts. Prof. Roth, however, must have taken it to mean “thou by whom words (prayers) are readily received, or apprehended.” Otherwise it could not harmonize with the sense he regards as the right one. In his Lexicon, s.v. vat+api, Prof. Roth adheres to the meanings assigned to the compound verb in his “Illustrations,” rendering it “to understand, comprehend,” and in the causal “to cause to understand, to make comprehensible”; and assigning to the words bhadraṁ no api vātaya manah in x. 20, 1 and x. 25, 1, the sense of “awaken in us a good sense.” Prof. Aufrecht assigns to
4. Ma no vadhih Rudra ma parah dah ma te bhuma prasitaah hititasya a no bhaja barhishijiva-same

yuyam pata svastibhih sadah nah "Present these songs to Rudra with the strong bow, and swift arrows, the self-dependent god, unassailable, the assailant, the disposer, armed with sharp weapons: may he hear us. 2. Through his power he perceives the terrestrial race, and through his universal dominion [he perceives] the divine. Protecting us, approach our protecting doors; Rudra, remove sickness from our offspring. 3. May that shaft of thine which is discharged from the sky, and traverses the earth, avoid us. Thou, who art easy of access, hast a thousand remedies. Injure us not in our children and descendants. 4. Slay us not, Rudra; do not abandon us; let us not fall into thy net when thou art incensed. Give us a share in the sacrifice desired by the living. Do ye always succour us with your benedictions."

R.V. vii. 56, 1 (S. V. i. 433).-Ke im vyaktah narah sanilah Rudrasya maryah adha svasah | 2. Nakir hi esham januinshi veda te anga vidre mitho janitram "Who are these brilliant heroes, the sons of Rudra, occupying the same abode, riding on excellent horses? No one knows their births. They [themselves] know the place of their common production."

R.V. vii. 58, 5.—Taan a Rudrasya milahsho vivase ityadi | "I worship these [sons] of the bountiful Rudra," etc.

svapivata the sense "possessed of great knowledge," from su-apivata, "intelligence, knowledge," which again comes from api-va, to which he considers that the proper meaning has been assigned by Prof. Roth. Sayana explains as follows the texts quoted above, viz. R.V. vii. 3, 10: Apy api cha katram karma yajnanii kartaraia va suhetasam sobhana-prajnaya-yuktaih suprajnanam putraaih va vatema sambhajaimahi | vanateh sambhajanarthasya vamnantaragame sati rupam "And further may we gain a rite, or a performer of sacrifices possessed of good intelligence, or a very intelligent son. Van, which means 'to divide' (or gain), becomes va by the alteration of a letter." He interprets vii. 60, 6, thus: Apy suhetasam prakrishta-jnanaavantam purusham katram kartaraia karmahushthanaavantam vatanto gachhantah "going to a man, a performer of rites possessed of eminent intelligence." The verb in R.V. i. 128.2, is thus expounded: a paritoshaan sevamahe "we serve till we are satisfied;" and in i. 165, 13, thus: sampurnam prapyantah, "completely bringing to us;" in x. 20, 1, by agamaya, "cause to come;" in x. 25, 1, by janaya, "cause to go;" in x. 13, 5, by sangamayanti, "cause to go together."

This word appears from Bohtlingk and Roth's Lexicon to occur twice in the R.V., viz. in i. 104, 6, and the present passage. They make it a substantive, signifying "rule over the living." Benfey, in his translation of i. 104, 6, renders the word "to be praised among men." Sayana has there kumayitave, "to be desired;" and here aasamsantiye, which means the same.
R.V. viii. 13, 20.—\textit{Tad id Rudrasya chetati yaham pratneshu dhamasu | mano yatra vi tad dadhur vichetasaḥ} | “That great (manifestation) of Rudra [or the terrible (Indra)\textsuperscript{25}] is perceived in the ancient abodes, and on it the wise have therefore fixed their minds.”

R.V. viii. 20, 17.—\textit{Yathā Rudrasya sūnavo dīvo vaśanti asurasya vedhasaḥ | yuvānas tathā it asat | “As the youthful sons of Rudra, the wise deity of the sky, desire, so shall it be.”}

R.V. viii. 22, 13.—\ldots\ Tā u namobhir īmahe | 14. Tāv id doshā tēv uṣhāṣi śubhas patī tā yāman rudra-vartani\textsuperscript{26} | mā no martāya ripave vājīnī-vasū paro rudrāv ati khyatam | “We invoke them (the Āsvins), with adoration, (14) at evening and at dawn, and on their path, the two lords of splendour, proceeding on terrible roads. Do not, O terrible (\textit{rudrāv}) lords of swift horses,\textsuperscript{27} abandon us to our mortal enemy.”

R.V. viii. 29, 5. (quoted and translated above, p. 90).

R.V. viii. 61, 3.—\textit{Antar icchhanti tām jane rudram paro manīshayaḥ | gribhanti jihvāyā sasam} \textsuperscript{28} | “They entreat the god (Agni), who is terrible (\textit{rudra}) beyond all thought,\textsuperscript{29} [to enter] among the people. With their tongue they take food (or seize him sleeping).”

R.V. x. 64, 8.—\textit{Triś septa sastrāḥ nadyo mahir apo vanaspatin parvataṁ Agnim utaye | Kṛiśānum astrin Tishyaṁ sadhasthe ā Rudraṁ Rudreshu rudriyāṁ havāmahe} | “We invoke to our aid in the assembly of sacrifice, the three times seven swift rivers, the great waters, the trees, the mountains, Agni, Kṛiśānu, the archers, Tishya, and Rudra, among the Rudras, and possessing their character.”

\textsuperscript{25} Böhtlingk and Roth, \textit{s.v. rudra}, hold the word to be here an epithet of Indra. The rest of the hymn is addressed to him.

\textsuperscript{26} This word \textit{rudra-vartani} is also applied to the Āsvins in the first verse of this hymn, and in R.V. x. 39, 11. Compare \textit{kriśnavartani} and \textit{kriśnūdhan} as applied to Agni. See the fifth vol. of this work, p. 212.

\textsuperscript{27} This is the sense assigned by Böhtlingk and Roth to \textit{vājīnīvasū}. Śāyāna renders it by \textit{annavasu} (R.V. v. 74, 6), \textit{annadhana} (x. 40, 12) “rich in food.” Elsewhere he also takes \textit{vājini} for food or oblation.

\textsuperscript{28} This word is given in the Nīghanṭus, 2, 7, as signifying food. Śāyāna takes it to mean “sleeping,” and renders the last clause “men through praise sprung from their tongue, catch Agni with their fingers” (\textit{jihva-prabhavaya stutya grihbhanti grihyantar angulibhit). See Roth’s Illustrations of \textit{Nirukta}, pp. 55 and 86 f.; also R.V. i. 51, 3 (where Benfey renders \textit{sasena “in sleep”); iii. 5, 6; iv. 5, 7; iv. 7, 7; v. 21, 4; x. 79, 3.

\textsuperscript{29} This interpretation is confirmed by Böhtlingk and Roth, \textit{s.v. manīshā}, who refer to R.V. v. 17, 2, as another passage where the phrase occurs.
R.V. x. 65, 1 (quoted and translated above, p. 95).

R.V. x. 66, 3.—Indro Vasubhih-paripatu no gayam Adityair no Aditi’i” sarma yachhatu ‘Rudro Rudrebhir deyo mrilayati nas Tvashta no gnabhuh swavitaya jivatu ‘‘May Indra with the Vasus preserve our habitation; may Aditi with the Adityas grant us protection. May the divine Rudra with the Rudras be gracious to us; may Tvashti with the wives (of the gods) advance us to prosperity.”

R.V. x. 92, 5.—Prajapati Rudreṇa yayinā yanti sindhayas tiro mahīm aramatīn30 dadhanvire yebhīh pariṣṭāṇa parīyann uru jrayo vi roruvaj jaṭhāre viśvam ukshate . . . . 9. Stomaṁ vo adya Rudrāya śikvase kshayad-vrīṇā yo namasā didishtana yebhīh śivaḥ svavān evayāvabhir divaḥ sishakti31 eva-yaśāḥ nikāmabhīḥ ‘‘The waters flow [impelled] by the hastening Rudra, and have spread over the vast earth; with them the circumambient, shouting god, who moves round the wide space [of the earth], moistens all (that is contained) in its womb. . . . . . . .

9. With reverence present your hymn to-day to the mighty Rudra, the ruler of heroes, [and to the Maruts] those rapid and ardent deities with whom the gracious and opulent [Rudra], who derives his renown from himself, protects us from the sky.”

R.V. x. 93, 4.—Tevā guhare amṛitasya32 mandrāḥ Aryamā Mitro Varunah pariṣṭāṇa kādu rudro nṛṇāṁ stuto Maruṇaḥ Pāśaṇo Bhagāḥ . . . . . . 7. Ut no rudrā chid mrilatām Aśvina ityādi ‘‘These are the

30 This word occurs in different parts of the R.V., where it is variously interpreted by Śāyana. On ii. 38, 4, he explains it by anuparatīth, “never resting,” as an epithet of Sāvitrī; on v. 43, 6, as an epithet of gna (a goddess), ā samantād ramamānām sarvatra gantaṁ vā, “sporting all round, or, going everywhere”; on vii. 36, 8, similarly, uparati-rahtīṁ, “having no rest,” as an epithet of mahī, the earth; on vii. 42, 3, as meaning the earth (bhūmīm); on vii. 1, 6, as signifying brilliancy (diptī); on v. 54, 6, as āramayām dhanādikam, “object of enjoyment, wealth,” etc.; on vii. 34, 21, as denoting a being “of perfect intelligence, or whose intelligence reaches to all objects,” (paryāpta-buddhiḥ sarva-vishaya-vyūpi-buddhir vā) spoken of Tvastri; and on viii. 31, 12, as equivalent to alamamātī paryāpta-stutīḥ, a god “who obtains full, or complete, worship,” said of Pāśaṇ. I have not access to his commentary on x. 64, 15, and x. 92, 4, 5. Böhltingk and Roth regard Aramati in all these passages but one as designating either “readiness for service, obedience, devotion,” or “as a personification of religious worship, or active piety.” In viii. 31, 12, they regard it as signifying “obedient, pious.” I cannot see that any of these senses except that of earth is applicable to the passage before us. Or Aramati may here be an epithet of the earth.

31 From the root sāch. See R.V. i. 18, 2; i. 56, 4; and v. 41, 20.

32 Compare amṛitasya gopām, R.V. viii. 42, 2; and amṛitasya patīh, iv. 5, 13.
kings of immortality who gladden us: Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa the circumambient, what (shall we say) of Rudra celebrated by men, the Maruts, the Pūshans, and Bhaga? .... 7. May the terrible (rudra) Aśvins be favourable to us,” etc.

R.V. x. 125, 6 (A. V. 4, 30, 5).—Ahaṁ Rudrāya dhanur ā tanomi brahma-dvishe śarave hanṭavai u ityādi | (Vāch? speaks): “I bend the bow for Rudra, for an arrow to slay the hater of the priest,” etc.

R.V. x. 126, 5.— .... Ugram Marudbhiḥ Rudrāṁ huhema ityādi | “Let us invoke the terrible Rudra with the Maruts,” etc.

R.V. x. 136, 1 (Nir. xii. 26).—Kesi agniṁ keśi viśvaṁ keśi bibharti rodasī | keśi viśvaṁ svar dṛṣe keśi idāṁ jyotir uchyate | 2 | munayo vātaraśanāḥ piśāṅga vasate mala | vātasyānu dhṛājīṁ yanti yad devāśo avikṣhata | 3 | ummadiṭṭaḥ mauneyena vātān ā tashthān vāyaṁ | saṁripo (i.e. ṣārīrā id) asmākāṁ yāyaṁ marṭāso abhi paśyatha | 4 | antarikṣheṇa patati viśvā rūpā'vachākasat | munir devasya devasya svaśtyāya sakā hitāḥ | 5 | Vātasyāśo Vāyōḥ sakā ātha deveshito munīḥ | ubhau saṃu- drāv ā kṣeti yaṣ cha purvāḥ utāparaḥ | 6 | apsarasaṁ gandharvāṇām mṛgyānam charane charan | keśi ketasya vidvān sakā svādura madintamaḥ | 7. Vāyur asmai upāmanthanā pināṭhī sma kunannāma | keśi viśhasya yātreyā yaṁ Rudreṇāpibat saha | “The long-haired [being] sustains fire, water, and the two worlds; he is to the view the entire sky; he is called this light. 2. The wind-clad (i.e. naked) munis wear brown and soiled (garments); they follow the course of the wind, when ye, O gods, have entered (into them). 3. Transported by (our) impulses as munis, we have pursued the winds. You, O mortals, behold our bodies. 4. The muni, a friend fitted to gain the beneficent aid of every god, flies through the air, perceiving all forms. 5. The muni, impelled by the gods, the steed of the wind, the friend of Vāyu, dwells in both the oceans, the eastern and the western. 6. Moving in the path of the Apsaras, the Gandharvas, and the wild animals, the long-haired being is aware of our call, and a sweet and gladdening friend. 7. Vāyu agitated for him; the long-haired [being] breaks down the things which are unbending, by means of the vessel of water (viṣha) which he drank along with Rudra.”

Although but little of this hymn has reference to Rudra, I have

33 See note 27 in p. 258 of the third vol. of this work.
34 Kesi idāṁ sarvam idam abhivipaśyati | —Nir. xii. 26.
REMARKS ON THE KES'IN OR MUNI.

quoted it entire on account of the interest it possesses in another respect. The first verse is explained in the Nirukta x. 26; and Prof. Roth, in his Illustrations of that work, p. 164, has the following note on the subject of the hymn: “The hymn,” he says, “shows the conception that by a life of sanctity (mauneyena, verse 3) the muni can attain to the fellowship of the deities of the air, the Vāyus, the Rudras, the Apsarases, and the Gandharvas; and, furnished like them with wonderful powers, can travel along with them on their course. Transcending even this, the verse before us says—that the beautiful-haired, the long-haired, that is to say, the Muni, who during the time of his austerities, does not shave his hair, upholds fire, moisture, heaven, and earth, and resembles the world of light, ideas which the later literature so largely contains. Similarly in an older hymn, R. V. vii. 56, 8, an unusual power of the Muni is celebrated, when it is said of the winds: S'ubhra vaḥ sushmaḥ krudhmi manāmyi dhunir munir iva sardhasya ādhrīṣṭoḥ, where Sāyaṇa explains the word mananād muniḥ stotā (‘the muni, from the root ‘man,’ is one who praises’); and where the representation above given is in any case to be found in its germ.”

Although, in his Lexicon (see s.v. muni), Prof. Roth no longer adheres to Sāyaṇa’s explanation of the word muni, as applicable to the last-mentioned passage, where he thinks it may mean “pressure, crowd, impulse,” he takes the same view as formerly of the hymn before us (x. 136), and defines the word muni as signifying “(one who is driven by an inward impulse), a person inspired, or in a state of ecstasy; with this conception of the word,” he proceeds, “agrees what is said of the ecstasy and deification of the muni in R. V. x. 136, 2, 4, deveshito muniḥ (‘the god-impelled muni’), v. 5, and what is related in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa vi. 33, of the Muni Aitaśa, whom his son regards as mad. Indro muninān sakha, ‘Indra is the friend of munis,’ R. V. viii. 17, 14.” I subjoin the passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa vi. 33, here referred to:

Aitaśa-pralāpaḥ saṃsati | Aitaśo ha vai munir “Agner āyur”35 ḍadarśa yajnasya ayatayāmam iti ha eke āhuḥ | so’ bravit putrān “putrakāḥ ‘Agner āyur’ adārśam | tad abhilaṇīyaṁ | yot kincha vadāmi tad me mā parigata” iti | sa pratyapadyata “etāḥ asvāḥ āplavante pratipam

35 The words Agner āyur asi tasya te occur in the Kāṭhaka, according to the list of initial words of passages given by Weber, Ind. Stud., iii. 289.
prātisutvanam” (A.V. xx. 129, 1) iti | tasya Abhyagnir Aitaśâyanaḥ aitya akāle 'bhikṣaṇa mukham apiyaśrīmūḥ “adripat naḥ pitā” iti | tam ha uvāca “apehy alabo bhūr yo me vāçham avadhāḥ | śatāyūn gām akarishyaṁ sahasrāyum purusham| pāpiṣṭḥām te prajām karom yo mā ittham asaktāḥ” iti | tasmād āhūr “Abhyagnayāḥ Aitaśâyanaḥ Aurvāṇam pāpiṣṭḥāḥ” iti | “He repeats the Aitaśa-pralāpa. The Muni Aitaśa beheld (i.e. received a revelation of) the ‘Agni āyuḥ’ (‘Agni’s life,’ etc.), which, some say, renders the sacrifice efficacious.36 He said to his sons, ‘Sons, I have seen “Agni’s life,” and will speak of it. Do not fail to attend to37 what I say.’ He then obtained (by revelation) the verse beginning etāḥ aśvāḥ, etc. Abhyagni, of the family of Aitaśa, came unseasonably, and stopped his mouth, saying ‘our father is mad.’ His father said, ‘Go, become destitute of energy,38 thou who hast stopped my words. I should otherwise have made kine live a hundred years, and men a thousand. Since thou hast so done violence to me, I make thy offspring most degraded. Hence they say that the Abhyagnis of the family of Aitaśa are the most degraded of all the Aurvas.’”

Compare Professor Kuenen’s remarks on the possible original sense of the Hebrew word nābi, “prophet,” in his Historisch-Kritisch Onderzoek, ii. 3, and also pp. 16 (note 3), and 19 (note 6).

The allusion in the 7th verse of the hymn before us to Rudrā drinking water (vīśa) may possibly have given rise to the legend of his drinking posion (vīśa).—See above, p. 50.

R. V. x. 169, 1.—Mayobhūr vātō abhivātō uṣrāḥ urjasvatir oshadhir ārisantām | pivasvatir jīva-dhanyāḥ pibantu avasāya padvate39 Rudra marita | “May the wind, causing prosperity, blow upon our cows. Let them consume invigorating plants; let them drink (waters) rich and life-sustaining: Rudra, be gracious to our walking sources of food.” (compare vi. 28, 7, above, p. 312).

36 Prof. Haug renders ayātāyānam, “which should remove all defects from the sacrifice”; and Prof. Weber, who, in his review of Dr. Haug’s translation, Indische Studien, ix. 177 ff., dissents from many of the translator’s renderings, expresses here no difference of opinion, see p. 304.

37 Weber here differs from Haug’s rendering of parigāta by “do not scorn me,” and translates übergehet (überhört mir dies nicht) was ich auch sagen mag, which is also the sense assigned in Böhtlingk and Roth’s Lexicon; and has been given by me.


39 Pavad avasāṁ gāvah | —Nir. i. 17.
Sect. II.—Passages relating to Rudra in the Vājasaneyi recension of the white Yajur-Veda.

I now proceed to quote from the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā the principal texts which it contains relative to Rudra.

Vaj. S. 3, 57 ff.—Esha te Rudra bhāgaḥ saha svāsāvā Ambikāya tāṁ jushaseva svāhā | esha te Rudra bhāgaḥ ākuś te prṣuh\(^{40}\) | 58. Ava Rudram adīmāhy ava devam tryambakam | yathā no vasyasas karad yathā naḥ śpeyasas karad yathā no 'vyvasāyayat | 59. Bhesāham asī bhesāham gave 'svāya purushāya bhesāham | sukham mēshāya meshyai | 60 (=R. V. vii. 59, 12; Taitt. S. i. 8, 6, 2). Tryambakāṁ yajāmahe sugandhim pushṭi-vardhanam | urvārum iṣa bandhanād mṛtyor muṣkhiya mā 'mṛitatā | tryambakāṁ yajāmahe sugandhim pativedanām\(^{41}\) | urvārum iṣa bandhanād ito muṣkhiya mā 'mutaḥ | 61 (T. S. i. 8, 6, 2). Etat te Rudra avasaṁ tena paro Mūjavato atiśiḥ | avatata-dhanvā pinākāvasāḥ kṛitī-rāśiḥ ahimsan naḥ śivo 'tihi | 62. Tryāyushaṁ Jamadagnēḥ Kaśyapasya tryāyusham | yad deveshu tryāyushaṁ tad no astu tryāyushaṁ | 63. S'ivo nāma 'si svadhiti te pītā namas te astu mā mā hīṁśiḥ | nivarta-yāmy āyushe annādyāya praṇanāṇya rāyasposhāya suprajāstvāya svīr-vāya |

"This is thy portion, Rudra, with thy sister Ambikā; accept it with favour, may it be fortunate (svāhā). This is thy portion; thy victim is a mouse. 58. We have satisfied Rudra; we have satisfied the god Tryambaka,\(^{42}\) that he may make us most opulent, most happy, that he may prosper us. 59. Thou art a medicine, a medicine for kine and horses, a medicine for men, a [source of] ease to rams and ewes. 60. We worship Tryambaka, the sweet-scented, the increaser of prosperity. May I, like a cucumber [severed] from its stem, be freed from

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\(^{40}\) The Taittirīya Br. i. 6, 19, 4, has only the first part of this verse: Esha te Rudra bhāgaḥ saha svāsā Ambikāya: then follow the words: ity āha | 'S'arad vai asya Ambikā svāsā | tayā vai esha hinasti | "He says, ‘This is thy portion, Rudra, with thy sister Ambikā.' His sister Ambikā is the autumn; with her he smites (or kills)," etc. The commentator on the passage before us (of the Vāj. S.) says in reference to this that Ambikā kills by taking the form of Autumn, and producing diseases, etc. ('S'arad-ṛupaṃ prápya jār. [qu. ? jvar-] ādikam utpādy aṁ hirodhinaṁ hanti).\(^{41}\)


\(^{42}\) S. P. ii. 6, 2, 9.—Ambikā ha vai nāma asya svāsā | tayā 'syā esha saha bhāgaḥ | tad yad asya esha striya saha bhāgaḥ tasmā Tryambako nāma | "He has a sister called Ambikā, with whom he has this share: and since he has this share along with a female (strī), he is called Tryambaka" (i.e., Strīyambaka).
death, not [severed] from immortality. We worship Tryambaka, the sweet-scented, who bestows on us husbands. 43 Like a cucumber [severed] from its stem, may I be released from this [world], not [severed] from that [world]. 61. This, Rudra, is thy provision; with it depart beyond the Mūjavat, with thy bow unbended, and concealed from view, clothed with a skin, without injuring us, gracious, cross over. 43 62. Let us have a triple life, the triple life of Jamadagni, the triple life of Kaśyapa, the triple life which exists among the gods.

63. Thou art gracious (śīva) by name; the thunderbolt is thy father. Reverence be to thee: destroy us not. I clip thy hair, thee [O sacrificer], that thou mayest live, have food to eat, the power of procreation, the possession of wealth, abundant offspring, and eminent prowess." 45

The next passage which I shall quote is the famous Satarudriya, a prayer, which is referred to in three passages quoted above from the Mahābhārata, pp. 186, 193, and 199. It is translated and annotated by Prof. Weber in his Indische Studien, ii. 32 ff. The text there translated, and which is given in the preceding pp. 26 ff., is that of the Upanishad bearing the name of Satarudriya.


43 This, the Commentator says, is spoken by virgins walking round the fire. 44 See the second volume of this work, pp. 351 ff., and note 138, where the comments of the S'atapatha Brīhmaṇa (ii. 6, 2, 17) on the passage before us are quoted.
45 Such is the sense assigned to svadhiṭṭi in the Nighaṇṭus, 2, 20.
46 The Commentator says that the first half of this verse is addressed to a razor, and the second half is supposed to be spoken by the razor to the person to whose head it is to be applied. He translates the words nivārtyāmy āyushe, etc., by "I shave thee that thou mayest live," etc.
47 Sumanāḥ-sabde pūṃstvam ārsham | Comm.
48 These last two words are omitted in the Taitt. S.
pati nilagrivo vilohitah | utainām gopāḥ adriśrann adriśrann udahāryah⁴⁹ 
pataye namo namo uchhairghoshāya ākrandayate pattinām pataye namaḥ | 20. Namāḥ kritisnayatayā (kritisnavītyā, T. S.) dhāvate satvanām pataye 
namo nāmaḥ sahamānāya nivādhine avyādhinānām pataye namo namo nishangine kakubhāya stenānām pataye namo namo nicherovar paricharāya aranyānām pataye namaḥ | 21. Namo vanehate parivanchate stāyinām 
pataye namo namo nishangine ishudhimate taskarānām pataye namo namāḥ srikāyibhya (srikāvibhya, T. S.) jighāṃsadbhya mushnataṁ pataye namo namo 'simadbhya uktaṁ charadbhya vikrintānām (prakrintānām, T. S.) pataye namaḥ | 22. Namāḥ ushāshine giriharāya kulunchnānām 
pataye namo nāmaḥ ishumadadbhya dhanvāsibhyāscha vo namo nāmaḥ ātan-vānēbhyo pratidhānēbhyāscha vo namo nāmaḥ āyachhadbhya 'syadbhyāscha vo nāmaḥ | 23. Namo visrijadbhya vidhyadbhyā cha vo namo namaḥ

⁴⁹ The Tāitt. S. adds here utaināṁ visvā bhūtāṁ, “and all beings have seen him.”
⁵⁰ The T. S. introduces here verse 13 of the Vāj. S.
⁵¹ The T. S. inserts the 14th verse here, and there are similar transpositions elsewhere.
Svapadbhyo jágradbhyaś cha vo namo namah śayānebhyāh āśīnebhyāscha
vo namo namas tishṭhadbhyo dhāvadbhyascha vo namah | 24. Namah
sabhābhyaś sabhāpatibhyāscha vo namo ’śvebhyo ’śvapatibhyāscha vo
namo namah āvyādhinibhyo vidvīhyantibhyāscha vo namo namah uganā-
gbhyaś tīṁhatibhyās cha vo namah | 25. Namo ganebhyo ganapatib-
hyāscha vo namo namo vratēbhyo vratapatibhyāscha vo namo namo
gritsebhyo gritsapatibhyāscha vo namo namo virūpebhyo vīkvarūpebhhyāscha
vo namah | 26. Namah senābhyaś senānībhyaśca vo namo namo rathibhyo
’rathebhyaśca vo namo namāh kshattribhyaḥ sangrahātībhyaśca vo namo
namo mahadbhyo arbhakebhyaścha (kṣullakebhhya cha, T. S) vo namah | 27.
Namas takshadbhyo rathakārebhyaśca vo namo namah kulālebhyāh
cārmaṇebhyāscha vo namo namo nishādebhyaḥ punjīshhebhyaḥ cha vo
namo namah śenādbhyo mrigayubhyāscha vo namah | 28. Namah svabhyaś
svapatibhyāscha namo Bhavdya Rudrāya cha namah ’Sarvāya cha Paśu-
pataye cha namo nilagṛivaya cha śītikāṅthāya cha | 29. Namah kopardine
cha vyupta-keśāya cha namah sahasrākṣāya cha śatādhanvane cha namo
giriśaṁyāya (giriśāya, T. S.) cha śīpiśivāṁtyāya cha namo mūḍhvaṁśtāmāya
cha ishumate cha | 30. Namo hravāya cha vāmanāya cha namo brihatu cha
varṣīyāse cha namo vrīḍhāya cha savṛīdhe (sāmṛīdheuane, T. S.) cha
namo ’gṛyāya prathamāya cha | 31. Namah āśave cha ajirāya cha namah
śīghrāya (śīghriyāya, T. S.) cha śībhyaścha namah ārmyāya cha avaśa-
nyāya cha namo nādeyāya (srotasyāya, T. S.) cha dvīpyāya cha | 32. Namo
jyeśthāya cha kanishṭāya cha namah pārvāya cha aparājāya cha namo
madhyamāya cha apagalbhāyaḥ cha namo jaghanyāya cha budhnyāya cha
| 33. Namo sobhāya cha pratisaryāya cha namo yāmyāya cha kshemyāya
cha namah ślokyāya cha avasāṇyāya cha namo urvarāya cha khalayāya
cha | 34. Namo vanyāya cha kākshyāya cha namah śrūtāya cha pratiśrūtāya
cha namah āsūhenāya cha āsūrāthāya cha namah śūrūya cha avabhedine
(aceabhindate, T. S.) cha | 35. Namo bilmine cha kavachine cha namo
carmeṇa cha varūthine cha namāḥ śrutāya cha šrutaśenāya cha namo
dundubhyāya cha āhanānyāya cha | 36. Namo dhrishtnaye cha pramṛiśāya
cha52 namo nishangine cha ishudhimate cha namas tikṣṣheshave cha ājudhine
cha namah śvāyudhāya sudhanvane cha | 37. Namo śrūtyāya cha pathyāya
cha namah kātyāya cha nịpyāya cha namah kulyāya cha sarasyāyāu cha
namo nādeyāya (nādyāya, T. S.) cha vairāṭyāya cha | 38. Namo kūpyāya
cha avatyāya cha namo vidhryāya cha āṭapvyāya namo meghyāya cha

52 The T. S. adds here namo dūtaya cha prahitāya cha.

53 The T.S. here adds, namat atāryaya cha ālātyaya ca.
54 The T.S. here adds, namat ānirvatkebhyaḥ.
55 Instead of maḥī gāt, the concluding words of the first half of the verse, as it stands in the R.V., the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā has aghūyoh, “of the malicious.” The T.S. introduces here verses corresponding to those in R.V. i. 114, 2, 7, 8, 10; ii. 33, 11, 14.
TRANSLATION OF

sahasraśo, T. S.) ye Rūdṛh adhi bhūmyām | teshām sahasra-yojane ava
dhanvāni tanmasi | 55. Asmin mchaty arṇave antarikshe Bhavah adhi |
teshām ityādi | 56. Nilagrīvāḥ sitikaṇṭhāḥ divaṁ Rūdṛh upāśritāḥ |
teshām ityādi | 57. Nilagrīvāḥ sitikaṇṭhāḥ S'arvāḥ adhaṁ kshamācaraṁ |
teshām ityādi | 58. Ye vrikhesku śaśpinjārāḥ nilagrīvāḥ vilohitāḥ |
teshām ityādi | 59. Ye bhūtānāṁ adhipatayo viśīkhāsaḥ kapardināḥ |
teshām ityādi | 60. Ye pathāṁ pathiraḥkhasaḥ (paṭi.iraḥkhasaḥ, T. S.)
ailabriḍaḥ ayuryudhaḥ (yaavyudhaḥ, T. S.) | teshām ityādi | 61. Ye
tīrthāṁ pracharanti srikanṭastāḥ (srikevantō, T. S.) nishanginaḥ |
teshām ityādi | 62. Ye annesu vividhānti pātreshu pibato janāṁ | teshām ityādi |
63. Ye etāvantaśca bhūyāṁśaḥ cha diśo Rūdṛh viśasthīre |
teshām ityādi | 64. Namo 'stu Rudrebhyo ye divi yeshāṁ varṣham ishaṁḥ |
tebhyo daśā prāchir daśā dakshināḥ daśā pratiśchar daśa udichir daśa 
urdhvaḥ | tebhyo mamo astu te no avantu te no mṛdāyantu te yaṁ dvishmo 
yaḥ ca no āveshi tām eshaṁ (vo, T. S.) jambhe dādhamā (dādhami, T. S.)
65. Namo 'stu Rudrebhyo ye antarikshe yeshāṁ vātāḥ ishavah |
tebhyo daśa ityādi | 66. Namo 'stu Rudrebhyo ye prithiveyaṁ yeshāṁ annam 
ishaṇaḥ | tebhyo daśa ityādi |

"Reverence, Rudra, to thy wrath, and to thy arrow. Reverence to 
both thy arms. 2. Shine upon us, dweller in the mountains, with that 
blessed body of thine which is auspicious, not terrible, and which does 
not betoken harm. 3. The arrow, O dweller in the mountains, which 
 thou bearest in thy hand to discharge, make it, O lord of the mountains, 
auspicious; do not slay men and cattle. 4. With auspicious words we 
supplicate thee, dweller in the mountains, that all our men and cattle 
may be healthy and cheerful. 5. The deliverer, the first divine 
physician, hath interposed for us. Destroying all serpents, strike down 
and drive away all Yātudhānis (female goblins). 6. We deprecate 
from us the wrath of that auspicious deity who is copper-coloured, 
ruddy, and brown, and of those Rudras who in thousands surround 
him on all sides. 7. May he who glides away, blue-necked and red-
coloured, and whom cowherds and female drawers of water, have 
seen,—may he, when seen, be gracious to us. 8. Reverence to the

56 The T. S. inserts here the words annam vato.
57 Compare the passage quoted from the Mahābhārata, above, p. 204, near the foot.
58 "Persons who are destitute of initiation in Vedic rites" (Vedokta-saṁskāra-
hīṁśa).—Comm.
blue-necked, to the thousand-eyed, to the bountiful; and to his
tendant spirits I offer reverence. 9. Loosen the string from both
ends of thy bow; and throw away, O divine being, the arrows which
are in thy hand. 10. May the bow of the god with braided hair be
stringless, and his quiver contain pointless shafts. His arrows have
perished, and his sword-sheath is empty. 11. That shaft, O most
bountiful, that bow which is in thy hand, with it, rendered innocuous,
do thou protect us on every side. 12. May the shaft from thy bow
avoid us in every direction; and deposit thy quiver far from us. 13.
Unbending thy bow, O thousand-eyed, and thousand-quivered, and
blunting the points of thy arrows, be gracious and kind to us. 14.
Reverence to thy violent weapon, unstrung, to both thy arms, and to
thy bow. (Verses 15 and 16 correspond nearly with R. V. i. 114, 7,
and 8. See above, p. 304.) 17. Reverence to the golden-armed leader
of armies, to the lord of the regions, to the green-haired trees, to the
lord of beasts, who is yellow like young grass, to the radiant, to the
lord of roads, the yellow-haired, the wearer of the sacrificial cord, to
the lord of the full-fed, (18) to the brown-coloured, to the piercer,
to the lord of food. Reverence to the weapon of Bhava, to the lord of
things moving, to Rudra with the bended bow, to the lord of the fields,
to the innocuous charioteer, to the lord of the forests, (19) to the red
architect, to the lord of trees, to the being who stretches out the worlds,
who affords deliverance, to the lord of plants, to the observant merchant,
to the lord of bushes, to the loud-shouting lord of foot-soldiers who causes
his foes to shriek, (20) to him who runs in full stretch, to the lord of
spirits, to the conqueror, to the piercer, to the lord of armies which wound,
to the towering wielder of a sword, to the lord of thieves, to the robber,

59 This, Weber thinks, must originally have meant "the lord of sacrificial victims."
60 On this the Commentator has the following apologetic remarks: Rudro tilayā
chorādi-rūpaṁ dhatte | yadvā Rudrasya jagad-ātmakavāḥ chorādayo Rudrāḥ eva
dheyāḥ | yadvā stenādi-śarire jiveśvara-rūpeṇa Rudro vīdhā tisṭhāti | tatra jiva-
rūpaṁ stenādi-sabda-vachyaṁ | tad iṣvara-rudra-rūpaṁ lakṣhayati | yathā śākhā-
grauḥ āhātraṇaḥ lakṣhaman | kim bahunā | lakṣhayāḥ-vivakṣhayā mantrēṣu
laukikāḥ sabdaṁ prayuktāḥ | "Rudra in sport assumes the forms of thieves and
such like persons. Or, since Rudra is the soul of the world, thieves, etc., are to be
thought of as being Rudras. Or, Rudra abides in two ways, as life and as lord, in
the bodies of thieves, etc. Then his character as life is denoted by the words thieves,
etc.; and that points to his character as Rudra the lord, just as the end of a branch
points to the moon. But why enlarge further? Common words are employed in the
sacred texts to intimate the sense which is pointed to."
to the prowler, to the lord of woods, (21) to the cheater, to the deceiver,
to the lord of pilferers, to the begetter of the sword and quiver, to the
lord of robbers, to those armed with thunderbelts, to the murderous, to
the lord of stealers, to those who carry swords, to those who prowl by
night, to the lord of plunderers; (22) to him who wears a turban, who
frequents the mountains, to the lord of robbers, to you who have
arrows, and to you who 'have bows, to you with bended bows, and you
who fit your arrows on the string, to you who draw the bow, and to
you who shoot, (23) to you who discharge, and to you who pierce,
to you who sleep and you who wake, to you who lie and you who
sit, to you who stand and you who run, (24) to the assemblies, and to
you the lords of assemblies, to horses, and to you the lords of horses, to
you the hosts which wound and pierce, and to the goddesses who have
excellent troops, and who are destructive, (25) to the troops, and to you
the lords of troops, to the companies, and to you the lords of companies,
to the rogues, and to you the lords of rogues, to you who are ill-formed,
and to you who have all forms, (26) to armies, and to you the leaders
of armies, to you who ride in chariots, and to you without chariots, to
you the charioteers, and to you the drivers of horses, to you the great, and
to you the small, (27) to you the carpenters, and to you the chariot-
makers, to you the potters, and to you the blacksmiths, to you the
Nishādas, and to you the Punjīṣṭhas, to you the leaders of dogs, and
to you the huntsmen, (28) to dogs, and to the masters of dogs, to
Bhava,61 and to Rudra, and to Sārva, to Paṣupati, to Nīlāgrīva, and to

61 Prof. Weber has the following note on verse 28 of his translation of the S'atā-
rudriya in his Indische Studien, i. 37: "Bhava is variously explained, sometimes
as the 'existent,' 'eternal' (bhavaty eva na kadācīd api na bhavati), sometimes as
the producer of everything (bhavaty asmi sarvan), so that according to the latter
explanation he is the exact opposite of S'arva, the destroyer: and possibly the
term (Bhava) has been formed with the view of propitiating the terrible god by a
favourable name. When both words appear in verses 55 and 57 as additional names
of the Rudras, they are no doubt transferred to them from their master, since the
name Bhava in particular will not apply well to them." According to the S'atāp. Br.
i. 7, 38 (dating certainly from a period when Rudra had already been identified with
Agni), both words (see also Ind. St. i. 132, 140) are appellations of Agni.—Bhava
being that which was usual among the Bāhikas, and S'arva the one prevailing among
the Prāchyas (and so among the Kośala-vidēhas, for example). As we meet with
the word S'arva in the well-known passage of the Vendidad, Fargard x., p. 342,"
(S'aurva in the Zend, see Spiegel's translation, p. 176, and his Commentary, i., p. 285,
and Justi's Handbuch s.v.) "we should rather have expected that S'arva would have
Sitikantha, (29) to him with the braided hair, and to him with the shaven hair, to him with a thousand eyes, to him with a hundred bows, to the dweller in the mountains, to Sipivishta, to the most bountiful, to him who has arrows, (30) to the short, and to the dwarf, to the great, and to him who has arrived at a mature age, to the old, to the coetaneous, to the chief, and to the first, (31) to the swift (or pervader), and to the moving, to him who abides in the swift, and in the flowing waters, and to him who dwells in billows, and in tranquil waters, and in rivers, and on islands, (32) to the eldest, and to the youngest, to the first-born, and to the last-born, to the middlemost, to him who is not full-grown, to the lowest, to him who exists at the roots of trees, (33) to him who lives in the magical city Sobha (?), to him who exists in incantations, to him who exists in punishment, and in prosperity, to the renowned, to the endmost, to him who exists in the soil, and in the threshing floor, (34) in the woods and in the bushes, in the form of sound, and in echo, to him who has fleet armies and swift chariots, to the hero, and to the splitter, (35) to the helmeted, to him with cotton-quilted cuirass, with iron mail, and with armour, to him who is renowned and has a renowned army, to him who exists in drums, and in resounding blows, (36) to the impetuous, to the assailant, to the bearer of a sword and a quiver, who carries swift arrows, who wields weapons, and has excellent weapons and a good bow, (37) to him who dwells in pathways, and roads, and rough (or desert) places, and the skirts of mountains, and watercourses, and lakes, and rivers, and ponds, (38) and in wells, and pits, and in bright clouds, and in sunshine, in clouds, in lightning, in rain, in fair weather, (39) in wind, in storm, to the dweller in houses, to the protector of houses, to Soma, and to Rudra, to the copper-coloured, to the ruddy, (40) to the bringer of prosperity, to Pasupati, to the fierce (ugra) and the terrible, to him who kills in

been the name current among the Bahlkas. It is difficult to decide whether both appellations actually belonged at first to Agni, and not to Rudra. But, generally speaking, the contrary appears to me to be more credibly, because in the hymns of the Rig-veda a peaceful, and not a destructive, character is predominatingly ascribed to Agni. Further, both words are brought directly into connexion with the lightning in A.V. x. 1. Bhavasarvau asyatam papakrite devahetim." This text is quoted a few pages further on.

62 R.V. vii. 99, 7; and vii. 100, 6, above, pp. 86–88, and Appendix on p. 88.
front, and who kills from afar, to the slayer, to the excessive slayer, to the green-haired trees, to the deliverer, (41) to the source of prosperity, to the source of happiness, to the causer of prosperity (śankarāya), to the causer of happiness, to the auspicious (śiva) and the very auspicious, (42) to him who exists beyond and on this side, to him who crosses over to and fro, to him who exists in fords and river-banks, in young grass, and in foam, (43) who exists in gravel and in streams, in stony ground, and in habitable places, to the god with spirally-braided hair, to him with smooth hair, (44) who exists in barren land, and in frequented roads, (44) among herds, in cow-pens, in beds, in houses, in the heart, in whirlpools (or in hoar-frost), and in rough (or desert) places, who abides in abysses, (45) in dry things and in green things, in dust, in moisture (or dust), in inaccessible places, in creepers, in the earth and deep under the earth. 46. Reverence to the leaf, and to him who is in the fall of the leaf, to the threatener, to the slayer, to the vexer and the afflicter, to you who make arrows and who make bows, to you the sprinklers, to the hearts of the gods, to the discerners, to the destroyers, and to the indestructible. 47. O thou who chasest away, who art lord of the soma-juice, who art poor, (46) who art blue and red, do not crush, do not destroy these [our] offspring, or these cattle, and let nothing of ours be sick. 48 (-R.V. i. 114, 1). 49. That we may live, be gracious to us with that body of thine which is propitious, which is propitious and healing on all days, which is propitious and heals disease. 50 (-R.V. ii. 33, 14. See above, p. 309). 51. Most bountiful, most gracious, be gracious and benevolent to us. Placing thy weapon on the remotest [or, highest] tree, approach, clad in a skin,
come, holding thy bow. 52. O deity, who avertest wounds [or, shootest arrows], and art ruddy in hue, reverence be to thee. May thy thousand shafts smite some one else than us. 53. Thousands of thousands of shafts are in thy hands.  O god, do thou, the lord, avert their points [from us]. 54. We unbend a thousand leagues (yojana) away the bows of those unnumbered thousands of Rudras who are upon the earth. 55. Above this great-atmospheric ocean there exist Bhavas. We unbend their bows a thousand leagues away. 56. Rudras with blue necks and white throats occupy the sky. We unbend, etc. 57. Sarvas with blue necks and white throats frequent [the regions] beneath the earth. We unbend, etc. 58. Of those [deities] with a colour like young grass, with blue necks and ruddy hue, who [live] in trees, we unbend, etc. 59. Of those lords of beings who are without locks of hair, and of those whose hair is spirally-braided, we unbend; etc. 60. Of those who are guardians of roads, givers of nourishment, who fight for life, we unbend, etc. 61. Of those who frequent the fords, with weapons in their hands, and swords, we unbend, etc. 62. Of those who pierce, in the midst of their meals, men who are drinking in vessels, we unbend, etc. 63. Of those Rudras who, so many [as we have described] and yet more numerous, occupy the regions, we unbend, etc. 64. Reverence to the Rudras who [live] in the sky, of whom rain is the arrows.  To them [I hold out] ten [fingers] to the east, ten to the south, ten to the west, ten to the north, and ten upwards. To them be reverence: may they protect us, may they be gracious to us. We consign to their teeth the man whom we hate, and who hates us. 65. Reverence to the Rudras who [live] in the atmosphere, of whom the wind is the arrows. To them [I hold out] ten [fingers], etc., etc. 66. Reverence to the Rudras who [live] upon the earth, of whom food is the arrows. To them [I hold out] ten [fingers], etc., etc.”

Many of the epithets in this Satarudriya are not found in other books; and it is difficult, and perhaps of little importance, to discover their real sense. Others, as the reader will have observed, are of the most fantastic character.

69 The T. S. inserts here, “whose food is the wind.”
70 Pragabhahminuhāh angulīk kurve iti śesah | . . . aṇjalim baddhvā sarva-dikṣhū namaskaroni | Comm.
Sect. III.—Passages relating to Rudra, Bhava, S'arva, etc., from the Atkarva-veda.

A. V. ii. 27, 6.—Rudra jalāsha-bheshaja niša-śikhaṁ dharma-kriṣṭi | praśam pratipraśo jahi arasāṁ kriṇi oṣhadhe | "Rudra, who hast healing remedies, who hast dark locks, who art the performer of works, destroy the food of him who seeks to take ours; make it savourless, O plant!"

A. V. iv. 28, 1.—Bhava-S'arva manve vāṁ asya vittam yayor vāṁ idam pradīṣi yad virochate | yāv asyeśāthe dvipado yau chatushpadas tau no munchalām aṁhasah | 2. yayor abhyadhve uta yad dūre chid yayor viditāv ishubhrītām asishthau | yāv | 3. sahasraśākshau vṛitrahaṇa huve 'ham dūregavyūti stuvann emy ugraṇ | yāv | 4. yāv ārebhāte bahu sākam agre pra ched avrāṣṭham abhibhām janesha | yāv | 5. yayor vadhād nāpaḍaḥyate kaśchana antar devesūta mānushēshaḥ | yāv | 6. yaḥ kṛitya-kṛid mūla-kṛid yātudhāno ni tasmin dhattam vajram ugraṇ | yāv | 7. adhi no bratam pritanāsu ugraṇ saṁ vajrenā sripatam yaḥ kimīḍī | staumī Bhavā-S'arva nāthito johavīni tau no munchatam aṁhasah |

1. "O Bhava and Sarva, I reverence you; have regard to this (your worshipper), ye under whose control is all this which shines: ye who are lords of this two-footed and four-footed (creation), free us from calamity. 2. Ye to whom belongs all that is near and even all that is remote, who are known as the most skilful shooters among all archers: ye who are lords, etc. (as in v. 1). 3. Ye thousand-eyed slayers of enemies, I invoke you; I go-on praising you, ye fierce gods, whose domain extends far and wide: ye who are lords, etc. 4. Ye who, united, performed many (exploits) of old, who manifested ill omens among men: ye who are lords, etc. 5. Ye from whose destroying stroke no one either among gods or men escapes: ye who are lords, etc. 6. Fierce gods, launch your thunderbolt against the Yātudhāna, who practises sorcery, and prepares roots (for that purpose): ye who are lords, etc. 7. Fierce gods, take our side in battles, smite with the thunderbolt him who is a goblin. I praise you, Bhava and Sarya; distressed I again and again invoke you; deliver us from calamity."

Yāska explains this word thus, Nirukta, vi. 11: Kim idāṁ kim idāṁ iti charate kim idāṁ kim idāṁ iti vā piśumāya charate |
A. V. v. 21, 11.—Yuyam ugrāḥ Marutaḥ Prisni-mātaraḥ Indrena yujā pra mṛīnita śatūn | Somo rāja Varuno rāja mahādevaḥ uta mṛītyuṣ Indraḥ | “Do ye, fierce Maruts, whose mother is Prisni, allied with Indra, destroy [our] enemies. (May) king Soma, king Varuṇa, and Indra, who is a great god and death, (do the same).” [This verse is from a martial hymn addressed to the Dundubhi or drum, which in verses 4–6 is besought to terrify the poet’s enemies, as the sight of a man frightens wild animals, a wolf goats and sheep, and a hawk smaller birds. 4. Yathā mṛīgāḥ saṁvijantā ṛāṇyāḥ puruṣād adhiḥ | . . . 5. Yathā vrikṣād ajñāvayō dhāvanto bahuḥ bibhyatīḥ | . . . 6. Yathā syenāt patatriṇāḥ saṁvijante ahaḥ divī. . . .]

A. V. vi. 93, 1.—Yamo Mṛītyuṣ aghamāro nirśitho babhuḥ S’arvaḥ 'sta nila-sikhaṇḍaḥ | deva-janāḥ senayā uttasthivāṃses te asmākam pari vrinjantu virūn | 2. Manasaḥ homair harasā ghriteṇa S’arvāyāstre uta rājne Bhavāya | namasyebhyo namah ebhyah kriṃomy anyatra asmad aghanīṣṭaḥ nayantu | “May Yama, Death, who brings dire destruction, may the Destroyer, may tawny Sarva the archer with dark locks, may the hosts of the gods, arising with their army, may these avoid our heroes. 2. With mind, with oblations, with fire, with butter, I offer reverence to Sarva the archer, and to king Bhava, to them who deserve reverence; let them carry their deadly poisons to others than us.”

In A. V. vi. 141, 1, Rudra is mentioned along with Vāyu, Vatsaṭrī, and Indra (Rudro bhūmne chikitsatu).

A. V. vii. 87, 1.—Yo Agau Rudro yo apsv antar yaḥ oshadhir vīra-dhāḥ āveśa | yaḥ imā viśvā bhuvanāṁi chaḥkīripe tasmai Rudrāya namo astu Agauye | “Reverence be to that Rudra, Agni, to the Rudra who is in Agni, who is in the waters, and who has entered into the plants and bushes, and who has formed all these creatures.”

A. V. viii. 2, 7.—. . . Bhava-śarvau mṛīdatam śarma yachhatam apasidhyā duritaṁ dhatam āyuḥ | . . . “Bhava and Sarva, be gracious, give protection; removing calamity, give life.” 72

A. V. viii. 5, 10.—Asmai maṇiṁ varma badkhaṇtu devaḥ Indro Vishaṇuḥ Savitā Rudro Agnih | ityādi | “May the gods, Indra, Vīshnū, Savitṛ, Rudra, Agni, bind on him the jewel as a protection,” etc.

72 See the translation of the entire hymn, in which this half verse occurs, in the fifth volume of this work, p. 446 ff.
HYMN TO BHAVA AND S'ARVA FROM

A. V. ix. 7, 7.—Mitraś cha Varuṇaś cha aṃsaū Tvashṭā cha Aryanā cha doshāṇī Mahādevo bāhū | "Mitra and Varuṇa are the shoulders, Tvashṭā and Aryaman the fore-arms, and Mahādeva the two arms."

A. V. x. 1, 23.—Bhavā-śavāu aṣyataṁ pāpa-krite kṛityā-krite dush-krite vidyutāṁ deva-hetim | "Let Bhava and Sarva launch the lightning, the bolt of the gods, against the doer of wickedness, against him who employs sorcery, against the evil doer." (See Weber'* Ind. Studien, ii. 37, note, quoted above in p. 328 f.)


73 In Bohtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, vol. v., p. 1003, several passages are quoted where āpā (with a long a in the first syllable) occurs as an accusative plural.
17. Sahasrücksham atipāṣyaṁ purastād Rudram asyantam bahudhā vipāṣ-
chitam | mā upārāma jihvāya īyamānam | 18. S’yāvāśvaṁ krishṇam asi-
tam mrgāntam bhīmaṁ ’ratham’ kesinaḥ pādayantam | pūrve ṭratim
namo astu asmāi | 19. Mā no ’bhi erāḥ mṛtyuṁ āeva-hetim mā naḥ kru-
dhāḥ Paśupate namas te | anyatra asmād divyaṁ sākhāṁ vi dhūnu |
20. Mā no hīṁsir adhi no brūhi pari no vṛndih mā kruḍhaḥ | na tavyā
samarānāhi | 21. Mā no gosu purusheshu mā gridho no ajāvishu |
anyatrogra vi vartaya ’piyāṛūṇām praśām jahi | 22. Yasya takmā
kāsīkā hetir ekam āsvasyeva vṛishunāḥ krandaḥ eti | abhipūrvaṁ nirnayate
namo astu asmāi | 23. Yo antarikṣe tishṭhāti visṭṭhabhito ajaśeṁaḥ
pramanāṇaḥ deva-/piyūṁ | tasmāi namo daśabhīḥ sakaṁribhiḥ | 24. Tubhyam
āraṇyāḥ paśavo mṛtiṣāḥ vane hitaṁ hāṁśaḥ supaṁabhīḥ sukunāḥ
vayāṁsi | tava yakṣam Paśupate āpsv āntas tubhyaṁ kṣharanti divyaṁ āpo vṛidhe |
25. Simśunārāḥ ajaśāgarāḥ prikīyāḥ jashāḥ matsyaḥ rajasāḥ yebhyo
asyasi | na te dūraṁ na pariśṭhā ’sti te Bhava sadvāḥ sarvām pari
paśyasi bhāmin pūrvasmād haṁsy uṭṭarasmā samudre | 26. Mā no
Rudra takmanā mā vishēna mā naḥ saṁ sṛāḥ divyenaṁgīnā | anya-
ṭrāṣmad vidyutam pāṭayatām | 27. Bhavā ēsv prithīvyāṁ
Bhavāḥ a papre uṛu antarikṣam | tasyai namo yatamasyaṁ diśitaḥ |
28. Bhava rājān yajāmnāya mṛḍa paśūṇāṁ hi paśupatir babhū
tha | yaḥ śraddādāhitā santi devaḥ iti chatuṣṭhāyī āvadre asya mṛdiṣa |
29 (=R.V. i. 114, 7). Mā no mahāntam uta mā no arbhakam mā
no vakāntam uta mā no vakṣhyataḥ | mā no hīṁsīḥ pitaram mātārāṁ
cha śvaṁ tuvaṁ Rudra mā vīrīsno naḥ | 30. Rudrayaṁlabā-kārebhya
’saṁṣakta-gīlēbhyaḥ | idam mahāṣyebhyaḥ śvabhya akaraṁ namāḥ |
31. Namās te ghoshīṁbhyām namās te keśīṁbhyaḥ | namo namaskrītābhya
namāḥ sambhunjatībhyaḥ | namās te deva senābhyaḥ svasti no abhayaṁ
cha naḥ |

1. "Bhava and Sarva, be gracious to us, be not hostile, lords of
spirits, lords of beasts [see v. 9]; reverence to you twain. Discharge
not a long arrow; destroy not our bipeds and quadrupeds. 2. Abandon
not one bodies to the dog or the jackal, to carrion birds, to vultures,
the greedy black flies, lord of beasts; let not thy birds get us to
devour. 3. We offer reverence to thy shout, to thy breath, and to
thy arrows, Bhava, and, O immortal Rudra, 3o thee the thousand-eyed.
4. We offer reverence to thee from before, and from above, and from
below, and from thy domain in the sky: reverence to thy firmament.
TRANSLATION OF HYMN TO BHAVA

5. Reverence to thy face, Paśupati, to thine eyes, Bhava, to thy skin, to thy form, to thine aspect from behind. 6. Reverence to thy limbs, to thy belly, to thy tongue, to thy mouth, to thy teeth, to thy odour (nose?). 7. May we never contend with that archer whose locks are dark, who has a thousand eyes, the warrior, with Rudra the slayer of Ardhaka. 8. May he (Bhava) everywhere avoid us, may Bhava avoid us as fire avoids the waters. May he not bear malice towards us: reverence be to him. 9. Four times, eight times, be reverence to Bhava: ten times be reverence to thee, Paśupati. Thine are these five distinct sorts of animals—kine, horses, men, goats, and sheep. 10. Thine, Ugra [or fierce god], are the four regions, the sky, the earth, and the wide atmosphere; thine is everything which has a spirit and which breathes upon the earth. 11. This is a vast and wealthy storehouse of thine, within which all these beings are contained. Do thou favour us, Paśupati; reverence be to thee. Far from us be jackals, unlucky omens, dogs: may shrieking female demons with dishevelled hair go far from us. 12. Long-haired god, thou carriest a yellow and golden bow, [a weapon] which smites thousands and kills hundreds. Rudra's arrow, a celestial bolt, flies abroad: reverence be to it in whatever direction from hence [it flies]. 13. Thou pursueth after the adversary who lurks and seeks to overcome thee, Rudra, as a man tracking the steps of a wounded [animal]. 14. Bhava and Rudra, who are always united and concordant, both fierce, ye advance to [deeds of] heroism. Reverence be to them twain in whatever direction they are from hence. 15. Reverence to thee coming, and to thee departing; reverence to thee, Rudra, standing, and to thee sitting. 16. Reverence in the evening, in the morning, by night and by day: I have offered reverence to Bhava, and to Sarva, both of them. 17. Let us not with our tongue offend Rudra, who rushes on, thousand-eyed, viewing all the world, who hurls his shafts in our presence, and who is manifestly wise. 18. We approach first [with our worship] the god who has brown horses, is dark, black, destroying, terrible, who casts down the car of Keśin (the long-haired being): reverence be to him. 19. Do

74 Rudra is elsewhere said to be the slayer of Andhaka or Antaka. See Rāmāyana, Aranya Kānda 30, 27, which is quoted in the Appendix.
75 Messrs. Böhtlingk and Roth assign to pada-nī the sense of "guide."
76 Böhtlingk and Roth make keśin an epithet of Rudra: see s.v.
not hurl at us thy club,\textsuperscript{77} thy celestial bolt: be not incensed at us, Pašupati; reverence be to thee. Chandish thy celestial weapon\textsuperscript{78} over some other than us. 20. Slay us not; interpose for us; avoid us; be not angry with us; let us not contend with thee. 21. Do not covet our cattle, our men, our goats, and sheep. Fierce god, betake thyself [or, turn thy chariot] elsewhere; slay the offspring of the malignant. 22. Reverence be to him whose consumption, whose cough, whose bolt assails some one like the neighing of a stallion—to him who carries away [his victims?] in order. 23. Be reverence paid with ten śakvarī verses to him who abides fixed in the atmosphere, smiting the despisers of the gods who offer no sacrifice. 24. For thee the beasts of the wood, deer, swans, and various well-winged birds\textsuperscript{79} are placed in the forest; thy living creatures, Pašupati, exist in the waters: to delight thee the celestial waters flow. 25. (There exist) porpoises, great serpents, purī-kayas, sea-monsters, fishes, rajasas,\textsuperscript{79*} at which thou shootest. There is to thee, Bhava, nothing far, nor anything which stands [near] around thee. At a glance thou lookest around the whole earth: from the eastern thou slayest in the northern ocean. 26. Do not assail us, Rudra, with consumption, or with poison, or with celestial fire: cause this lightning to descend elsewhere than upon us. 27. Bhava rules the sky, Bhava rules the earth, Bhava hath filled\textsuperscript{80} the vast atmosphere: reverence be to him in whatever direction from hence [he is]. 28. Bhava, king, be gracious to thy worshipper, for thou art lord of beasts. Be gracious to the quadrupeds and bipeds of him who believes that the gods exist.\textsuperscript{81} 29 (=R.V. i. 114, 7). Slay neither our great nor our small, neither him who is growing nor those who are to grow,\textsuperscript{82}

\textsuperscript{77} A. V. viii. 8, 11.—\textit{Trīnetiḥu onōn matyam Bhavasya} | “May the club of Bhava crush them.”

\textsuperscript{78} The word in the original is sākhā, “branch.”

\textsuperscript{79} In the original, suparnāḥ sakunāḥ vayānāi.

\textsuperscript{79*} B. and R. say this word perhaps means “unclean.”

\textsuperscript{80} Compare R.V. i. 52, 13, p. 99, above; and the other passages quoted in note 73 on the same page.

\textsuperscript{81} Compare R.V. viii. 89, 3, 4, quoted in the third volume of this work, p. 254.

\textsuperscript{82} Compare R.V. i. 114, 7, and T. S. iv. 5, 10, 2, p. 503, above. In Professor Wilson’s Dictionary I find the sense of “growing” assigned to the root \textit{vah}, when conjugated in the \textit{ātmane pada} with a nasal, \textit{vānûhate}. He says, however, that in this sense the root is more properly \textit{bah}, \textit{bāṇhate}. If the verb be so understood in this passage, the meaning will be the same as that which, on the authority of Messrs. Böhtingk and Roth, I have adopted in the parallel text of the Rigveda.
neither our father nor our mother: injure not, Rudra, ourselves. 30. I have offered this reverence to Rudra's wide-mouthed howling dogs who swallow their prey unchewed. 31. Reverence, O deity, to thy shouting, long-haired, revered, devouring hosts. May blessing and security be ours."

A. V. xi. 6, 9.—Bhavā-sarvā̃ iḍam brūmo Rudram Pasūpatiś cha yaḥ | iṣhūr yaḥ eshāṁ saṁvidma tāḥ naḥ santu sadeśivāḥ | “We say this to Bhava and Sarva, to Rudra and to him who is Pasūpati: may those arrows of theirs which we know be always propitious to us.”

A. V. xii. 4, 17.—Yāḥ enām avāsām āha devānāṁ nihītaṁ nidhim | ubhau tasmāi Bhavā-sarvau parikramyeshkum asyataḥ | “Both Bhava and Sarva advancing, discharge an arrow against him who declares this [cow], the hoarded treasure of the gods, to be no cow.”

A. V. xiii. 4, 4.—So yṛyamā sa Varuṇaḥ sa Rudraḥ sa Mahādevaḥ | 26. Sa Rudro vasvanir vasudeye namovāke vashātkūro 'nu saṁhitāḥ | 27. Tasyeṁe sarve yātavāḥ upa praśīṣham āsate | 28. Tasyāmū sarvā nakshatrā vaśe chandramasā saha | “4. He (Savitṛ) is Aryaman, he is Varuṇa, he is Rudra, he is Mahādeva. 26. He, Rudra, the giver of wealth, is placed as the 'vashātkūra' in the reverential invocation, at the giving of wealth. 27. All these demons wait upon his command. 28. All these stars, with the moon, are under his control.”

The following passage, together with the rest of the fifteenth book of the Atharva-veda, is quoted and translated by Prof. Aufrecht in the first vol. of Weber’s Indische-Studien, pp. 121–140:

A. V. xv. 5, 1.—Tasmāi prāchayāḥ diśo antar-deśād Bhavam ishvasam anUSHṭhātåram akurvan | Bhavah enam iṣhvāsaḥ prāchayāḥ diśo antar-deśād anUSHṭhātā 'nutishṭhati | naināṁ Sarvo na Bhavo na 'Īśano na asya paśūn na samānān hinaṁ yan evam veda | 2. Tasmāi daksināyāḥ diśo antardesāḥ chharvam ishvāsam ityādi | 3. Tasmāi prācīchcid diśo antar-deśāt Pasūpatim ityādi | 4. Tasmāi uḍīcyāḥ diśo antar-deśād ugraṁ devam ityādi | 5. Tasmāi dhruvīyāḥ diśo antar-deśād Rudran ityādi | 6. Tasmāi ur-dhvīyāḥ diśo antar-deśād Mahādevam ityādi | 7. Tasmāi sarvebhyaḥ antar-deśebhyāḥ 'Īśanam ityādi | ‘‘[The gods] made Bhava the archer [to be] to him (the Vṛatya) a deliverer from the intermediate space of the eastern region. Bhava the archer, a deliverer, delivers him from the interval of the eastern region. Neither Sarva nor Bhava, nor 'Īśana slays either him who knows this, or his cattle, or his kindred.
2. [The gods] made Sarva the archer [to be] his deliverer from the intermediate space of the southern region, etc. 3. [The gods] made Paśupati the archer [to be] his deliverer from the intermediate space of the western region, etc. 4. [The gods] made the god Ugra, etc. (as above), of the northern region, etc. 5. [The gods] made Rudra, etc. (as above), of the lower region, etc. 6. [The gods] made Mahādeva, etc. (as above), of the upper region, etc. 7. [The gods] made Īśāna the archer [to be] his deliverer from all the intermediate regions," etc.

Sect. IV.—Passages relating to Rudra from the S'atapatha and Sāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇas.

In the following text (which has been already quoted in the second volume of this work, p. 202) Rudra is identified with Agni:

S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 7, 3, 8.—Agnir vai sa devā tasya etānī nāmāni Sarvāh iti yathā prāchyaḥ āchakshate Bhavaḥ iti yathā Bāhikāh Paśūnām patiḥ Rudro 'gnir iti | tāny asya asāntāny eva itarāṇi nāmāni | Agnir ity eva sāntatamam | "Agni is a god. These are his names: Sarva, as the eastern people call him, Bhava, as the Bāhikas, Paśūnāpati (lord of beasts), Rudra, and Agni. These other names of his (i.e. all the foregoing except Agni) are ungentle. Agni is his gentlest appellation.”

The following passage describes the birth of Rudra, and at the same time identifies him with Agni:

S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, 6, 1, 3; 7 ff.—Abhūd vai iyam pratishtāḥ iti | tad bhūmir abhavat| tām aprathayat sa prithivy abhavat | tasyām asyām pratishtāyām bhūtāṇi bhūtānāncha patiḥ saṁvatsarāya adikshanta | bhūtānām patir griha-patir ādir Ushāḥ patnī | 8. Tad yāni tāni bhūtāṇi rītavas te | atha yaḥ sa bhūtānām patiḥ saṁvatsarāḥ saḥ | atha yā sa Ushāḥ patny aushasi sā | tāni imāni bhūtāṇi cha bhūtānānca patiḥ saṁvatsarāḥ Ushasi reto ‘sinchan | sa saṁvatsare kumāro ‘jayata | so ‘rodit | 9. Tam Prajāpatir abravit “kumāra kiṁ rodishi yach chhramat

On this the commentator remarks (p. 124 of Weber’s edition): Prāchyaḥ-dēsa-bhedena Sarvādi-nāma-bhede ‘pi devatā ekā eva | “Though, owing to the difference of countries, there is a difference of names, as Sarva, etc., still the god is but one.”

See the note translated from Weber’s Indische Studien above in p. 328.
tapaso 'dhi jāto 'si' iti | so 'braviṇā "ananapāha-pāṃmā vai asmy ahita-
nāmā nāma me dhehi' iti | tasmāt pātrasya jātasya nāma kuryaḥ pāṃmā-
mam eva asya tad apahanty api ḍvitiyam āpi tṛitiyam abhipūrvam eva asya
tat pāṃmānam apahanti | 10. Tam abraviṇā Rudro 'si iti | tad yad asya
tan nāma akarod Agnis tad-rūpaṃ abhavat | Agnir vai Rudraḥ | yad arodita
Tasmād Rudraḥ | so 'braviṇī "jyāyāṇ vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma"' iti | 11. Tam abraviṇā "Sarvo 'si' iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod
āpas tad-rūpam abhavan | āpo vai Sarvaḥ | abhijo hi idaṁ sarvaṁ jāyate | so 'braviṇī "jyāyāṇ vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma"' iti | 12. Tam abraviṇā Paśupatir asī iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod
ōṣhaḥ-yasas tad-rūpam abhavan | oṣhaḥ-yasas abhivahasya tad-rūpam
ārāma sārvaṁ tasmād yātā pāṣavaḥ oṣhaḥ-dhī labhante
'tha patīyanti' | so 'braviṇī "jyāyāṇ vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma"' iti | 13. Tam abraviṇā Ugro 'si iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod Vāyus
tad-rūpam abhavat | Vāyur vai Ugras tasmād yātā balavad vāty "Ugro
vāti" ity āhuḥ | so 'braviṇī "jyāyāṇ vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma"' iti |
14. Tam abraviṇā "Aṣanir asī iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarot vidyut
tad-rūpam abhavat | vidyud vai Aṣanis tasmād yāṁ vidyud hanty "Aṣanir
abadhīṇa" ity āhuḥ | so 'braviṇī "jyāyāṇ vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma"' iti |
15. Tam abraviṇā "Bhavo 'si' iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarot Par-
jayāṇas tad-rūpam abhavat | Parjayāṇa vai Bhavaḥ | Parjayāṇād hi idaṁ sar-
vam bhavati | so 'braviṇā "jyāyāṇ vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma"' iti |
16. Tam abraviṇā "Mahaṁ devo 'si' iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akaroch
chandramās tad-rūpam abhavat | Prajāpatir vai chandramāḥ Prajāpatir
vai mahān devaḥ | so 'braviṇī "jyāyāṇ vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma"' iti |
17. Tam abraviṇā "Īṣanō 'si' iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod
Ādityas tad-rūpam abhavat | Ādityo vai Īṣāṇaḥ Ādityo hy asya sarvasya
īśte | so 'braviṇā "etāvāṇ vai asmi mā mā itaḥ para nāma dhāh" iti |
18. Tāṇy etāṇy ashtāv Agni-rūpāni Kumāro navamoḥ | sa eva Agnis trī-
viddā | 19. Yad vai eva ashtāv Agni-rūpāni askhakshārā gāyatrī tasmād
āhūr "gāyatra 'gnir" iti | so 'yaṁ Kumāro rūpāṇy anupraśīvat | na vai
Agniṁ Kumāram eva paśyanty etāṇy eva asya, rūpāṇi paśyanty elāṇi hi
rūpāṇi prāśīvat |

"This foundation existed. It became the earth (bhūmi). He ex-
tended it (aprathayat). It became the broad one (prithivi). On this
foundation beings, and the lord of beings, consecrated themselves for
the year (samvatsara). The lord of beings was a householder, and
Ushas was his wife. 8. Now these 'beings' were the seasons. That
'lord of beings' was the Year. That wife Ushas was Aushasī (the daughter of the dawn). When both those beings, and that lord of beings, the Year, impregnated Ushas, and a boy (Kumāra) was born in a year. The boy wept. 9. Prajāpati said to him, 'Boy, why dost thou weep, since thou hast been born after toil and austerity?' The boy said, 'My evil indeed has not been taken away, and a name has not been given to me. Give me a name.' Wherefore when a son has been born [to any man]; let a name be given to him; that takes away his evil; and [let] also a second and a third [name be given] in succession: that takes away his evil. 10. Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Rudra.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Agni became his form, for Rudra is Agni. He was Rudra because he wept (arodit from rud, 'to weep'). The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 11. Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Sarva.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, the waters became his form, for Sarva (All) is the waters, because all this is produced from the waters (see above, p. 24 f.). The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 12. Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Paśupati.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, the Plants became his form, for Paśupati is the Plants. Hence, when beasts obtain plants, they become lords (or strong). The boy said,
'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name. 13. Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Ugra.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Vāyu (the Wind) became his form. For Ugra (or the 'Fierce') is Vāyu. Wherefore when it blows strongly, men say, 'Ugra blows.' The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 14. Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Aśani.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Vidyut (Lightning) became his form. For Aśani is Lightning. Hence they say that Aśani has struck a man whom lightning strikes. The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 15. Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Bhava.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Parjanya (the god of rain) became his form. For Bhava (Being) is Parjanya; because all this [universe] springs (bhavati) from Parjanya. The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 16. Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Mahāndevaḥ (the 'Great god').' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Chandramas (the Moon) became his form. For the Moon is Prajāpati: the 'Great god' is Prajāpati. The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 17. Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Iśāna (the ruler).' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Āditya (the Sun) became his form. For Iśāna is the Sun, because he rules (iškte) over this universe. The boy said, 'I am so much: do not give me any further name.' 18. These are the eight forms of Agni. Kumāra (the boy, see above, para. 8 in the preceding page) is the ninth. This is, the threefoldness (trivritta) of Agni. 19. Since there are, as it were, eight forms of Agni, [and] the gāyatrī metre has eight syllables, men say, 'Agni pertains to the gāyatrī.' This boy (Kumāra) entered into the forms. 'Men do not see Agni as a boy; it is these forms of his that they see; for he entered into these forms.'

This passage appears to be the original from which the story of the birth of Rudra in the Purāṇas is borrowed. That legend, as given in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (in nearly the same words as in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa), is as follows:

89 The same words occur in the Taitt. S. ii. 2, 5, 5; and the Taitt. Br. i. 1, 5, 3. The Commentator on the latter passage says: Agner mukha-jatvena gāyatrī-sambandhitve m "Agni's connexion with the Gāyatrī arises from his having sprung from the mouth."
Märk. Pur. Sect. 52, 2 ff.—Kalpadav utmanas tulayaṃ sutaṃ pradyayataḥ prabhōḥ | 3. Prādur-āśiḥ athānke 'syā kumāro nīla-lohitāḥ | rurdea susvaram so 'tha dravanyā cha dvija-sattana | kim rodishāti tam Brahma rudantam pratyuvācha ha | nāma dehī ti tai so 'tha pratyuvācha jagat-patiṃ | Rudras tevāṃ deva nāṃśa 'si ma rodr dhaiyam āvaha | evam uktas tataḥ so 'tha sapta-kṛito rurdo ha | tato 'nyāni dačau tasmai sapta nāmāyī vai prabhuh | sthānāni cāishām ashtānām patnīḥ | putrăṃś cha vai dvijā | 'Bhavaṁ Sarvaṁ tatēśānaṁ tathā Paśupatim | prabhuh | 'Bhūmam Ugram Mahādevam uvācā sa Pitāmahaḥ |

“When, at the beginning of the kalpa, the lord (i.e. Brahma) was meditating on a son similar to himself, there was manifested in his lap a boy of a blue and red colour, (3) who then wept loudly, running about. Brahma said to him when he was weeping, ‘Why dost thou weep?’ He answered the lord of the world, ‘Give me a name.’ [Brahma rejoined], ‘Thou, O deity, art called Rudra; do not weep; be patient.’ Being thus addressed, [the boy] wept again seven times. Then the lord gave him seven other names, and the places of these eight, and wives and sons. The Progenitor (Brahma) called him [besides Rudra] Bhava, Sarva, Īsāna, Paśupati, Bhīma, Ugra, Mahādeva.”

These names (except Bhīma, which is substituted for Aṣāni) are the same as those in the Brāhmaṇa. The same legend is given in a somewhat different form in the Sānkhyāyana or Kaushitakī Brāhmaṇa, and an abstract of that passage is furnished by Prof. Weber in his Indische Studien ii. 300 ff. For the text of the passage I am indebted to Prof. Aufrecht, who copied it from the MS. of the Sānkhyāyana in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Sānkhyāyana Brāhmaṇa, vi. i. etc.—Prajāpatiḥ prajāti-kāmas tapo tappyataḥ tapmāt taptāt pancha ajāyanta Agnir Vāyuḥ Adityaḥ Chandramah Uṣāḥ panchamā | tān abravīd “yāyam api tapyadhvam” | te dīkṣhata | tān dīkṣitām āpeṣān Uṣāḥ prajāpatyaḥ 'psaro-rūpaṁ kriṇā prastāt pratyuvādait | tasyām esam manāḥ samapatat | te reto 'sinchanta | Te prajāpatim pitaram etya abravan “reto vai asichāmahai idam nī ma amuyā bhūḥ” iti | sa prajāpatiḥ hiraṇmayaṁ chamasam akarod 'ishu-mitrām urduḥ āvam evam tiryāncham | tasmin retaḥ samasinchat | tataḥ idatishthāt sahasrākṣaḥ sahasrapāt sahasreṇa pratihītabhiḥ | 2. Sa prajāpatim pitaram abhyāyachhat | tām abravīt “kathā ma 'bhya-
yachhasi" iti | "nāma me kuru" ity abravin "na vai idam avihitena
nāmā annam atsyāmī" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravid "Bhavāḥ eva"
iti yad Bhavāḥ āpas | tena na ha vai evam. Bhavo hiniṣṭi na asya
prajām na asya paśūn na asya bruvāṇañ chana | atha yaḥ enaṁ dveshti
sa eva āpīyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | tasya vratam ā im eva
vāsah paridadhīta iti | 3. Tāṁ dvitiyāṁ abhyāyachhat tam abravit |
"kathā mā abhyāyachhāsī" iti | "dvitiyam me nāma kuru" ity abravin
"na vai idam ekena nāmā annam atsyāmī", iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravid
"Chharvāḥ eva" iti yaḥ Chharvāḥ 'gniḥ | tena na ha vai enaṁ
Sarvo hiniṣṭi na asya prajām na asya paśūn na asya bruvāṇañ chana | 
atha yaḥ enaṁ dveshti sa eva āpīyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda |
tasya vratam srecam eva na aśniyād iti | 4. Tāṁ triyāṁ abhyāyachhat |
tam abravit "kathā mā abhyāyachhāsī" iti | "tritiyam me nāma kuru"
ity abravin "na vai idaṁ dvābhāyāṁ nāmaḥbhāyāṁ annam atsyāṁś" iti |
"sa vai tvam" ity abravid "Pāsupatir eva" iti yat Pāsupatir Vaiyāḥ | tena
na ha vai enaṁ Pāsupatir hiniṣṭi na asya prajām na asya paśūn na asya
bruvāṇañ chana | atha yaḥ enaṁ dveshti sa eva āpīyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ
evāṁ veda | tasya vratam brāhmanam eva na parivadeśi iti | 5. Tāṁ
chaturtham abhyāyachhat | tam abravit "kathā mā 'bhayaḥchhāsī" iti |
"chaturtham me nāma kuru" ity abravit | "na vai idam tribhāṁ nāma-
bhāṁ annam atsyāṁ" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravid "Ugraḥ eva devaḥ"
iti yad Ugra devaḥ oṣadhayo vanaspatayah | tena na ha vai evam Ugro
deo hiniṣṭi na asya prajām na asya paśūn na asya bruvāṇañ chana |
atha yaḥ enaṁ dveshti sa eva āpīyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | 
tasya vratam striyāḥ eva vivaram na ṭikṣheta iti | 6. Tāṁ panchamam
abhyāyachhat | tam abravit "kathā mā 'bhayaḥchhāsī" iti | panchamam
me nāma kuru" ity abravit | "na vai idaṁ chaturbhāṁ nāmaḥbhāṁ annam
atsyāṁ" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravid "Mahān eva devaḥ" iti | yan
Mahān devaḥ Ādiyāḥ | Tena na ha vai enaṁ Mahān devo hiniṣṭi na asya
prajām na asya paśūn na asya bruvāṇañ chana | atha yaḥ enaṁ
dveshti sa eva āpīyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | tasya vratam
udyantam eva enaṁ na ṭikṣheta astaṁ yantaṁ cha iti | 7. Tāṁ, sha-
shtham abhyāyachhat tam abravit "kathā mā abhyāyachhāsī" iti |
"shashtham me nāma kuru" ity abravit | "na vai idam panchabhāṁ
nāmaḥbhāṁ annam atsyāṁ" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravid "Rudraḥ eva"
iti yad Rudraḥ Chandramāḥ | Tena na ha vai enaṁ Rudro hiniṣṭi na
asya prajām na asya paśūn na asya bruvāṇañ chana | atha yaḥ enaṁ
"Prajāpati, being desirous of progeny, performed austerity. From him when he had [thus] performed austerity five [children] were born, Agni, Vāyu, Āditya, Chandramas (Moon), and Ushas (dawn) the fifth. He said to them, 'Do you also perform austerity.' They consecrated themselves. Before them, when they had consecrated themselves, and had performed austerity, Ushas, the daughter of Prajāpati, assuming the form of an Apsaras (a celestial nymph) rose up. Their attention was riveted upon her, and they discharged seed. They then came to Prajāpati their father, and said to him, 'We have discharged seed; let it not lie there in vain.' Prajāpati made a golden platter, of the depth of an arrow, and of equal breadth. In this he collected the seed, and from it there arose a being with a thousand eyes, a thousand feet, and a thousand arrows on the string. 2. He came to his father Prajāpati, who asked him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' He answered, 'Give me a name. I shall not eat this food, so long as no name has been given to me.' Thou art Bhava,' said Prajāpati; for Bhava is the Waters. Therefore Bhava does not slay this man, nor his offspring, nor his cattle, nor any [creature of his] who speaks. And further, whoever hates him is most wicked. Such is not the case with
him who knows this. His rule is, let a man wear a garment. 3. He (this newly-produced being) came a second time to Prajápati, who asked him, ‘Why dost thou come to me? ’ ‘Give me,’ he replied, ‘a second name: I shall not eat this food with only one name.’ ‘Thou art Sarva,’ Prajápati answered; for Sarva is Agni. Wherefore Sárva does not slay him, nor his offspring, nor his cattle, nor any [creature of his] who speaks. Further, whoever hates him is most wicked. Such is not the case with him who knows this. His rule is, let not a man eat every sort of food. 4. He came the third time to Prajápati, who said to him, ‘Why dost thou come to me? ’ ‘Give me a third name,’ he replied; ‘I shall not eat this food with only two names.’ ‘Thou art Paśupati,’ Prajápati answered; for Paśupati is Vāyu (the Wind). Wherefore Paśupati does not slay him, etc., etc. His rule is, let no one slander a Bráhman. 5. He came the fourth time to Prajápati, who said to him, ‘Why dost thou come to me? ’ ‘Give me a fourth name,’ he replied; ‘I shall not eat this food with only three names.’ ‘Thou art Ugradeva (the fierce god),’ Prajápati answered; for Ugradeva is plants and trees. Wherefore Ugradeva does not slay him, etc., etc. His rule is, let not a man look upon the shame of a woman. 6. He came the fifth time to Prajápati, who said to him, ‘Why dost thou come to me? ’ ‘Give me a fifth name,’ he replied; ‘I shall not eat this food with only four names.’ ‘Thou art Mahándevas (the great god),’ Prajápati answered; for Mahándevas is Áditya (the Sun). Wherefore Mahándevas does not slay him, etc., etc. His rule is, let no man look upon him (the Sun) rising or setting. 7. He came the sixth time to Prajápati, who said to him, ‘Why dost thou come to me? ’ ‘Give me a sixth name,’ he replied; ‘I shall not eat this food with only five names.’ ‘Thou art Rudra,’ Prajápati answered; for Rudra is Chandramas (the Moon). Therefore Rudra does not slay him, etc., etc. His rule is, let no man eat anything coagulated [or solid], or any marrow. 8. He came the seventh time to Prajápati, who said to him, ‘Why dost thou come to me? ’ ‘Give me a seventh name,’ he replied; ‘I shall not eat this food ‘with only six names.’ ‘Thou art Ísána,’ Prajápati answered; for Ísána is food. Wherefore Ísána does not slay him, etc., etc. His rule is, let no one reject him who desires food. 9. He came the eighth time to Prája-

90 This is the sense assigned by Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v. mürchhāvi.
pati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me an eighth name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only seven names.' 'Thou art Aśani,' Prajāpati answered; for Aśani is Indra. Wherefore Aśani does not slay him, etc., etc. His rule is, let a man speak truth, and keep gold. This is the Mahāndeva (great god), who has eight names, and who is formed in eight ways. The progeny to the eighth generation of the man who possesses this knowledge, eats food, and ever wealthier and wealthier men will be born among his descendants.'

The following is the account given in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa of the object and name of the Satārudiya:

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, ix. 1, 1, 1.²¹—Athā atah satārudiyaṁ jahoti | atra esha sarvo 'gniṁ saṁskṛitaḥ | sa esho 'tra Rudro devatā | tasmin devāḥ etad anātitaṁ rūpam uttamam adadhuh | sa esho 'tra dipyamūno 'tishthad annam ichhamānaḥ | tasmāḥ devāḥ abibhayur "yad vai no 'yam na hiṁsyād" iti ॥ 2. To 'bruvann "annam asmai sambhārama tena eṇaṁ śama- yāma" iti | tasmai etad annaṁ samabhāraṇā śaṁta-devatyaṁ ॥ 2 | tena eṇaṁ aśamayan | tad yad etam devam etena aśamayāṁs tasmāḥ ēhānta-devatyaṁ | "śaṁta-devatyaṁ ha vai tath ēhātārudiyaṁ" ity ēchakshate paroksham | paroksha-kāmāḥ hi devāḥ ||

"He now offers an oblation with the Satārudiya. Here this universal fire has been prepared; and here this Rudra is the deity. In him the gods placed this most excellent immortal form. Here he rose up flaming, desiring food. The gods were afraid of him, 'lest' (they thought) 'he should destroy us.' ॥ 2. They said, 'Let us collect food for him, and with it appease him.' They collected for him this food with which a deity is appeased, and with it they appeased him. Inasmuch as they appeased this god with this, it is therefore called 'Śaṁtadevatya' ('that with which a god is appeased'). They call this 'Śaṁtadevatya' esoterically 'Sata-rudriya'; for the gods love what is esoteric.'

²¹ Compare Taitt. Br. i. 6, 1, 2. In the same work, i. 7, 1, 2, we read that the gods and Asurac were fighting, when the former said to Agni, "We shall conquer with thee as our champion." He said, "I shall transform myself into three parts." He did so, Agni being one part, Rudra a second, and Varuṇa a third, etc (te devāḥ Āgnīṁ abrvaṁ "tvayā viśeṣa Āsurān abhībhavāma", iti| so 'braṇīṁ "tṛdḥā ātmānaṁ evakariṣye" iti | sa tṛdḥā ātmānaṁ vyakuruta Āgnīṁ ātityaṁ Rudraṁ ātityaṁ Varuṇaṁ ātityaṁ ityād).

²² Śaṁta-devatyaṁ śaṁta-devatārthaṁ devatā Śaṁty-arthaḥ | Comm.
On this the commentator remarks: *Vihito 'yāṁ homo Rudra-rūpata-pannasya Agner upaśamanārtham* | "This oblation is offered in order to appease Agni who has taken the form of Rudra."{93}

The same work gives, a little further on, another account of the origin of Rudra, and a different etymology for the Satarudriya:

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, ix. 1, 1, 6 ff.—Prajāpati visrastād devatāḥ udakrāmaṁstam ekaḥ eva devo na ajahād Manyur eva | so 'smim antar vitato 'tishthat | so 'rodit | tasṣya yāṇy aṣtriṇi prāstūndamś tāṇya asmin Manyau pratyatishthān | sv eva sāta-śirṣhāḥ Rudraḥ saṃabhavat sahasrākṣḥh śatēshuhāḥ | atha yāḥ anyāḥ viprūsho 'pataṁs tā asankhyātā sahasrāni{94} imāṁ lokāṁ amṛtrāviśan | tad yād ruditāt saṃabhavāṁs tasmād Rudrāḥ | so 'yaṁ sātaśirṣhāḥ Rudraḥ sahasrākṣḥh śatēshudhīr{95} adhiṣṭya-āhanāvā pratiḥitiyāḥ bhishayamāno 'tishthad annam iṣṭhāmānaḥ | tasmād devāḥ abihayāḥ | 7. Tā Prajāpatim abruvan | "asmād vai bibhimo yād vai no 'yaṁ na hiṁsyād" iti | so 'bravid "annam asmin saṃbhāraṣṭa teṇa ānaṁ samāyaya" iti | tasmāi etad annāṁ saṃbhāranā śatarudriyaṁ tena eva asamāyan ṣaṃbhāraṣṭrāh Rūdrān etena asāmayaṁs tasmāḥ ehataśirṣhā-ruḍra-śaṁāṇyaṁ | sātaśirṣhā-ruḍra-śaṁāṇyaṁ ha vai tat śatarudriyaṁ ity aḥaṣkhaṭe parokṣaṁ | parokṣa-kāmāḥ hi devāḥ ityādi | ... 14. "Namas te Rūdra manyave" iti | yāḥ eva asmin so 'ntar Manyur vitato 'tishthat tasmāi etan nanas-kauryo uto "te ishāve namo bāhubhyām iūta te namaḥ" iti ishāve cha ki bāhubhyām cha bhishayamāno 'tishthat |

6. "From Prajāpati, when he had become enfeebled, the deities

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{93} In the Taît. S. v. 4, 3, 1. it is said: *Rudro vai esha yad Agniḥ | sa etarthī jāto yarhi sarvaḥ chitaḥ sa yathā vato jātāḥ staman prepasya evāṁ vai esha etarhi bhāgadhēyam prepati | tasmāi yad āhutiṁ na jukvād adhvayyin cha yajamānāṁ cha dhyāyet | S'atarudriyaṁ juhoti | bhāgadhēyena eva evāṁ samayati | na ārtim ā archaty adhvayur na yajamānāḥ | "This Agni is Rudra (or terrible). When now he is born, and all kindled, as a calf when born desires the udder, so he now desires his share. If an oblation were not presented to him, he would turn his thoughts (with the view of devouring) towards both the adhvaryu priest and the sacrificer. The Satarudriya is celebrated; and the priest quiets him with a share. So both adhvaryu and sacrificer avoid injury." The same work, v. 5, 7, 4, says similarly: *Eṇḍro vai esha yad Agniḥ | sa yathā vyāghrāḥ krodhāḥ tishṭhāṭy evāṁ vai esha etarhi | sāntam etair upaṭisṭhāte nuṁakṣāraṁ eva evāṁ samayati | "This Agni is Rudra (or terrible). As a tiger stands raging, so does he now. The priest approaches with these [oblations] [the fire] that has been prepared [and kindled]; and quiets him with prostrations.

{94} Compare Nir. i. 15, and Vāj. Sanh. 16, 54, above, 325.

{95} Compare Vāj. Sanh. xvi. 13, above, p. 323.
departed. Only one god, Manyu, did not leave him, but continued extended within him. He (Prajapati) wept. The tears which fell from him remained in that Manyu. He became Rudra with a hundred heads, a hundred eyes, and a hundred quivers. Then the other drops which fell from him in unnumbered thousands entered into these worlds. They were called Rudras because they sprang from him when he had wept. This Rudra with a thousand heads, eyes, and quivers, stood with his bow strung, and arrows on the string, causing terror, and demanding food. The gods were afraid of him. 7. They said to Prajapati, 'We are afraid of this being, lest he destroy us.' Prajapati said to them, 'Collect for him food, and with it appease him.' They collected for him this food, the satarudriya, and with it they appeased him. From the fact that with this they appeased the hundred-headed Rudra, it is 'that wherewith the hundred-headed Rudra is to be appeased' (S'ata-sirsha-rudra-samanigam). This they esoterically call Satarudriya; for the gods love what is esoteric... 14. 'Reverence, Rudra, to thy wrath' (see above, p. 326, verse 1). (In these words) he (the priest) expresses reverence to Manyu, who stood extended within him (Rudra). 'Reverence also to thy arrow and thine arms.' He (the god) stood causing terror with his arrow and arms.'

The word Mahādeva occurs in the Tāṇḍya Mahābhrāhmaṇa, vi. 9, 7, Yāṁ samāṁ Mahādevaḥ pāśūṁ hanyād ityadi | "In whatever year Mahādeva slays cattle." The same work, vii. 9, 16 ff., makes mention of Rudra in connexion with cattle or victims: Devāh vai pāśūṁ vyabhajanta | te Rudram antrayana | "The gods were dividing the victims. They passed over Rudra."

In the descriptions of Mahādeva which are found in the passages quoted in the last chapter from the Mahābhārata, though that deity is occasionally identified with Agni, as he is with other gods (see above, p. 204), he is generally represented in a different aspect, and with different characteristics. In the legend of the birth of Skanda or Kārttīkeya, however, which is narrated in the Vana-parvan of that poem, we find some trace of the early connexion of Rudra with Agni. We are there told that, after Skanda had been installed in his office of general of the gods (v. 14424), Mahādeva arād Pārvatī arrived:

Lassen (Ind. Ant. i. 588, note, 1st ed. =p. 701, 2nd ed.) observes that this legend differs from the one on the same subject in the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 38, and regards the former as a later interpolation in the Mahābhārata.
14427 ff.—Āgamyā manuṣya-vyāghra saha devyā parantapa | archa- yāmāsa suprito bhagavān govarie-dhvajaḥ | Rudram Agniḥ dvijāḥ prā- huḥ Rudra-sūnus tatas tu saḥ | Rudrena śukram utsriṣṭaṁ tat śeṭaḥ parveto 'bhavat | Pāvakasyendriyaṁ śvete kṛittikābhiiḥ kṛitaṁ nage | pū- jjāmānaṁ tu Rudrena divīṣṭaṁ sarve divaukasah | Rudra-sūnuṁ tataḥ prāhur Guhaṁ guṇavatāṁ varam | anupraviśya Rudrena vahniṁ jāto hy ayaṁ śiśuḥ | tatra jātaṁ tataḥ Skando Rudra-sūnuṁ tato 'bhavat | Rudrasya Vahneḥ Śvāhāyāḥ shaṁnaṁ strīṁāṁ chu Bhārata | jātaḥ Skandasya sura-śreshṭho Rudra-sūnuḥ tato 'bhavat |

"The god whose banner is a bull, arriving with his goddess, paid him honour, well pleased. Brāhmans call Agni Rudra; consequently he (Kārttikeya) is the son of Rudra. The seed which was discharged by Rudra became the white mountain. And the seed of Pāvaka (Agni) was formed by the Kṛittikās on the white mountain. Having seen Guha (Kārttikeya) thus honoured by Rudra, all the deities consequently call him, who is the most excellent of the gifted, the son of Rudra. For this child was produced by Rudra when he had entered into Fire. Being there born, Skanda was the son of Rudra. Skanda, that most eminent deity, being born from Agni, [who was] Rudra, and from Śvāhā [and] the six wives [of the Rishis], was the son of Rudra.”

The allusions in this passage will become more intelligible if I give an outline of the preceding part of the allegorical story, which commences with v. 14241. Indra being distressed at the defeat of the armies of the gods (deva-senā) by the Dānavas (v. 14245 ff.) is meditating on this subject, when he hears the cry of a female calling for help, and asking for a husband to protect her. Indra sees that she has been seized by the demon Keśin, with whom he remonstrates; but the demon hurls his club at Indra, who, however, splits it with his thunder-bolt. Keśin is disabled in the next stage of their combat, and goes off. Indra then finds out from the female that her name is Devasena (army of the gods), and that she has a sister called Daityasena (army of the Daityas), and that they are both daughters of Prajāpati. Her sister, she says, loves Keśin, but she herself does not, and wishes Indra to find for her a proper husband, who shall be able to overcome all the enemies of the gods. Indra takes Devasena with him to Brahmā and desires him to provide her with a martial husband; and Brahmā promises that a helpmate of that description shall be born (14279 ff.).
ACCORDING TO THE MAHĀBHĀRATA.

Indra then departs with Devasena. It happened that Vasishṭha and other rishis had been offering a sacrifice, whither the gods headed by Indra proceeded to drink the soma-juice. Agni too, being invoked, descended from the region of the sun, entered into the fire, received the obligations of the rishis, and presented them to the gods. The story then proceeds (v. 14287):


97 In Rāmāyaṇa iii. 32, 5, Rāvana is described as Rukma-vedī-gataṁ, which the Commentator explains as rukma-vedīṁ prāptam hiranyeshṭaka-chitāṁ vedīṁ prāptam | "mounted on a platform of golden bricks."
pratikshante gamishyāmi Ḥutāśana | Mārkandeyah uvācha | tato 'gnir upayeme tām Śivām pritām mudāvyaṭaḥ | prityā devi samāyuktā sukraṁ jagrāha pāṇīṇā | achintayad nāmedaṅye rūpāni drakṣyangi ṇāṇane | te brāhmaṇīnām anṛṣṭāṁ doshaṁ vakṣyanti Pāvake | tasmād etad rakṣaṁnaṁ Gauḍi sambhavāmy ahām | vanād nirgamanaṁ chaiva sukham mama bhavishyati | Suparṇī sā tadā bhūtvā nirjagāma mahāvanāt | apāṣyat parvataṁ śvetāṁ śraṣṭaṁ sausāṁvṛtām | drīṣṭi vivaṅgaṁ saṣṭaṅgaṁ sīrhaṁ guptaṁ bhogibhir adbhutaiḥ | rakṣobhiṁ cha piśāchais cha raudraṁ bhūtaganāṁ tathā | rakṣaṁbhīṁ cha sampūrvam anekaisca mrīga-avijayaṁ | sā tatra sahasā gatvā śāila-prishṭhaṁ sudurgamaṁ | prakṣipat kānchane kunde sukraṁ sā tvarīta śubhaṁ | saṁptāṁ api sā devi saṁpūrvāṁ mahātanām | paṭṇī-saṅgupatāṁ kṛtvā kāmayaṁśa Pāvakam | divya-rūpam Arundhatyāḥ kartuṁ na śaktaṁ tāyā | tayās tāpaḥ-prabhuṇe bhartuḥ śūrūṣhaṇeṇa cha | shaṭkṛitvaṁ tat tu niḥkṣiptam Agnēḥ retah Kurūttama | tasmin kunde pratipadi kāminyā Śvāhayaṁ tadā | tat skannaṁ tejasā tatra saṁvṛitāṁ janayat sutam | rishihīṁ pūjitaṁ skammam anayat Skandatāṁ tataḥ | śat-sirāḥ dvīgunaṁ śrotro dvādaśākṣe-bhujakramāḥ | eka-grīvakeṇa-jaṭaharaḥ kumāraḥ samapadyata | . . . . . . . .

v. 14514: Yadā Skandena mātrīṇāṁ evam etat priyaṁ kṛitam | thainam abravīt Śvāḥa “mama putras tvam aurasaḥ | ichhāmy ahaṁ tvayā datīṁ pritim paraḿ-durlabhām” | tām abravīt tataḥ Skandāḥ pritim ichhāṁ kādriśaṁ | Śvāḥa uvācha | Daṅkhasyāḥam priyā kanyā Śvāḥa nāma mahābhūjaḥ | bālayāt prabhṛti nityanča jāta-kāmā Ḥutāśane | na sa mām kāminīṁ putra samyag jāṇatī Pāvakāḥ | ichhāṁ sāśvataṁ vāsaṁ vāstum putra saṁghinā | Skandāḥ uvācha | Ḥavyāṁ kavyanča yat kincchādvijānāṁ manerā-saṁstutaṁ | hoshyanty Agnau sadā devi śaṁhety ukτtvā samuddhṛitam | adya prabhṛtī āsyaṃ purvaṁ svirṛtāṁ sat-pathe sthitāḥ | evam Agnis tvayā sārdham sadā vatsyati śobhane | Mārkandeyah uvācha | evam uktā tataḥ Śvāḥa tushṭā Skandena pūjita | Pāvakaṁ samāyuktaṁ brahṛta Skambam apūjaya | tato Brahmā Mahāsenam Prājapatir athābravīt | abhigachha Mahādevam pitaraṁ tripurār-danam | Rudrenāginīṁ samāvīṣya śvāhām ṛṣisyā chomayaḥ | hitarthaṁ sarva-lokānāṁ jātas tvam aparājītaḥ |

Issuing forth, he beheld the wives of these great [rishis] reclining in their own hermitages, and sweetly sleeping, resembling golden altars, pure as beams of the moon, like to flames of fire, all wonderful as stars. Perceiving that, his senses became agitated. Beholding the wives of
the Brahmans, Agni was overcome by desire. Again and again he reflected, 'It is not proper that I should be thus agitated: I am enamoured of the chaste spouses of the Brahmans, who are not in love with me. They cannot be looked upon or questioned by me without reason. Entering into the domestic fire, I shall gaze upon them close at hand.' Entering the domestic fire, touching, as it were, with his flames, all of them, who were bright as gold, and beholding them, he was delighted. Dwelling thus there for a long time, fixing his attention upon these beautiful women, and enamoured of them, Agni was overcome. His heart being distressed with desire, Agni, failing to obtain the Brahman's wives, resolved to abandon his corporeal form, and went into the forest. Then Svāhā, the daughter of Daksha, first fell in love with him. This amorous and blameless goddess for a long time sought for his weak point, but as the god was watchful, she could not find any. But being perfectly aware that he had gone into the wood, and that he was really disturbed by desire, the amorous goddess thus reflected: 'I, who am distressed by love, will take the forms of the seven rishis' wives, and will court the affection of Agni, who is enchanted by their beauty. By doing so he will be pleased, and I shall obtain my desire.' Assuming first the form of Sīvā, the wife of Angiras, who possessed a good disposition, beauty, and excellent qualities, the handsome goddess (Svāhā) went to Agni, and thus addressed him: 'Agni, thou oughtest to love me, who am disturbed with love for thee: if thou wilt not do so, look upon me as dead. Agni, I, Sīvā, the wife of Angiras, have come, sent by virtuous women, and having considered my determination.' Agni replied: 'How dost thou, and how do all the other beloved wives of the seven rishis whom thou mentionest, know that I am distressed with love?' Sīvā answered: 'Thou hast always been beloved by us, but we are afraid of thee. Knowing thy heart by external signs, I have been sent to thee. I have come to be embraced: come quickly and fulfil thy desire., The other females are awaiting me; I shall depart, Hūtasāna (Agni).' Agni then with joy embraced the delighted Sīvā. The goddess-filled with delight took his seed in her hand. She reflected, 'All those who shall see this form of mine in the forest will falsely allege the transgression of Brahman's wives with Agni. Wherefore preserving this, I shall become Garuḍī; and thus my egress from the wood will
BIRTH OF KĀRTTIKEYA.

become easy. She then, becoming Suparnī, issued from the great forest, and beheld the white mountain surrounded by palisades of arrows, guarded by wondrous seven-headed serpents, whose very glance was venomous, by Rakshaśas, Piśāchas, and by hosts of Rudra's demons, filled with Rakshaśīs, and numerous beasts and birds. The beautiful goddess, having then gone quickly to the summit of the mountain, which was difficult of access, hastily threw the seed into a golden reservoir. Thus this goddess, assuming in succession the resemblance of the wives of the seven great rishis, loved Agni. But she could not take the divine form of Arundhati (the wife of Vaśishṭha), owing to the power of the latter's austerity, and her obedience to her husband. Six times was the seed of Agni thrown by the enamoured Svāhā into the reservoir on the pratipad (the first day of the lunar fortnight). Discharged there and collected, that seed by its energy generated a son. That [seed] which was discharged (skanna), being worshipped by the rishis, gave to this son his character of Skanda. Kumāra (Kārttikeya) was born with six heads, a double number of ears, twelve eyes, arms, and feet, one neck, and one belly." Kārttikeya marries Devasenā (vv. 14446 ff.). The six rishis' wives, his mothers, afterwards come to him, complaining that they had been abandoned by their husbands, and degraded from their former position, and asking him to secure their admission into paradise (svarga). The story then proceeds (v. 14514 ff.): "When Skanda had done what was gratifying to his mothers, Svāhā said him, 'Thou art my genuine son: I desire the love, difficult to obtain, which thou givest.' Skanda then asked her, 'What love dost thou desire?' Svāhā replied, 'I am the beloved daughter of Daksha, by name Svāhā. From my childhood I have been enamoured of Agni. But, my son, Agni does not thoroughly know me, who am enamoured of him. I wish to dwell perpetually with Agni.' Skanda rejoined: "Whatever oblation of Brahmans is introduced by hymns, they shall always, goddess, lift and throw it into the fire, saying, 'Svāhā.' From this day forward, virtuous men, abiding in the right path, shall grant [thee this]. Thence, 0 beautiful goddess, Agni shall dwell with thee continually." Being thus addressed by Skanda, Svāhā, gratified, worshipped by Skanda, and united with Agni as her husband, worshipped Skanda. Then Brahmā Prajāpati said to Mahāsena (Skanda), 'Go to thy father Mahādeva, the vexer of
Tripura. Thou unconquered hast been produced for the good of all worlds by Rudra who had entered into Agni, and Umā who had entered into Śvāhā.'"

Sect. V.——Passages relating to Rudra in the Upanishads.

To the preceding passages, descriptive of Rudra, from the Brāhmaṇas, I shall now subjoin a few of a different character from the Upanishads. The first is from the Śvetāsvatara Upanishad (Bibliotheca Indica, vol. vii., pp. 323 ff.):

Śvetāsvatara Upanishad, iii. 1 ff.—एकः एको जालवनं इतस्ते इतान्निहिः

sarvān lokān itate itanibhiḥ | yah eva ekaḥ udhhave saṃbhav ca ya etad vidur amṛtās te bhavanti | 2. Eko hi Rudro na dvitiyāya tashthuḥ 98 yah imān lokān itate itanibhiḥ | pratyaṁ janāṁ tīṣṭhāti saṃchukopānta-

kāle 99 saṃśrijīya viśvā bhuvanāni gopāḥ | 3. (R. V. x. 81, 3, above, p. 5.)

Viśvataś-chakshur uta viśvato-mukho viśvato-bāhur uta viśvato-pat | sam bāhubhyām dhamati sam patatair dyāvābhūmīṁ (sic) janayan devah ekaḥ | 4. Yo devānām prabhavaḥ chodbhavaḥ cha viśvādhipo Rudro mahārshiḥ |

Hiranyagarbham janayāmāsa pūrvaṁ 100 sa no buddhyā suhvaya saṁ-

yunaktu | 5 and 6—Vāj. S. xvi. 2, 3 (see above, p. 322) . . . . iv. 21. Ajaśrī ity evāṁ kaśchid bhīrūḥ pratipadyate | Rudra yat te dakshinām mukham tena māṁ pāhi nityam | 22=R. V. i. 114, 8, and Vāj. S. xvi. 16 with various readings (see above, pp. 303 and 323). "He who alone, the enchanter, rules by his powers, rules all worlds by his

98 These words na dvitiyāya tashthuḥ appear to be established as the current reading of this passage; and a reading pariṣṭy similar (with variations in other respects) will be found below in a corresponding verse which occurs in the Atharva-sūtras. The commencement of the verse is, however, also found in the Nirukta, i. 15, where the reading is different and preferable, ekāḥ eva Rudro 'vatasthe na dvitiyāḥ; and Saivaṇa, in his commentary on the Rig-veda (quoted in vol. iii. of this work, p. 60), gives the words thus, ekāḥ eva Rudro na dvitiyāḥ 'vatasthe. Durga, the commentator on the Nirukta, as cited by Roth (Illustr. of Nir., p. 12, note 4), quotes the whole verse as follows (without saying from what work it is taken): Ekāḥ eva Rudro 'vatasthe na dvitiyāḥ rāgah vigñan pritapatāṁ satrūn | saṃśrijīya viśvā bhuvanāni goptaḥ pratyaṁ janāṁ saṃchukopānta-kāle | "One only Rudra has existed and no second; slaying his enemies in the conflicts of the battle. Having created all worlds, a protector, he draws back all beings into himself at the time of the end."

99 The proper reading is probably saṃchukoche. See the last note; and Böhtlingk and Roth, s. e. kuch-+sama; where saṃchukoche is given as the proper reading, instead of saṃchukoṣa, which is found in Roth's Illustr. of Nirukta, p. 12, note 4.

100 These two words are varied below, 4, 12, thus: pāyata jīvanānām, i.e. "beheld Hiranyagarbha being born." The rest of the verse remains the same.
powers, he who in origination and in production is alone,—they who
know this become immortal. 2r For Rudra who rules these worlds
by his powers, is but one; [the wise] do not assert (?) a second.
Having, a preserver, created all worlds, he abides in men seve-
rally; he displays his wrath (absorbs them?) at the time of the 
end. 3. This one god, who has on every side eyes, on every side a
face, on every side arms, on every side feet, when producing the
heaven and earth, fashions them with his arms and with his wings. 
4. May Rudra, the lord of all, the great rishi, the cause of produc-
tion and the source of the gods, who first generated Hiranýagarbha,—may
he put us in possession of an excellent understanding. . . . .Ibid. iv. 
21. Some fearful man concludes thus—'[Thou art] unborn.' Rudra,
protect me with thy southern face.'

The next passage is from the commencement of the Atharva-śiras
Upanishad. The MSS. which I have consulted vary very much in their
readings:

Devāḥ ha vai svargaṁ lokam agaman | te devāḥ Rudram aprichehhan
"ko bhavān" iti | so 'bravid "aham ekaḥ prathamam āsaṁ varatāmi cha
bhavishyāmi cha na anyāḥ kauśchid matto vyatirikṭāh" iti | so 'ntarād anta-
χam prāviśad disāscha antaraṁ samprāviśat | "so 'ham nityāṁityo vyaktā-
vyaktō 'ham Brahmābhrama aham prānehaḥ pratyanecho 'haṁ dakshināncha
[dakshinās cha?] udancho 'ham adhascha ārddhvaṁcha disāscha pratidisās-
cha aham pumān apumān śrī cha aham śācitrī aham śācyatry aham
trishtub jagaty anushṭup cha aham ehando 'ham gārhapatyo dakshināṅgnir
āhavaniyo 'haṁ satyo 'haṁ gaur aham Gaury aham jyeshṭho 'haṁ śreshtho
'haṁ varishṭho 'ham āpo 'haṁ tejo 'ham rīg-yajuḥ-sāmātharvāṅgīraso
'ham aksharam aham ksharam aham guhyo 'haṁ gopyo 'ham aranyo 'ham
pushkaram aham pavitram aham agrancha madhyancha vahiścā vahirājā
yjotir ity aham ekāḥ | sarvanca mām eva mār yo vedā sa sarvān devān
veda | gāṁ gobhir brāhmaṁ brāhmaṁyena haviṁshi haviśhā āyur āyuṁ
satyāṁ satyena dharmāṁ dharmena tarpayāṁ scena tejasā " | tato devāḥ
Rudraṁ na aparṣyaṁ te devāḥ Rudraṁ dhyāyanti tato devāḥ ārdheva-
bāhavah stuvanti yo, vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavāṁ yaś cha Brāhma tasmāi
vai namo namaḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavāṁ yaścha Vishnuṁ tasmāi
vai namo namaḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavāṁ yaścha Mahēśvaram tasmāi

101 A work called Atharva-śiras is mentioned in the passage of the Rāmāyaṇa, i.
14, 2, quoted above, p. 165 f. See Weber's Indische Studien, i. 382 ff.; and ii. 53 ff.
vai namo namaḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yā cha Umā tasmai . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yaścha Viṇāyakas tasmai . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . yaścha Saṁkaraḥ . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . yaścha Indraḥ . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . yaścha Agniḥ . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . yaścha Bhuvah . . . | om adau madhye būr bhuvah swar ante śīrṣham janadom 102 viṣva-rūpo 'si | Brahma ekas tvāṃ dvitriḍhā ārdhvaṃ adhaś cha tvāṁ śāntiścā tvāṁ pushṭiścā tvāṁ tushṭiścā tvāṁ hitam āhitam viśvam aviśvāṁ dattam adattam kṛitam akṛitam param apra- yaṇanacha iti | “apāma somam” 103 amṛtaḥ abhāma aganna jyotir avidāma devaṇ | kiṁ nāmān asmān kṣīnavaḍ arātiḥ kim u dhārtir amṛtaḥ marta- yasyaḥ” | (R.V. viii. 48, 3) | sarva-jagaddhitam vai etad akṣharam prājā- patyaṁ sūkṣmaṁ saumyam purusham agraḥyaṁ agrāhyena Vāyuṁ vāyuṣyaṁ somaṁ saumyena graśati seṣaṇaḥ | tasmai upasaṁhātre mahāgrāṣyaḥ vai namo namaḥ | hṛidisthāḥ devataḥ sarvaḥ hṛidi prāne pratishṭhitāḥ | hṛidi tvam asi yo nityaṁ tisro mātraḥ paras tu saḥ | tasya uttarataḥ śiro daksinātaḥ pāḍau yaḥ uttarataḥ sa oṁkāraḥ | yaḥ oṁkāraḥ sa pranava yaḥ pranavaḥ sa “sarva-vyāpiḥ yaḥ sarva-vyāpiḥ so, ‘nanto yo ‘nantas tat tāraṁ” 104 yat tāraṁ tat sūkṣmaṁ yat sūkṣmaṁ tat śuklaṁ yat śuklaṁ tad vaidyutam yad vaidyutam tat param Brahma iti sa ekāḥ | sa eko Rudraḥ sa Īśanaḥ sa bhagavān sa Mahēśvarah sa Mahādevaḥ | atha kasmad uchyate oṁkāraḥ | yasmad uchchāryamānaḥ eva sarvaṁ sarvam unmaṇyaṁ tasmad uchyate oṁkāraḥ . . . atha kasmad uchyate ekaḥ | yaḥ sarvān lokān udgrhiṇāti 105 spijati visrijati vāsayaṁ tasmad uchyate ekaḥ | atha kasmad uchyate eko Rudraḥ | “eko Rudro na dvitiyāya tathā (sthitavān | advitiyāḥ eva sthitavān | Comm.) turyam imaṁ lokam iṣate iṣanīyur (niyamana-śaktimāḥ | Comm.) jaṇani- yuḥ (viṣvopadaka-śaktimāḥ | Comm.) | pratyāṇ jaṇas tiṣṭhanti saṁyug

102 The commentator explains this thus: “śīrṣaṁ śiro maṇḍraṇaḥ svāhā ity evaṁrū- paḥ | janadom jananda iti karmopakṣaṁ vārtham akṣhara-trayam | janam janam tad upalakṣita-jaṁnaṁ vāstu-jāvaṁ tad dadaṁ iti janandaḥ | tasya sambodhanam | Instead of the words in the text, another MS. reads, bhūs te ādir madhyam bhuvas te svas te śīrṣaṁ viśvarūpaśi.”

103 UmaYa Brahma-vidyā-svaruṣipīṇīya Kātyāyanāma saha vartate iti Somas tam | [SaYa is thus sa– Umā, “with Umā”] yataḥ somam apāmā tatāḥ amṛtaḥ maṇa-nahetubhir avidyā-śrāva-ṣaṁskāraṁ vivarjitaḥ abśūma sampannāḥ | —Comm.

104 Tārayati, “delivers;” that which delivers.—Comm.

105 Urdhva-mokṣham atmana grihyāti | —Comm.
asyântakâle samhriyâ viśvâ bhuvânani goptâ” | tasmâd uchyate eko Rudrâha\(^{106}\) attha kasmâd uchyate Isâno “yah sarvân lokân iśate iśanibhir” jananiibhir parama-saktibhir | “abhi, tvâ śūra nonumah adugdâh iev âhenavaḥ | iśânam asya jagataḥ svarârjâsam iśânam Indra nastushâḥ” | (R.V. vii. 32, 22) | tasmâd uchyate Isânaḥ | ... | attha kasmâd uchyate Mahâśvarâḥ | yah sarvân lokân sambhakshâh sambhahskhayaty ajasraṁ srijati visrijati vâsayati tasmâd uchyate Mahâdevâḥ | attha kasmâd uchyate Mahâdevâḥ | yah sarvân bhâvan parîtâya ātma-jnâna-yogaś- vârye mahati mahiye tasmâd uchyate Mahâdevâḥ | tad etad (etad nâmânirukti-rûpam charitam | Comm.) Rudra-charitam | “esho ha devâh pradîśo nu sarvâḥ pûrvo ha jatâḥ sa u gârthâ anâtha | sa eva jatâḥ sa janishyamanâḥ pratyay janâs tishtâti viśvato-mukhâḥ” | (Vâj. S. 32, 4) | “viśvataḥ-chakshur uta viśvato-mukh viśvato-bâhur uta viśvataḥ-pâit | sam bâhuhâyâm dhamati sam pataatraîr diyâ desarrollâjanayanâ devâh ekah” | (R.V. x. 81, 3) | ... | Rudre ekatvam (aikyam | Comm.) āhuḥ | Rudrâma śâsvataṁ vai purânam ityâdi | ... | vratam etat pâśupatam | Agnir iti bhasma Vâyur iti bhasma jalam iti bhasma sthalam iti bhasma vyoma iti bhasma sarvâḥ ha vai idam bhasma manâḥ etâni chakshuṁshi bhasmânī | “Agnir” ityâdina bhasma grihitvâ nimriyâ angâni samaspriyâ | tasmâd vratam etat pâśupatam paśu-pâśa-vimokshâya | yâ ’tharva-sûram brâhmano ’dhiśe so ’gni-pûto bhavati | sa vâyu-pût sukha bhavati | sa adîtya-pûto bhavati | sa soma-pûto bhavati | sa satya-bhûto bhavati | sa sarva-bhûto bhavati | sa sarveshû tirtheshu snâto bhavati | sa sarveshu vedeshu adhito bhavati | sa sarva-veda-vastra-charyâsya charito bhavati | sa sarvâir devair jnâto bhavati | sa sarva-yajna-kratubhir ishtavan bhavati | tena itihâsa-purânânam Rudrânâm sâta-sahasrânî japtâni bhavanti | gâyatryâḥ sâta-sahasram japtam bhavati | pranâvânam aytum japtam bhavati | rûpe rûpe (pâthê pâthê pratipâtham | Comm.) daśa-pârûvân punâti daśottaranâ ā chakshushhâh panktim punâti ityâha bhagavan Atharva-sîro ’tharva-sîrchi (abhyasaḥ âdârthah | Comm.) | sakrîj japtvâ suchih pûtak karmany bhavati | dvitiyaṁ japtvâ gânapatyam (sarva-niyantritam | Comm) avâpnoti tâtiyâṁ japtvâ devam eva anupraviâty oṁ samyâ | “yo Rudro agnau yo aepv antar ya oshadhîr viruâlah àviveśa | ya imâ viśvâ bhuvanâni chakripe tasmai Rudrâya namo ’stu Ágnaye” | (A. V. vii. 87, 1, above, p. 333).

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106 In another MS. a different answer is given to this question: Yasmâd rishibhir na anyair bhaktair drutam asyâ rûpam upalabhâye | “He is called ‘Rudra’ because his form is quickly (drutam) perceived by rishis, and not by other devout persons.”
"The gods went to heaven. They asked Rudra, 'Who art thou?' He said, 'I alone was before [all things], and I exist, and I shall be. No other transcends me.' He entered into one space after another, and into the space of the sky. 'I am eternal and not eternal, discernible and undiscernible, I am Brahma, I am not Brahma,' I am the eastern, western, southern, northern [breaths, etc., Comm.], I am below and above, the regions, and the intermediate regions, I am male, eunuch, and female, I am the Sāvitṛ, I the Gāyatṛ, I the Trishṭubh, Jagatī, and Anushṭubh (metres), I am metric. I am the household, the southern, and the āhavanīya fires, I am true, I am the earth (or cow), I am Gaurī, I am the eldest, I am the chief, I am the most excellent, I am the waters, I am brilliance, I am the Rīk, Yajush, Sāman, Atharvängirases, I am the undecaying, I the decaying, I the mysterious, I the secret, I dwell in the forests, I am the pushkara (sacrificial jar), the filter, the end, the middle, the outside, the front, and light, —I alone. He who knows me only, me, to be all, knows all the gods. By my own energy I satisfy the earth with rays (or the cow with cows), the Brahman with brahmanhood, oblations with oblation, life with life, truth with truth, righteousness with righteousness.' Then the gods did not behold Rudra. They meditate upon him. Then the gods, with arms raised aloft, praise him: 'He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Brahmā, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Vishṇu, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Mahēśvara, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Umā, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Vināyaka, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Skanda, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Indra, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Agni, etc. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Bhūḥ, etc. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Bhuvah, etc. (In the same way Rudra is identified with svah [svah]; mahaḥ; jana; tapas; satya; prithivi; āpas; tejas; vāyu; ākāsa; sūrya; soma; nakshatrāṇi; ashtau grahāḥ; prāṇa; kāla; Yama; mrītyu; amṛta; bhūta; bhavya; bhavishyat; viśva; kritsna;
sarva; and satya.) Om! at the beginning, and in the middle are Bhūr, Bhuvah, Svāh; at the end is the head. O giver of life, Om, thou art universal-formed. Thou alone art Brahma doubly, and triply, above and below; thou art gentleness, fœtness, contentment; thou art the thing sacrificed, and the thing not sacrificed, the whole, and not the whole, what is given, and what is not given, what is done, and what is not done, that which is supreme, and not supreme, and what is surpassing. ‘We have drunk the Soma, we have become immortal, we have entered into light, we have known the gods. What can an enemy now do to us? What can the malice of any mortal effect, O immortal god?’

This imperishable [principle], beneficial to the whole world, sprung from [or, having the nature of,] Prajāpati, subtile, beautiful, by its own energy swallows up the incomprehensible Purusha by the incomprehensible, Vāyu by that which has the nature of Vāyu, soma by that which has the nature of soma. To him the destroyer, the great devourer, be adoration. All the gods reside in the heart, situated in the heart and the breath. Thou who art continually in the heart, [art] the three letters, but he is beyond. To the north of him is the head, to the south the feet; that which is the north is the omkāra. The omkāra is the praṇava, which (praṇava) again is all-pervading, which (‘all-pervading’) again is infinite, which again is that which delvers, which again is subtile, which again is white, which again has the nature of lightning, which again is the supreme Brahma: thus he is the one. He is the only Rudra, he is Íśāna, he is divine, he is Maheśvara, he is Mahādeva. Now whence does the omkāra get its name? Inasmuch as so soon as it is uttered, it raises up the whole body, it is called omkāra.” (The same inquiry is then made and answered in regard to the words ‘praṇava,’ ‘sarvavyāpin’ [‘all-pervading’], ‘ananta’ [‘infinite’] the ‘deliverer,’ ‘subtile,’ ‘white,’ ‘having the nature of lightning,’ and ‘the supreme Brahma.’ Then ‘eka,’ ‘one,’ is explained.) “Now why is he called ‘one’? He who evolves, creates, variously creates, sustains all worlds, is therefore called the

109 Quoted in the third volume of this work, p. 265. According to the commentator whom I have quoted under the text, Soma means sa-uma, he who dwells with Uma, in the form of divine knowledge, Katyāyani. What would the Vedic rishi who composed the verse have said to this mystical interpretation? Such explanations are not, however, peculiar to the adherents of any one religion.

110 I do not profess to understand the sense of this.
'one.' Now why is he called the one Rudra? 'There is only one Rudra; there is no place for a second. He rules this fourth world, controlling and productive; living beings abide within him united with him. At the time of the end he annihilates all worlds, the protector.' Wherefore he is called the one Rudra. Then why is he called Isāna? He it is who rules all worlds by his ordinances, and supreme creative powers. 'We, O heroic Indra, like unmilked cows, approach with our praises thee who art the heavenly lord (Isāna) of this moving, and the lord of this stationary, [world].' Hence he is called 'Isāna.' ('Bhagavat' is then explained.) Then why is he called Maheśvara? He who, a devourer, constantly devours, creates, variously creates, sustains all worlds, is therefore called Maheśvara. Then why is he called Mahādeva? He who, abandoning all forms of being, exults in the great divine power of absorption in the knowledge of himself, is therefore called Mahādeva. Such is the history of Rudra. 'This god [abides] throughout all regions; he was the first born; he is within the womb; it is even he who has been born, and he is still to be born; he exists, O men, pervading all things, with his face turned to every side.' (Vāj. S. 32, 4.) 'The one god, who has on every side eyes, on every side a face, on every side arms, on every side feet, when producing the earth and sky, fabricates them with his arms, and with his wings.' Rudra is mentioned again in the following verses. "In Rudra they say there is oneness, and that Rudra is eternal and primeval," etc. The Pāśupata rite is thus described: "This is the Pāśupata observance; 'Agni is ashes, Vayu is ashes, water is ashes, dry land is ashes, the sky is ashes, all this is ashes, the mind, these eyes, are ashes.' Having taken ashes while pronouncing these preceding words, and rubbing himself, let a man touch his limbs. This is the Pāśupata rite, for the removal of the animal bonds. The Brahman who reads the Atharva-śīra is purified with fire, with air, with the sun, with soma (or the moon); he becomes truth, he becomes all, he has bathed in all the holy places, he is read in all the Vedas, he has practised the observances prescribed in all the Vedas, he is known by all the gods, he has sacrificed with all sacrificial rites; by him hundreds of thousands of itihāsas, purāṇas, and Rudras (formulas

111 R.V. vii. 32, 22, quoted above, p. 103.
relating to Rudra), and a hundred thousand Gāyatris have been muttered, ten thousand Oms have been uttered; at every recitation he purifies ten generations of ancestors, and ten future generations of descendants; he purifies a row of men as far as the eye can reach; thus says the divine Atharva-śiras. Having muttered it once, he becomes clean, pure, and fit for the ceremonial; having muttered it a second time, he obtains dominion over hosts; having muttered it a third time, he enters into the god: Om, [this is] true. ‘Adoration be to Rudra Agni, who resides in fire, and in the waters, who has entered into these plants, who formed all these worlds.’"

I shall not make more than a few further extracts from this mystical Upanishad, which throws little light on Rudra’s character or history. The three gods, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Rudra, are mentioned together, along with Indra (Brahmā–Viṣṇu–Rudrendraḥ); and Sambhu (one of the names of Rudra) is said (in a passage which I need not attempt to translate at length) to be possessor of all divine qualities, and to be lord of all; while the benefits of worshipping him are described (kāranaṁ tu dhyeyah sarvaśvarya-sampannah sarveśvaras cha Sambhuḥ ākāśa-madhye dhruvāṁ stabhāvāḥ ‘dhīkāṁ kṣaṇam ekaṁ kratuśatasyāpi chatuḥ-saptatvā yat phalaiḥ tad avāpnoti kṛṣṇaṁ oṁ-kāragataṁ cha sarva-dhyāna-yoga-jñānānāṁ yat phalam tad oṁkāra veda-para iśo śiva eko dhīyayaḥ śivakaraḥ sarvaṁ anyat parityajya).

In the Kaivalya Upanishad (translated by Prof. Weber, Ind. Stud. ii. 10 ff.) Āśvalāyana asks Brahmā to explain to him the science of divine things (Athāśvalāyano bhagavanam parameshthinam upasametya uvācha adhihi bhagavan brahma-vidyāṁ ityādi). Brahmā (pitāmaha) among other things tells him as follows: Aṇṭyāśrana-sthāḥ sakalendri-yāni nirudhya bhaktyā svac-ṣvam rupam parinsāśya eva dhruvāṁ madhye viśvam viśadaṁ visokam | anantam avyaktam achintya-rūpam śivam praśāntam amāritam brahma-yonim | tam añci-madhyaṁma-ṣvam eva rupam chidānanda-svarūpan adbhutam | Unā-sahāyam paramesvaram prabhūṁ tri-lochanaṁ nila-kantham praśāntam | dhīyātva munir gachhati bhūta-yoniṁ samasta-sākṣhiṁ tāmasaṁ paraśatāt | sa Brahmaṁ sa Śivaṁ Sendraḥ so’ksaraḥ paraṁ svarāt | sa eva Viṣṇuṁ sa praghaṁ sa utmaṁ paraṁsvaroḥ | sa eva sarvaṁ yad bhūtaṁ yachcha bhavyāṁ sanātanan | jnātva tāṁ mrityum atyeti nānyāḥ pathāḥ vimuk-

112 Another MS. has here, Sa kālo ’gnyiḥ sa Chandramāḥ.
taye | . . . yāḥ satārudriyaṁ adhīte so ‘gnīpūto bhavati sa Vāyu-
pūto bhavati ityādi | “A man in the last (or fourth) religious order (i.e. that of a mendicant) restraining all his senses, making obeisance to his teacher, meditating within on the lotus of the heart, [which is] spotless, pure, lucid, undisturbed,—the infinite, undiscernible, inconceivable, auspicious (śiva); tranquil, immortal, source of Brahma, [or, of divine knowledge],—contemplating him who is without beginning, middle, or end, the one, the pervading, the spiritual and blessed, the wonderful, the consort of Umā, the supreme lord, the three-eyed, the blue-throated, the tranquil,—[doing this] a Muni, [passing] beyond darkness, attains the source of being, the universal witness. He is Brahmā, he is Śiva, he is Indra, he is undecaying, supreme, self-resplendent; he is Vishnu, he is breath, he is the spirit, the supreme lord; he is all that has been or that shall be, eternal. Knowing him, a man overpasses death. There is no other way to liberation.”

Further on it is said: “He who reads the Satarudriya becomes purified by fire, purified by air,” etc., etc.

In one of the MS. collections of Upanishads belonging to the library of the East India Office, I find another work of that description, called the Nilarudropanishad, which begins thus: Apasyam chāv Rohantaṁ divitaḥ prithivimaṇāḥ | apasyam apasyaṁ taṁ Rudraṁ nilagrivaṁ śikh-
andinam | “I, formed of earth, beheld descending from the sky, I beheld, I beheld, that blue-necked, crested Rudra.” This composition contains many verses from the Satarudriya.

SECT. VI.—Some further texts from the Itiḥāsas and Purāṇas relative to Rudra.

In the earlier parts of this work I have given a variety of extracts from the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, etc., which exhibit the character of Mahādeva as he was conceived in the epic period (see pp. 165, 176, 178, 184–205, 223–228, 230–232, 240 f., 266–273, 278–281, 282–289). I shall now adduce such other passages from the Itiḥāsas, or Purāṇas, as may appear to throw any light on the history of the conceptions entertained of this deity, and of his relations to the other members of the Indian pantheon.

Rudra is briefly alluded to in the passages of the Rāmāyaṇa i. 14, 1 ff.; i. 75, 14 ff.; and Yuddha-Kāṇḍa, 119, 1 ff., quoted in pp. 163,
176 f., and 178 ff. The other texts of the Rāmāyaṇa in which I have observed any allusion to him are the following; and the representations which are there given of this god bear generally, perhaps, a stamp of greater antiquity than those which are found in the Mahābhārata.

In Rāmāyaṇa i. 23, 10 ff. (ed.-Bombay), Rudra curses the embodied Kandarpa (the Indian Cupid), who wished to enter into him after his marriage, at a time when he was performing austerity; and Kandarpa in consequence becomes bodiless (ananga). (Kandarpa mūrtimān āsīt Kāmāḥ ity uchyaite budhaḥ | tapasyantam iha Sthānauṁ nimayena samāhitam | 11. Krirodvāhmaṁ tu deveśam gachhantaṁ sa-marud-ganam | dharshayāmāsa durmedhāḥ hunkritaś cha mahātmanā | 12. Avadhya- taś cha Rudrena chakhushā Ṛaghuṇandana | vyaśiryanta sarirāt svāt sarva-gātrāṇi durmateḥ |)

In i. 35, 20 (Bombay ed.), it is mentioned that the mountain-god, Himavat, gave his daughter Umā to the “unequalled Rudra” (Rudrāya apratirūpāya). In chapter xxxvii. of the same book, vv. 5 ff. the connubial intercourse of Siva with Umā is described in most undignified language, as follows: Purā Rāma krirodvāhaḥ Sītikaṇṭhaḥ mahātaupāḥ | 6. Drishtvā cha bhagavān devīm maithunāyopachakrame | tasya saṃkriḍāmānaṣya Mahādevasya dhīmatāḥ | Sītikaṇṭhasya devasya divyam varsha-sataṁ gatam | 7. Na chāpi tanayo Rāma tasyāṁ āsīt parantapa | “Formerly, after his marriage, Sītikaṇṭha (Siva) the great devotee, (6) beholding the goddess, began to indulge in connubial love. A thousand years of the gods passed while the wise Mahādeva Sītikaṇṭha was thus sporting. But, O Rāma, vexer of thy foes, no son was born to Umā.” The gods being alarmed at the prospect of the formidable character of the offspring which might be born to Mahādeva, entreated him and his spouse to practise chastity. To this Mahādeva consented; but asked what would become of the seed which he had already discharged. This, the gods said, should be received by the earth. The gods then desired Agni, along with Vāyu, to enter into this seed. This Agni did, and the white mountain was produced in consequence (see above, p. 354), where Kārttikeya was born. The gods then worshipped Siva and Umā, but the latter imprecatcd sterility on all their wives. The thirty-seventh section relates the birth of Kārttikeya. While Tryambaka (Siva), the lord of the gods, was performing austerity, the other deities went to Brahmā and asked for a general in the room of Mahā-
deva, who, it seems, had formerly acted in that capacity. "He," they said, "whom thou didst formerly give us as a leader of our armies (i.e. Mahādeva), is now performing great austerity, along with Umā" (sect. 38, v. 3, Schlegel's ed.=sect. 37, 3, of Bombay ed.: Yo naḥ 113. senāpatir deva datto bhagavatā purāḥ | sa tapāḥ param āsthāya tapyate sma sahomayaḥ). Brahmā says, that in consequence of the curse of Umā, no son could be born to any of the wives of the gods; but that Agni could beget a son on the river Ganga, who should be the general of the gods. The gods accordingly went to mount Kailāsa, and appointed Agni to effect their object. Agni accordingly impregnated the Gangā, who brought forth Kārttikeya, so called because he was nursed by the Kṛttikās."

In the forty-second section it is related how the royal rishi Bhagiratha performed austerity in order to have the Gangā descend from heaven and purify the ashes of the sons of Sagara (who had been destroyed by Kapila, sect. 40, at the end); and might by this means elevate them to paradise. Brahmā appeared to the king and told him that he ought to propitiate Śiva, who was the only being who could sustain the shock of the falling Gangā. Bhagiratha (as is told sect. 43) continued his austerities till Śiva the lord of Umā, the lord of animals (Pasupati), appeared to him, and said he would receive the Gangā on his head. He accordingly mounted the Himalaya, and called on the Gangā to descend. The Gangā was indignant at this summons, and came down in great volume and with great force on his head, thinking to sweep him down along with her into Pātāla. The god, however, determined to humble her pride, and she was compelled to circle for a long period of years in the labyrinth of his matted locks, without being able to reach the earth. Being again propitiated by Bhagiratha, Śiva at length allowed her to reach the lake Vindu, to flow to the sea, and eventually into the infernal regions, where she purified the ashes of the sons of Sagara and enabled them to ascend to heaven.

In the forty-fifth section is described the production of nectar from the churning of the ocean of milk by the rival sons of Diti and Aditi, who wished to obtain some specific which should render them immortal. In the first place, however, a fiery poison was vomited from the mouths

113 Yo naḥ is the reading of Schlegel's edition, as well as of Gorresio's, 39, 3. The Bombay edition reads yena, which does not seem so good a reading.
of the serpent Vāsuki, who was used as the rope in the process of churning. The gods then resorted to Śiva to deliver them from this portent:

21. *Athā devāḥ Mahādevam S'ankaraṁ sarāngaṁtihā | jagmuḥ Paśupatiṁ Rudram trāhi trāhiti tushtyuvah* | 22. *Evaṁ uktas tato deva-deveśvarah prabhuh | prāduryāt tato 'traiva śankha-cakra-dharo Hariṁ* | 23. *Urva-chainām smitāṁ kṛtvā Rudram sūla-dharam Hariṇ | daivatāṁ māthyamāne tu yat pūrvaṁ samupasthitam* | 24. *Atha tva-dīyaṁ sūra-srēshṭha surāṇāṁ agrato ki yat | agra-pūjāṁ-ha sthitvā grihānedām visham prabhā* | 25. *Ity uktā cha sūra-srēshthas tatraivaṁtoradarhiyataḥ | devatānaṁ bhayaṁ dhṛṣṭvā kruṭvā vākyāṁ tu Sārnīnaḥ* | 26. *Hālahalaṁ vishāṁ ghorāṁ sanjagṛāhāṁritopamam | devān visṛjya deveṣāḥ jagāma bhagavān Hariḥ* | 21. "Then the deities, seeking as their refuge Mahādeva, Sankara, went to Rudra Paśupati, and lauded him [calling out] 'deliver, deliver.' 22. Then, being addressed by the gods, the lord of the gods, Hari, appeared on that very spot, bearing the shell and the discus, (23) and smiling, said to Rudra, the wielder of the trident: 'That which has first appeared, when the ocean was being churned by the deities, (24) belongs to thee, most eminent of the gods, since thou art at the head of them. Standing here, receive, lord, this poison as the earliest offering.' 25. Having thus spoken, the most eminent of the gods disappeared on the spot. Perceiving the alarm of the deities, and having heard the words of Vishnū, (26) he (Śiva) took the deadly poison, as if it had been nectar. The divine Hara then dismissed the gods and departed."

The gods and Asuras proceeded with the churning, but were obliged now to call in the aid of Vishnū, as the mountain with which the operation was being performed sank down into the infernal regions. Vishnū, however, assumed the form of a tortoise, and supported the mountain on his back. At length nectar was produced, which Vishnū carried off.

In the description of the northern region contained in the Kishkindha kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyana, Kailāsa is spoken of as the residence of Kuvera, and no mention is made of Sīva as residing there:115

Kishk. 44, 27 ff. (ed. Gorresio = Bombay ed. 43, 20 f.).—*Taṁ tu*  

114 In the Bombay edition this word is written 'Kishkindha,' without a y before the final a, which it has in Gorresio’s edition.  
115 See, however, the passage from the Sundara Kāṇḍa, sect. 89, which will be quoted in the Appendix, where Mahādeva is said to visit Kuvera, or rūpa Kailāsa.
Regarding Mahādeva or Brahmā.

sighram atikramya käntaram loma-harshanam | pāṇḍurām drakṣhayatha
tataḥ Kailāsāṁ nāma parvatam | tatra pāṇḍura-meghābham Jambunada-"parishkritam | Kuvera-bhavanaṁ divyaṁ nirmitaṁ Viśvakarmaṇa |

"Having quickly passed over that dreadful desert, you shall then see the white mountain, called Kailāsa, and there the celestial palace of Kuvera, formed by Viśvakarmā, in colour like a brilliant cloud, and decorated with gold."

The Bombay edition, 43, 54 ff., has the following lines, in which Rudra may be referred to: Tam atikramya sailendram uttaras
toyasāṁ nidhiḥ | tatra Somagirir nāma madhye hemamaya mahān | 55. Sa tu deśo visūryo 'pi tasya bhāsa prakāśate | sūrya-lakṣmyā 'bhivijneyo
tapateva Vivasvatā | 56. Bhagavāṁs tatra viśvātma S'ambhur ekādaśāt-
makaḥ | Brahmā vasati deveśo brahmarṣhi-parivāritaḥ116 | 54. "Beyond
this monarch of mountains is the northern ocean, in the midst of
which stands the great golden mountain, called Somagiri. 55. With
its lustre that region, although sunless, shines; and is distinguished
by a solar splendour, as if from the beams of Vivasvata (the sun).
56. There the divine soul of the universe, the eleven-fold Sambhū,
Brahmā, lord of the gods, dwells, attended by the Brahman Rishis."

In Gorresio's edition (44, 117 ff.) this passage shows a number of
various readings: Kurāṁs tāṁ samatikramya uttare payasāṁ nidhiḥ |
tatra Somagirir nāma hiṁsāmaya-samo mahān | 118. Indra-loka-gataḥ
ye cha Brahma-loka-gataś cha ye | sarve te samavaikshanta girivaijāṁ
divaṁ gataḥ | 119. Asūryo 'pi hi deśaḥ sa tasya bhāsa prakāśate |
sūryaḥ eva lakṣhvāṁs tapatīca divākare | 120. Bhagavāṁs tatra
bhūtatāṁ Svayambhūr bahudhātmakaḥ | Brahmā bhavati vasyātma
sarvātma sarva-bhāvānaḥ | 117. "Beyond, to the north of the
Uttara Kurus, is an ocean, in which is a great mountain, as it were of
gold. 118. All those who have gone to the sky, to the world of Indra, or
to that of Brahmā, have beheld the king of mountains. 119. By its

116 The commentator thus explains this verse: Viśvam atati vyāpnoti iti viśvātma
vyāpakār tena Vīshnū-rūpaḥ | vīshnū-vyāplāv ity avasārāt | sa eva Sambhūḥ śam
bhavaty asmāt | sa eva ekādaśātmakāḥ ekādaśāṁvukārthaiśāda-rudrātmakāḥ | sa
eva Brahmā bhūmasyatvāt jagat-srasyaśītāvat | "Viśvātmaḥ means, he who pervades
all things; and consequently he is in the form of Vīshnū, as Vīshnū has the sense
of pervader. The same being is Sambhū, he from whom prosperity (śām) arises
(bhavati); and he is also elevenfold, in the form of the eleven Rudras, who signify
eleven repetitions of him (?). The same being is also Brahmā, from his increasing,-
creating the world."
light that region shines, although sunless, as if it had a sun, and resplendent as if the lord of day were blazing. 120. There the divine soul of beings, Svayambhū, Brahmā, dwells, self-subdued, the soul, and producer of all things.” Here there is no reference to Mahādeva, Svayambhū being substituted for Sambhu.

Another passage relating to Rudra which occurs in Gorresio’s recension of the Rāmāyana is the following (though it is not to be found in the corresponding section of the Bombay edition):

Kishk. 44, 46 ff.—*Taṁ tu desam atikramya Trisṛingga nāma parvataḥ| tasya pāde saro divyam mahat kānchana-pushkaram | tataḥ prachyavate divyā tīkṣha-srotās taranī| nadi naika-grahākīrṇā kuṭilā loka-bhāvīni | tasyayānāṁ kānchanaṁ śringam parvatas āgni-nānibham | vaiduryamayam ekāncha śailasyāśya samvekhitam | Anutpanneshu bhūteshu babhāva kila bhūmitaḥ | agrajaḥ sarva-bhūtānāṁ Viśvakarmeti viśrutah | tat tasya kila paurāṇam agnihotram mahātmanaḥ | asit trisikharah śailah prajātīs tatra ye 'gnayaḥ | tatra sarvāṁ bhūtāṁ sarvamedhe maḥāmakhe | kṛitvā 'bhavad maḥātejāḥ sarva-loka-maheśvaraḥ | Rudrasya kila samsthānaṁ saro vai sārvamedhikam | tataḥ prajātī Sarayu gharanakravati nadi | deva-gandharva-pataγāḥ piśāchoraγa-dānavaḥ | praviṣanti na tāṁ desam pradīptam ivā pūvakam | tam atikramyā śailendram Mahādevābhipālitam | ityādi | “When that region has been overpassed, a mountain called Trisṛingga [will be seen], at the foot of which is a divine lake, of large dimensions, filled with golden lotuses. Thence flows a divine billowy river, with rapid stream, swarming with crocodiles, winding, gladdening the world. That mountain has one golden peak, [one] resembling fire, and it has also one elevated point formed of lapis lazuli. When no creatures had as yet come into existence, there sprang from the earth the first of all beings, known as Viśvakarman. This triple-peaked mountain was the scene of the ancient Agnihotra sacrifice of that great being, where all the fires were employed. Having formed all beings there at this great universal sacrifice, he became the mighty lord (maheśvara) of all worlds. This lake of the universal sacrifice is the abode of Rudra; and from it issues the river Sarayu, abounding in dreadful crocodiles. Gods, Gandharvas, birds, Piśāchas, snakes, and Dānavas, do not enter that region, which is like blazing fire. Having overpassed that great mountain, protected by Mahādeva,” etc.
In regard to the story of Viśvakarman, which is not usually met with in the Purāṇas, and does not harmonize well with the course of their cosmogony, compare the two hymns in pp. 5 ff., the story from the Nirukta in p. 9, above, and the Śatap. Br. xiii. 7, 1, 14.

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 7, 1, 14.—Tena ha etena Viśvakarman Bhavanaḥ ye | teneshtvā 'tyatishkthat sarvāṇi bhūtāni idām sarvam abhavat | atitishkhati sarvāṇi bhūtāni idām sarvam bhavati yaḥ evamividvān sarva-medhena yajate yo vā etad'evam veda | 15. Tam ha Kasyapo yājayāncha-kāra | tad api Bhūmīḥ ślokāṃ jagau | "na mā martyah kāśchana dātum arhati Viśvakarman Bhavana mandaḥ asitāḥ | upamankṣyati syā salīyasya madhye mṛṣhaisha te sangaraḥ Kasyāpaya" iti | “With this sacrifice, Viśvakarman, the son of Bhuvana, sacrificed. Having sacrificed with it, he overpassed all beings, and became all this. That man overpasses all beings and becomes all this, who, knowing this, sacrifices with the Sarva-medha (‘universal sacrifice’), or he who thus knows this. 15. Kasyapa performed this sacrifice for him. Wherefore also the Earth recited a verse:117 ‘No mortal ought to bestow me. Viśvakarman, son of Bhuvana, thou wast foolish. She (the earth) will sink into the midst of the water. This promise of thine to Kasyapa is vain.’"

It would appear as if the author of the preceding passage of the Rāmāyaṇa intended to identify Rudra with Viśvakarman, when he says that the latter “became the mighty lord (mahēśvara) of all worlds.” Compare the passages from the Kūrma Purāṇa and Mahābhārata quoted below in notes 131 and 133, pp. 376 and 377; and Mahābhārata, Sāntip. 241, quoted in a note to p. 372, vol. v., of this work. If Mahādeva is identified with Viśvakarman, he must, according to the Rāmā-

117 The commentator observes on this: Asmai cha Viśvēkārmābhūmiḥ dātum iyesha tatrasa cha kūle Bhūmiraṇi upa imāṃ ślokāṃ gītavati | itamas tu mandaḥ mandavatāraḥ janaḥ asitāḥ babhuvatā jātaḥ ity arthāḥ | upa-sabdo ni-sabdasya arthe | yaś cha asākyaṃ pratijāniṇe mandaḥ ity abhiprāyakah | “Viśvakarman desired to give the earth to him; and at that time the Earth also sang this verse. Thou wast ‘dull,’ dull of understanding. The preposition upa is here used in the sense of ni. And the sense is that he who promises what is impossible is foolish.” Compare the passage of the Mahābhārata, Yana-parvan, v. 10209 (in the first vol. of this work, p. 451), where the earth is said to have been given to Kasyapa by Parasurāma; and another text from the Anuśāsana-parvan, v. 7232 ff. (ibid. p. 464), where the earth is said to have become offended with king Anga, who desired to bestow her on the Brahmana, and to have in consequence abandoned her form. Kasyapa afterwards entered into her, and she became his daughter. Compare also Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 4, 3, 5 (quoted above, p. 27).
yaṇa and Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, be regarded as sprung from the earth, or Bhuvana, and therefore not eternal. It is to be noted, however, that the Satap. Br. speaks of this Viśvakarman as a mortal, and the Ait. Br. speaks of him as a prince who conquered the earth.

In the next passage\(^1\) Mahādeva is represented as visiting Kuvera on Mount Kailāsa, and as acknowledging the divinity of Rāma:

Rām. (ed. Gorresio) v. 89, 6 ff.—Athopradhāno dharmatmā lokānām īśvarah prabhuh tataḥ sahaṅγyāṁ devasya rūjno Viśravaṇasya saḥ | dhanādhyakṣa-sahāṁ deśaḥ prāpto hi Vīrshhabha-dvanjag | Umā-sahāyo deveśo gangais cha bahubhir vritah | avatīrya vrishāt tūrṇam mahitah śula-dhirg vibhuh | gires tasya mahātejah pravisthas tu sabhāṁ Ṣarhaḥ | Riddhyā sabhāya-yuktas cha tathā Viśravanah svayam | anyonyaṁ taur samālinga upavisṭhāv ubhāv api | sabhāyaṁ tatra taur devaṁ te cha devaḥ yathākramam | upavisṭhāḥ ganāṁ chaiva Yakshāḥ cha saha Gūhya-kaiḥ | aksha-dyātām tatas tābhyaṁ pravṛttāṁ samanantaram | etasmīn antare tatra Rākshasendram Vibhishanam | dīrśtāv Paulastyaṁ ayūntām Śivaḥ prāha dhaneśvaram | ayaṁ Vibhishanah praptaḥ saranam tava pārthiva | manyunā 'bhipluto vīro Rākshasendra-vimūritah | ityādi |

"Now the righteous and mighty ruler of the worlds, whose banner is a bull, the god of gods, accompanied by Umā, and attended by numerous hosts, came then to the assembly of the divine king Viśravaṇa (Kuvera), the lord of riches. Alighting quickly from his bull, Hara, the mighty lord, the wielder of the trident, being received with honour, entered into the assembly on that mountain (Kailāsa, v. 4); and at the same time Viśravaṇa himself, with Riddhi (his wife),\(^2\) and attended by his companions, [came in]. Having embraced each other, those two gods with the other deities sat down in order in the assembly, together with their hosts, and the Yakshas and Gūhyakas. The two gods then began to play at dice. In the mean time, beholding the eminent Rākshasa Vibhishan, the son of Pulastya, approaching, Śiva says to the lord of riches, 'This, O king, is the hero Vibhishan, who has resorted to thee, overwhelmed by distress, having been dishonoured by the chief of the Rākshasas (Rāvaṇa),' etc., etc.

While Śiva is speaking, Vibhishanā arrives, and bows down before

\(^{1}\) This passage, however, is only to be found in Gorresio's recension, and not in the section of the Devanāgarī recension which corresponds to it—viz. vi. 17, 1, ff.

\(^{2}\) See Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v. Riddhi, and the Mahābhārata, Asvaśasana-parvan, 675, and 7637, as well as the Harivaṃśa, 7167, 7739, there referred to.
the deities, who tell him to stand up; and go to Rāma, who will install him king of the Rākshasas (vv. 21 ff.). Vibhīṣaṇa stands, with his head bent downwards, and sunk in contemplation, when Śiva again speaks to him (vv. 37 ff.): 

"With Vibhishana kṛṣṭlasya gacchad tvam purāṇaṃ prabhun avayam | ādharām sarvabhūtanāṁ śāśvatāṁ niravagraham | sa hi sarva-nīdhānaṁ ca gatir gatimatāṁ sarah | kṛṣṭaśya jagato mūlaṁ tasmād gacchhasva Rāghavam |

"The divine, imperishable lord said: 'Stand up, stand up, prince of kings, obtain ever-during happiness. . . . Stand up, therefore, go to the ancient, imperishable lord, the support of all beings, eternal, uncontrolled. For he, the most excellent, contains all things, and is the refuge of all who seek a refuge, the root of the whole world: wherefore go to Rāghava (Rāma).’" Vibhīṣaṇa then departs through the air, to go to Rāma.\textsuperscript{120}

\textsuperscript{120} In the following passages some of Mahādeva’s achievements are alluded to:—  

iii. 30, 27 (ed. Bombay), and iii. 35, 93 (Gorr.): 

Sa papātita Khara bhūmau dahayamānaḥ sarāgniṇī | Rudrasya vinirḍogaḥ S’vetāraṇya pura’ nādhakah | [The Rākshasa] Khara fell on the ground, burnt by the fire of the arrow, like Andhaka [who was] formerly consumed by Rudra in the S’veta forest.” (Compare A. V. xi. 2, 7, above, pp. 334, 336, where Rudra is called the slayer of Ardhaka.)  

i. 5, 30 (Gorr.): 

Yathā kruddhasya Rudrasya Tripurāṁ vai vijigunṣah | [The frowning face of Rāma] like that of the incensed Rudra, who had conquered Tripura.”  

vi. 51, 17 (Gorr.): 

"The Rākshasa trembled when smitten by Lakṣmana’s arrow, like the frowning portal of Tripura, when struck by the bolt of Rudra” (Rudra-viśñhataṁ ghoram yatīḥ Tripura-gopuram). In the following verse allusion is made to Rudra as a slaughterer of animals: 

vi. 73, 37 f. (Gorr. = Bombay ed. vi. 94, 35). 

Hatair aśvāh pādaśāh cha tad bhūva rasājīram | ākriṇdah iva Rudrasya kruddhasya nighnataḥ paśūn | "With slain horses and footmen, that battle-field became like the garden of the enraged Rudra when slaughtering animals.”  

I do not know what the next verse refers to, vi. 56, 88 (Gorr.): 

Kumbhāsya patato rūpaṁ bhagasyorasi mūṣṭinī | Īśvaraṇābhīpannasa rūpaṁ Paśupater iva | "The appearance of Kūmbha when shattered on the chest by the fist of Sugrīva, was like the appearance of Paśupati (Śiva) when overcome by Īśvara.”  

The commentator quoted by Gorresio has the following note in explanation: 

Īśvaraṇa pralaya-kūlena hetunā abhipannasya lokān abhisrastasya Paśupateḥ Rudrasya rūpaṁ iva rūpaṁ bhūva ity arthah | The Bomb. ed. (76, 93) reads in the second line: 

bhabhu Rudrābhīpannasa yathā rūpaṁ Gavāmpateḥ | which is cited by the commentator rendering, ‘appeared like the form of the lord of kings (the sun), overcome by Rudra” (Rudrasya abhipannasya abhibhūtasya Gavāmpateḥ Śūryasya iiva.)  

It would almost seem (strange as it may appear) as if the author of the recension of the Rāmāyana published by Gorresio, had not understood the word Gavāmpati (lord of cows or rays) as designating the sun, when he took it for the equivalent of Paśupati. Īśvara and Paśupati are both names of Rudra; and he could not be assailed by himself. Gavāmpati occurs in the hymn to the Sun in the Mahābhārata, iii. 192 (as quoted by Böhtlingk and Roth, e.v.), as one of the numerous names or epithets of the Sun.
From the passages quoted above from the Mahābhārata and Brāhmaṇas in p. 284, and pp. 200 and 202, it appears as if some contest had at one time existed between the votaries of Mahādeva, and those of other deities, in regard to adoration of the former. It may perhaps be inferred from the passages cited in pp. 288–291, also, that the worship of this god, as practised by some tribes, was regarded by others with aversion, or even with horror. Some further indications of this aversion may be discovered in the myth of Daksha’s sacrifice, as related in the Mahābhārata, and in the Vāyu and other Purāṇas (see Wilson’s Vishnu Purāṇa, pp. 61 ff. = pp. 120 ff. of Dr. Hall’s ed., vol. i.).

This story is told, perhaps in its simplest form, in the following passage of the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 66, 7 ff. (ed. Schlegel and Bombay = 68, 7 ff. Gorresio):

Evam uktas tu Janakaḥ pratyuvācha mahāmunim | śṛyatām asya dhanusho yad-artham iha tishṭhati | Devarūṭaḥ iti khyāto Nimek śaśśtho (jyesṭho, Bomb. ed.) mahipatiḥ | nyāso ’yaṁ tasya bhagavan haste datto mahātmanaḥ | Daksha-yaṣaṇa-badhe pūrvaṁ dhanur āgaṇya vīryavān | evidvanya tridaśān Rudraḥ saṭilam īdam abravit | “yasmād bhūgaṁḥino bhūgaṁ nākalpayata maḥaḥ surāḥ | varāṇgāni (= śīrāṁsi, Comm. in Bomb. ed.) mahārāgī dhanushā śatayāmi vah | tato vimanasaḥ sarve devāḥ vai muni-punagava | prāśadayanta devesāṁ teshāṁ prito ’bhavad Bhavaḥ | pritaścāpi dadau teshāṁ tāny āngāṇi mahāyāṣāṁ | dhanuṣaḥ yāṇi yāṇi āsan sātitāṁ mahātmānaḥ | tad etad deva-devasya dhanū-ṛatnam mahātmānaḥ | nyāsa-bhūtaṁ tudā nyastaṁ asmākam pūrvaṁ vibho

“Janaka, being thus addressed, replied to the great muni: ‘Hear, regarding this bow, from what cause it is here. A king called Devarūta was the sixth in descent from Nimi. This [bow] was a deposit committed to the hands of this great personage. Formerly, at the destruction of Daksha’s sacrifice, the heroic Rudra, when he had drawn this bow, and routed the gods, thus spake in derision: ‘Since, ye gods, ye have divided to me no portion, though I desired it, I cut off your most precious heads with my bow.’ Then all the deities, being dis-

121 Svishṭakrid-ādi-yaṣaṇa-bhūgaṁḥino mama | “To me who desired a share in the Svishṭakrid, etc., offering.”—Comm.

122 This last line runs as follows in Gorresio’s edition (ch. lxviii. 13): Tishṭhaty adhyāpi bhagavan kule ‘smakaṁ supijitam | Other various readings, though numerous, are unimportant.
tressed, propitiated the god of gods, who became favourable to them, and restored the limbs of those glorious beings which had been cut off by the mighty bow. This is the precious bow of the great deity, which was at that time deposited with our ancestor.'

In this version of the myth, there is no mention of Rudra commissioning Virabhadra, or any other demons, to destroy the sacrifice or put the gods to flight. He is simply said to wound the gods with his bow.123

The same story is told in the Sauptika-parvan, vv. 786–808, and in greater detail in the Sänti-parvan, of the Mahâbhârata, in verses 10226–10258, and is immediately afterwards repeated in vv. 10275 ff. According to the first account (which is given in answer to a question regarding the origin of Jvara, Fever), Umâ, Sîva’s wife, seeing the gods passing by in chariots, inquires of her husband where they are going, and is told by him that they are proceeding to Daksha’s horse-sacrifice. The goddess then asks why her lord also does not go. He replies: Surair eva mahâbhâge pûrvam etad anush̐thilam | yajneshu sarveshu mama na bhâga upakahâtaḥ | pûrvopâyopâpannena mûrgena varavarni | na me surâh prayachhanti bhâgaṁ yajnasya dharmatâh 124

123 This same story is again briefly alluded to in the following other passages of the Râmâyana:—iii. 30, 36 (ed. Görr. = Bomb. ed. iii. 24, 35): Tâm drîshâva tejasā yuktai visyâthur vana-devatâḥ | Dakshaśyeva kratau hantum udyatastram Pinâkinam | “Beholding him (Râma), possessed of might, the sylvan deities were distressed, as if he had been Pinâkin (Sîva) with his weapon ready to destroy the sacrifice of Daksha.” Ibid. 70, 2: Hantu-kânam pâśuṁ Rudraṁ krudhatām Daksha-kratav yathā | “Like the incensed Rudra who sought to slay the victim at the sacrifice of Daksha.” (The Bomb. ed. iii. 65, 2, has a quite different reading: Dâgâhu-kâmin jâgat sarvaṁ yugânte oha yathā Haraṁ | “Like Hara [Rudra] desirous of burning up the whole world at the end of the Yuga.”) And again, vi. 54, 33 (ed. Görr.): Tato visphârayāmāsa Râmas tad dhanur uttamam | bhagavân ieva sankruddho Bhavaḥ kratu-figkhâmsa-yā | “Then Râma stretched that excellent bow, like the divine Bhava enraged, and seeking to destroy the sacrifice.” Rudra’s followers are, however, mentioned in the Râmâyana. Thus in iii. 31, 10 (ed. Görr.) it is said: Sa taṁ parivirito ghoratâ râkshasair nî-varâtmajâh | Mahâdevâh pîtrî-vane gâyaiḥ pârśeva-gataiś iev | “This son of an eminent man (Râma) was surrounded by these horrible Râkshasas, like Mahâdeva by his attendant hosts in a cemetery.” (Instead of the last line the Bomb. ed. has the following, iii. 25, 12: Tithisho ieva Mahâdevo vritâh pârîshkadâm gâyaiḥ.) And in another place (v. 12, 39, ed. Görr.) Sîva is called the lord of demons (grihom Bhûtatapatâ iev).

124 The same words nearly are put into the month of Mahâdeva in the Vâyu-purâṇa. See Wilson’s Vishnu Purâṇa, vol. i., p. 126, of Dr. Hall’s ed.
The former practice of the gods has been, that in all sacrifices no portion should be divided to me. 'By custom, established by the earliest arrangement, the gods lawfully (dharmatah) allot me no share in the sacrifice.' Umā is extremely chagrined that her husband, a god of so great dignity, should be so treated. Perceiving his wife's distress, Śiva goes, with his attendants, and puts an end to the sacrifice. The sacrifice takes the form of a deer, and is followed by Śiva to the sky. A drop of sweat falls from his forehead, from which a fire proceeds, out of which again a formidable being is born, Jvara (fever), which burns up the sacrifice, puts the gods to flight, etc. On this Brahmā appears to Śiva, and promises that the gods shall henceforth give him a share in the sacrifice (bhavato 'hi surāḥ sarve bhāgāṁ dásyanti vai prabh ho), and proposes that Jvara (fever) shall be allowed to range over the earth. Śiva is propitiated, and assents to Brahma's proposal, and has ever afterwards obtained a share in the sacrifice (ity ukto Brahmā dévo bhāge chāpi prakalpite | bhagavantaṁ tathety āha . . . parāncha pritim ajamad utsmayaṁscha Pīnāka-dhrik | avāpa cha tadā bhāgāṁ yathoktam Brahmān Śhavāṁ).

The second version of the story is as follows: vv. 10272 ff. Daksha formerly commenced a sacrifice at Gangādvāra in the Himālaya, which was attended by the various orders of divine beings, including Indra and Brahmā. Dadhichi, however, a votary of Rudra, was indignant that no worship was to be offered to that deity. 10283 ff. Tān drishtvā manyunā "vishto Dadhichir vākyāṁ abravit | "nāyaṁ yajno na vā dharmo yatra Rudro na ijjate | badha-bandham prapannāh vai kinnu kālasya paryayaḥ | kinnu mohād na pāśyanti vināśam paryupasthitam | upasthitam mahāgh oraṁ na budhyanti mahādīvare" | Ity uktvā sa mahā-yogi pāśyati dhyāna-chakshushā | sa pāśyati Mahādevaṁ devīneha vara-dām śubhāṁ | Nāradanca mahātmāmaṁ tasyaḥ devaḥ samīpataḥ | santosham paramāṁ lebhe iti niśchitya yoga-vit | ēka-mantarā tu te sarve gneśo na nimantrilāḥ | tasmād desād apākramya Dadhichir vākyam abravit | apāya-pujanāchehaiva pāyānāneḥpub apūjanāt | nri-patāka-samam pāpaṁ śaśvat prāpṇeti mānavaḥ | anṛitaṁ nokta-pūrvam me na cha

125 A line similarly expressed occurs a little further on.
126 The account of Daksha's sacrifice given in the Vāyu-purāṇa, and translated by Prof. Wilson, V.P. (vol. i., pp. 122 ff. of Dr. Hall's ed.), has a good many lines which correspond nearly with some in this passage of the Mahābhārata. Of these Dr. Hall was kind enough to send me copies. One of them agrees in sense with this verse.
They kirn tathd mdm aham suprdkrito ntrdmnam Sarvesham yathd adhvare he mdm Vish-ekadasa-sthdna-gatdh Dakshah.’

“The Devy labheta Santi evam Dakshash stauti tavddya patir gam her jana&amsadi Mahadeva yante hesvaram’

versed this that chopadnti eva rupah Devy etan nimantritah is not yarn vidanty Rudrh yam a delusion destruction. Bhagavdn tam vawya-nityam. tarh tdram vakshye dgatam’

This not 129 me

Instead great is corresponding line runs thus in the Vayu Purâna: Sarveshâm eko-mantro ‘ya’m yeneo na nimantritaḥ; which Prof. Wilson thus renders: “The invocation that is not addressed to Isâ is, for all, but a solitary (and imperfect) summons.”

127 A verse closely resembling this occurs in the Vayu Purâna.

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129 Instead of bhâgam, etc., the Vayu Purâna reads sarvam prabhor vibhor hy âha-vaniya-nityam.
forth from that [sacrificial] ground, and spake thus: 'By worshipping that which ought not to be worshipped, and neglecting to worship that which ought to be worshipped, a man ever incurs sin equal to that of a murderer. I have never before uttered, neither shall I ever utter, falsehood. Among gods and risbis I declare the truth. Behold Paśūbhartṛi (Sīva) arrived, the creator, the master of the world, the lord of all, the eater of the sacrifice.' Daksha replied: 'We have many Rudras, armed with tridents, and wearing spirally-braided hair, who occupy eleven places. I know not Mahēśvara.' Dadhisthi answered: 'This is a [preconcerted] plan of all [the gods] that he (Mahādeva) has not been invited. Since I perceive Sāṅkara, and no other deity, to be supreme, therefore this sacrifice of Daksha shall not be prosperous.' Daksha spake: 'I offer to the lord of sacrifice (Viṣṇu), in a golden vessel, this entire oblation purified by rites and by texts, the share of the incomparable Viṣṇu: he is the lord, the all-pervading, the sacrificial fire.' Devī (who, without any preamble, is here introduced as speaking) said: 'What liberality or arduous austerity can I perform whereby my divine, incomprehensible husband may to-day obtain a share, a half-share, or a third?' The god, delighted in aspect, addressed his troubled wife who had thus spoken: 'Thou knowest me not, goddess, slender of waist and limb; nor what speech befits the lord of sacrifice. I know, O large-eyed; but the wicked, devoid of

130 Compare the phrase evaṁ śaṁ yām aṁ śrīyaṁ Viṣṇuṁ viṣvanāṁ asūmanāṁ sāmāyānāṁ sāmāyānāṁ sāmāyānāṁ hotirbhikṣāṁ [parikalpitaṁ] na mantrāḥ bhūryāyī sārdhaṁ Sāṅkarasyeti nahiṣhayate. Dadhisthi apparently evades the objection, and claims a share for Rudra, consisting of the triad of gods, as one with the sun, who is undoubtedly hymned by the several ministering priests of the Vedas (sa śūyate sahasrāṁsūṁ sāmāyānāṁ sāmāyānāṁ sāmāyānāṁ hotirbhikṣāṁ [parikalpitaṁ] na mantrāḥ bhūryāyī sārdhaṁ Sāṅkarasyeti nahiṣhayate). Daksha replies that the twelve Adityas receive special oblations; that they are all the suns; and that he knows of no other. The Munī, who overheard the dispute, concur in his sentiments (ye etc. dvādāśadityāḥ Aditya-yājña-bhāgāḥ sarve śūyāḥ iti jñayāḥ na hi anyo vidyate raviḥ evaṁ ukte tu mūnayaḥ samāyātāṁ didriksharāvaḥ śādham ity abhavan Daśaśaṁ tasya sāhūyā-kārīṇāḥ). These notions seem to have been exchanged for others in the days of the Padma-P and Bhāgavata, as they place Daksha's neglect of Śiva to the latter's filthy practices—his going naked, smearing himself with ashes," etc., etc. An abstract of the story as given in the Bhāgavata will be found in the text.
reflection, know not: and the three worlds, including Indra and the gods, are to-day altogether bewildered with thy wilderment. Worshippers praise me at the sacrifice, singers of the sāma chant the rathantara, Brahmins, versed in the veda (brahma), adore me, and Adhvaryu (i.e. Yajurvedic) priests divide for me a portion.” Devī replied: ‘Doubtless, every common man praises and magnifies himself in an assembly of women.’ Mahādeva answered: ‘I praise not myself, queen of the gods; behold, slender-waisted, beautiful-complexioned [goddess], what being I shall create.’” Mahādeva accordingly creates a dreadful being, who, attended by hosts of other frightful creatures, demolishes all Daksha’s preparations for his sacrifice. Brahma and the other gods humbly inquire of this destroyer who he is. He replies that he is neither Rudra nor Devī, but Vīrabhadra, sent to destroy the sacrifice, and exhorts them to submit to Mahādeva, whose wrath is better than the beneficence of any other god (varaṁ krodho ’pi devasya vara-dānāṁ na chānyataḥ). Upon this Daksha sings the praises of Mahēśvara. The latter then appears, and assents to Daksha’s request that his preparations for sacrifice shall not be fruitless (vv. 10338 ff.). Daksha then celebrates him by reciting his eight thousand names.

The following is an abstract of the same story as told in the Bhāga-vata Purāṇa, book iv. sections 2–7, with a colouring different from that of the Mahābhārata, and some interesting illustrations of the hostility between the Saivas and the Vaishnavas, or between the former and the more orthodox adherents of the Vedas, which, not-

132 The text of the Vāyu Purāṇa as translated by Prof. Wilson (Vish. Pur., p. 65 = p. 128 of Dr. Hall’s ed. vol. i.) differs somewhat from that of the Mahābhārata, as here given. The former text has been copied for me by Prof. Fitz-Edward Hall from the Guikowar MS. in the India Office Library, and is as follows: Mamādhvaye šāṁśitārāḥ stuvanti rathantare sāma gāyanti geyam | abhrāṁaye brahma-nātre yajante mamādhvayavāḥ kulpayante chaḥ bhāgam | “At my sacrifice worshippers praise (me); in the rathantara they sing the sāma song; they adore (me) in a sacrifice of devotion without Brahman; and the adhvaryus divide for me a portion.” It is remarkable that Mahādeva’s worship should be here described as performed “without Brahman.” But what are we to make of the word “adhvaryu”? Could it mean, in later times at least, anything else than the Brahmical priest so called?

133 In this passage (v. 10332) Mahādeva is called Viśvakarman (Devo nāhūyate tatra Viśvakarmanā Mahēśvaraḥ). Compare the passage from the Rāmāyana, above, p. 368 f., and note 131, p. 376. There appears to be some confusion in the narrative as given in verses 10331 ff. Though Daksha had already made his submission to Mahādeva, the story seems to be begun over again, or recapitulated.
MAHĀDEVA OMITS TO SALUTE DAKSHA,

withstanding the conciliation of the conflicting views introduced by the writer at the close of the story, no doubt had, and perhaps still has, a real existence in the minds of many of the sectaries. Sati, the wife of Śiva, was the daughter of Daksha, as we are told in the same work (iv. 1, 47, 48): Prasūtinya Māhanāṁ Dakṣaḥ upayemē hy Ajāt-

Dharmāya tathaikām Agnaye vibhuh | pitṛbhṛtya ekām yuktēbhhyo Bhavā-

Daksha, the son of Aja (the 'unborn'—he is said [v. 11] to be the son of Brahmā=Aja), married Prasūti, the daughter of Manu. From her he begot sixteen pure-eyed daughters. Of these this lord gave thirteen to Dharma, one to Agni, one to the meditative [or united, sāmyatebhhyo militēbhhyo va, Comm.] Pitris, and one to Bhava (Śiva), the destroyer of existence.” Sati, however, bore no children to Śiva. i. 64. Bhavasya patni tu Satī Bhavaih devam anwratā | ātmanaḥ sadṛṣam putraṁ na lebhe gṛṇu-śilataḥ |

In the second section we are informed how enmity arose between Mahādeva and his father-in-law Daksha. It appears that the gods and rishis were assembled at a sacrifice celebrated by the Prajāpati. On the entrance of Daksha, all the personages who were present, rose to salute him, excepting only Virinçhya (Brahmā) and Mahādeva. Daksha, after making his obeisance to Brahmā, sat down by his command; but was offended at the treatment he received from Śiva (iv. 2, 8 ff.): Prāṇaṁ nishaṁnam Mridāṁ drīṣṭvā nāmrīṣhaṁ tad-anā-

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Having and 'Hea/etad' amattah amatta-jana-priyah anarhatva-mutre tasya 'asivah' saha iti anyatha nmanine 'sudrayeti dushteshv Vastavas ityadi nasti abuse totally api veda&m varasyff atah it occurs svayam purity the in madman, my he monkey-eyed word, real, esoteric, sense of this abuse:— Vastavas tv ayam arthaḥ luptah kriyāḥ yasmin para-brahma-rūpaḥvataḥ atah eva naśī śuchir yasmat mānīne abhinma-setave iti cha chhedah tasya parenas-varasya madiyā mānushi kanyā kāthaiḥ yogaiḥ syād iti lajjasindā ātām anīccham api tat-sambandha-lohbena dattavān 'śudrāyeti' anarhatva-mātre drīśhtānto na ānātve pūrvapara-seva-vachana-virodhopattah etad uktam bhavati: yathā kāścit śūrdraya vedaṁ artha-lohbena dādāti 'pretāvāsseshv' ityādi sarvaṁ vidambana-mātram iti| svayam eva āha 'unmatta-vad' iti | anyathā 'unmatāḥ' ity eva avakṣhayat | 'āsivah' naśī śivo yasmat | amattaḥ | amatta-jana-priyah iti chhedah | 'patiḥ pramathābhūtānām' iti bhakta-vatsalyam āha | tāmasāṁ api dosham apāyiya pāti iti | nāshṭanām api sauchaṁ īuddhir yasmat | dushteske apy eke mayā anukampyāḥ iti āsīṁ mano yasya

AND IS REVILED BY HIM.
did not oppose him, Daksha having then touched water, incensed, began to curse him [thus]: 'Let this Bhava (Siva), lowest of the gods, never, at the worship of the gods, receive any portion along with the gods Indra, Upendra (Visnû), and others.' Having delivered his malevolent, Daksha departed. A counter-malevolent, as follows, was then uttered, upon him and the Brahmins who took his part, by Nandiśvara, one of the chief of Mahâdeva's followers:

21 ff.—Yaḥ etam martyam uddīṣya bhagavaty apratidruhi | dṛhythy ajnaḥ prithag-drishtis tattvāt vimukho bhavet | grīhesu kūṭa-dharmeshu sakto grāmya-sukkehhayā | karma-tantraṁ vitanutād veda-vāda-vipannadāḥ | buddhyā parābhidhyāyinyā vismṛitatma-gatiḥ pāṣuh | strī-kāmaḥ so 'etu nitarāṁ Daksho vastu-mukho 'chirat | vidyā-buddhir avidyāyām karmamayām asau jādaḥ | sāmśarantv iha ye chāmum ann Sarvāvamāninam | giraḥ śrutāyāḥ pushpīyāḥ madhu-gandhena bhūrīṇā | mathnā chonnayaṭmāṇāḥ sammuhyantu Hara-dvishaḥ | sarva-bhakṣāḥ dvijāḥ vṛityāy dhrita-vidyā-tapo-vratāḥ | vitta-dehendriyārāmāḥ yāchakāḥ vicharantv iha | "May the ignorant being who, from regard to this mortal (Daksha), and considering [Siva] as distinct [from the supreme

sa duraḥ titasmā | 'vata' iti harsha | Brahmano vākyā[?] lajā-bhāyodikām pādiyaśja daśī ity arthaḥ | "The real meaning (of vv. 13 ff.) is this: 'He in whom works are destroyed, owing to his character of supreme Brahma; in consequence of which there is none purer than he.' Instead of mānīne and bhīnna-setave, the division of words may also be amānīne, abhīnna-setevas, 'not proud,' 'not demolisher of barriers.' Though unwilling to give my daughter through modesty, etc., from a feeling that my human daughter could not be worthy of the supreme lord, I nevertheless gave her from a covetous desire of being connected with him. The words 'as to a Sūdra' are merely an illustration to express unfitness, and not defectiveness, otherwise there would be a contradiction between his prece'ring and his following words. The sense is this: 'just as any one through covetousness of money gives the Veda to a Sūdra.' The words 'in cemeteries,' etc., are a mere disguise. He himself says 'like a madman.' Otherwise he would have said 'a madman.' Asīva, inauspicious, means he than whom none is more auspicious. The words matta and matta-jana-priya should be so divided as to be preceded by a negative, and thus mean 'not insane,' 'beloved by the not-insane.' The words 'lord of Pramathas,' etc., intimate his love for those devoted to him. The sense is that, removing their faultiness, he cherishes even those who have the quality of darkness. Nacha-tauchāya means that from him comes purity to the depraved. Durhrit means he whose heart, feeling, suggests that 'even these, although wicked, are to be compassionated by me.' Vata intimates joy. 'Owing to the injunction of Brahmā, abandoning modesty, fear, etc., I gave my daughter: thus is the sense.'

136 This is Burnouf's reading. It is an archaic, Vedic, form. The Bombay edition reads vi劫ate.
spirit],—hates the deity who does not return the hatred,—be averse to the truth. Devoted to domestic life, in which frauds are prevalent, let him, from a desire of vulgar pleasures, practise the round of ceremonies, with an understanding degraded by Vedic prescriptions. Forgetting the nature of soul, with a mind which contemplates other things, let Daksha, brutal, be excessively devoted to women, and have speedily the face of a goat. Let this stupid being, who has a conceit of knowledge, and all those who follow this contemner of Sarva (Siva), continue to exist in this world in ceremonial ignorance. Let the enemies of Hara (Siva), whose minds are disturbed by the strong spiritual odour and the excitement of the flowery words of the Veda, become deluded! Let those Brahmans, eating all sorts of food, professing knowledge and practising austerities and ceremonies [merely] for subsistence, delighting in riches and in corporeal and sensual enjoyments, wander about as beggars!"

The wrath of Brighu, one of the sages present at the sacrifice, is aroused by this curse:

27 ff.—Tasyaivaṁ dadataḥ bōpaṁ śrutvā dvija-kulāya vai | Brighuḥ pratyasrijach chhāpam brahma-dandaṁ duratayayam | Bhava-vrata-dharāḥ ye cha ye cha tān samanuvratāḥ | pāśaṇḍinas te bhavantu sachehāstra-paripanthinaḥ | nasṭa-ṣauchāḥ mūḍha-dhiyo jaṭā-bhāmasūthi-dhāriṇaḥ | viśantu S'iva-dikṣhāyaṁ yatra daivaṁ surāsavan | brahma cha brāhma-nāṁś chaiva yad yuṣyam parinindathā | setum vidhāram punḥsām ataḥ pāśaṇḍam āśritāḥ | esa eva hi lokānāṁ śivaḥ panthā sanātanāḥ | yam pūrce chānusaṃtasthur yat-pramāṇaṁ Janārdanaḥ | tad brahma paramaṁ sūdhaṁ satāṁ kartma sanātanam | vigarhya yāta pāśaṇḍaṁ daivaṁ vo

137 The words so rendered, grihesu kuṭa-dharmeshu, occur thrice in this Purāṇa (see Böhtlingk and Roth s.v. kuṭa-dharma), viz., in iiii. 30, 10; in iv. 25, 6; and in the verse before us. In his note on iiii. 30, 10 (verse 9 in the Bombay edition) the commentator explains the word kuṭa-dharmesu as meaning houses "in which frauds, practices such as roguery in regard to money, etc., prevail" (kuṭaḥ vitta-cāthvyādi-bahulaḥ dharmāḥ yeshu). In his remarks on the other passages he gives no explanation of the word. In his translation of iii. 30, 10, M. Burnouf renders the term by "sa maison où dominent le mensonge [et le misère]," duhkha-tantreshu; in the verse before us by "attaché dans les maisons, à des vils devoirs"; and similarly in iv. 25, 6, by "au milieu des devoirs vulgaires d'un maître de maison."

138 This depreciation of the Vedas may have arisen from a consciousness on the part of the S'aiyas, that their worship was not very consistent with the most venerated Scriptures of their own country.

139 Compare the Bhagavad Gītā ii. 42 ff., quoted in the 3rd vol. of this work, p. 31 f.
yatra bhūta-rāṭ | "Hearing him thus utter a curse against the tribe of Brahmans, Brighu launched a counter-imprecation, a Brahmanical weapon, hard to be evaded: 'Let those who practise the rites of Bhava (Mahādeva), and all their followers, be heretics, and opponents of the true scriptures. Having lost their purity, deluded in understanding, wearing matted hair, and ashes and bones, let them undergo the initiation of Śiva, in which spirituous liquor is the deity.' Since ye revile the veda (brahma) and Brahmans, the barriers by which men are restrained, ye have embraced heresy. For this veda is the auspicious (śiva) eternal path of the people, which the ancients have trod, and wherein Janārada (Vishṇu) is the authority. Reviling this veda (brahma), supreme, pure, the eternal path of the virtuous, follow the heresy in which your god is the king of goblins.'"

On hearing this imprecation, Śiva departed with his followers, while Daksha and the other Prajāpatis celebrated for a thousand years the sacrifice in which Vishṇu was the object of adoration.

The enmity between the father-in-law and son-in-law continues (sect. 3). Daksha being elevated by Brahmā to the rank of chief of the Prajāpatis, becomes elated. He commences a great sacrifice called Vṛihaspatisava. Seeing the other gods with their wives passing to this sacrifice, Satī presses her husband, Śiva, to accompany her thither. He refers to the insults which he had received from her father, and advises her not to go. She, however (sect. 4), being anxious to see her relatives, disregards his warning and goes; but being slighted by her father, Daksha, she reproaches him for his hostility to her husband, and threatens to abandon the corporeal frame by which she was connected with her parent. She then voluntarily gives up the ghost. Seeing this, Śiva's attendants, who had followed her, rush on Daksha to kill him. Brighu, however, throws an oblation into the southern fire, pronouncing a Yajus text suited to destroy the destroyers of sacrifice (yajna-ghna-ghanena yajushā dakshināgnau jahāva ha). A troop of Ribhus in consequence spring up, who put Śiva's followers to flight. Śiva is filled with wrath when he hears of the death of Satī (sect. 5). From a lock of his hair, which he tore out, a gigantic demon arose, whom he commanded to destroy Daksha and his sacrifice. This demon proceeds with a troop of Śiva's followers, and they all execute the mandate. 15 ff. Ruruṣur yajna-pāṭrāṇi tathaike 'gnin anāśayan |
19. Some broke the sacrificial vessels, others destroyed the fires, others made water in the ponds, others cut the boundary-cords of the sacrificial ground; others assaulted the Munis, others reviled their wives; others seized the gods who were near, and those who had fled. 19. The divine Bhava (Siva) plucked out the beard of Bhrigu, who was offering oblations with a ladle in his hand, and who had laughed in the assembly, showing his beard. He also tore out the eyes of Bhaga, whom in his wrath he had felled to the ground, and who, when in the assembly, had made a sign to [Daksha when] cursing [Siva]. He moreover knocked out the teeth of Pushan as (as Bala did the king of Kalinga's), who (Pushan) had laughed, showing his teeth, when the great god was being cursed." Tryambaka (Siva, or Virabhadra, according to the commentator) then cuts off the head of Daksha, but not without some difficulty. The gods report all that had passed to Svayambhu (Brahma), who, with Vishnu, had not been present (sect. 6). Brahma advises the gods to propitiate Siva, whom they had wrongfully excluded from a share in the sacrifice (v. 5. athāpi gṛyaṁ kṛita-keśīśāḥ Bhavaṁ ye barhiṣho bhāga-bhājam parādviḥ). The deities, headed by Aja (Brahma), accordingly proceed to Kailāsa, when they see Siva "bearing the linga desired by devotees, ashes, a staff, a tuft of hair, an antelope's skin, and a digit of the moon, his body shining like an evening cloud" (v. 35. lingaṁ ca tāpasābhīsaṁ bhamsa-dānda-jaṭājinam | angena sandhyā-bhṛra-rūchā chandra-ākhānta bibhratam). Brahma addresses Mahādeva "as the eternal Brahma, the lord of Sakti and Siva, who are respectively the womb and the seed of the universe,—who, in sport, like a spider, forms all things from Sakti and Siva, who are consubstantial with himself, and preserves and reabsorbs them" (vv.
41 f. jāne tvām īsāṁ viśvasya jagato yoni-vīyayoḥ | Saktē Sivasya cha param yat tad Brahma nirantarām | tvam eva bhagavan etach Chhiva-S'aktyoh sarāpayoḥ | viśvaṁ srijasi pāsy ati kṛīdāṁ ūrṇa-pato yathā). (A similar supremacy, as we shall see, is ascribed to Vishnu in section 7.) Brahmā adds that it was this great being who had instituted sacrifice, and all the regulations which Brahmans devoutly observe; and entreats him, who is beyond all illusion, to have mercy on those who, overcome by its influence, had wrongly attached importance to ceremonial works, and to restore the sacrifice of Daksha, at which a share had been refused to him by evil priests (v. 49. Na yatra bhūgaṁ tava bhūgino daduḥ kurya-jeinaḥ). Mahādeva partly relents (sect. 7), and allows Daksha to have a goat’s-faced head, Bhaga to see with Mitra’s eyes, Pūshan to eat with the teeth of his worshipper, Bhrigu to have a he-goat’s beard, etc. (vv. 3 ff.) Daksha, after having had a goat’s head fitted to his body, celebrates the praises of Siva (vv. 8 ff.). The sacrifice is then recommenced, and in order to its completion, and to remove the pollution occasioned by the touch of Mahādeva’s warriors, an oblation is made to Vishnu on three platters (v. 17. Vaishnavaṁ yajua-santatyai trīkapūlaṁ dvijottamāḥ | purodāśaṁ niravapan vīra-saṁsarga-suddhyayena). Hari (Vishnu) being meditated on, then appears (v. 18), is saluted with the greatest reverence by the gods, headed by Brahmā, Indra, and Siva (Tryaksha); is lauded successively by Daksha, by the priests, by Rudra himself, etc., etc. (vv. 26 ff.), and at length expresses himself as follows, in such a manner as to demonstrate the futility of the dispute between Daksha and Mahādeva, and to show that he himself was the one supreme deity, of whom all the others were only the manifestations, though in reality one in their essence:  

V. 50. Srī- Bhagavān uvācha | aham Brahmā cha Sarvaś cha jagataḥ kāraṇam param | ātmēsvaṁ api drīdha svayaṁdvīpa avīśeṣaṁ | 51. ātmā-māyāṁ samāśya sva 'ham guṇamayin dvija | srijan rakshan hari na visvaṁ dadhre saṁjnah kriyochitām | 52. tasmin Brahmān advitiye kevale paramātmāni | Brahma-Rudrau cha bhūtāni bhedenāybr ṃnapāsyati | 53. yathā pumāṁ na evaṁ viśvātmāṁ sarva-pāny-ādīśaṁ kṛiṣate | pārakya-buddhim kurute evaṁ bhūtēshu mat-paraḥ | 54. Trayāṁ u kā-bhūtēśu yā na pāsyati vai bhidām | sarva-bhūtātmanāṁ brahman sa sāṁtām ahaṁbrahācchari | 50. “I am Brahmā and Sarva (Siva), the supreme cause of the world, the soul, the lord, the witness, the self-manifesting (or, self-beholding),
deviod of attributes. 51. Entering into my own illusion consisting of the [three] Guṇas (qualities)—creating, preserving, and destroying—I have assumed names corresponding to my several acts. 52. In that one and only Brahma, the supreme Spirit, the ignorant person perceives a distinction of Brahmā and Rudra, and creatures. 53. But as a man does not think of his own members, his head, hands, etc., as belonging to another, so the man who is devoted to me [does not look upon] created things [as distinct from me]. 54. He who beholds no distinction between the three gods who are one in essence, and the soul of all things, attains tranquillity.”

Daksha, after adoring Vishnu, worships the other gods, and offers to Rudra his proper share in the sacrifice (vv. 55 f.). Satī, the daughter of Daksha, who had abandoned her original body, is born again as the daughter of Himavat and Menā (v 56. evam Dākshāyaṇī hitvā Satī pārva-kalevaram | jajne Himavataḥ kṣetre Menāyām iti śuśruma).142

The Śaiva compiler of the Linga Purāṇa takes his revenge on the Vaishnava writers, who, like the author of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, have exalted Vishnu at the expense of Śiva, by narrating the following legend of an undignified dispute between Brahmā and Vishnu regarding their respective claims to superiority, and of the apparition of the

142 The same account of Satī’s double birth is given in the Vishnu Purāṇa, i. 8, 9 ff.: Evam-prakṛto Rudro 'sau Satim bhāryām avindata | Daksha-kopācheha tatyijagā sa Satī svava kalevaram | Himavat-duhitā sa 'bhūd Menāyām dvija-sattama | upayem evam prakśe ananyayām bhagavān Bhaavaḥ | "Rudra, being of the character thus described (i.e. one of the eight forms of the son born to Brahmā: see above, pp. 339 ff.) obtained Satī for his wife. This Satī abandoned her body in consequence of the anger of Daksha. She then became the daughter of Himavat and Menā; and the divine Bhava again married Uma who was identical [with his former spouse].” In the preceding section (the 7th) of the Vishnu Purāṇa, Satī is mentioned as one of the twenty-four daughters of Daksha; but the husband, Bhava, to whom she is said to have been given in marriage, is enumerated (as is also Agni) among the Munis to whom Daksha’s daughters were wedded: Tābhyah śiṣṭāḥ kanyāsyaḥ ekādaśa sulochanāḥ | Khyuṭtiḥ Saty atha Sambhūtīḥ Smṛtiḥ Prithiḥ Kshamaḥ tathā | Sannattīḥ chānusūryāḥ cha Uṛjā Svāhā Svadhā tathā | Bhṛguv Bhayop Marichiḥ cha tathā chaivānirvāḥ munih | Pulastyaḥ Pulahaḥ chaiva Kratuḥ charshi-varas tathā | Atriv Vasishtho Vahnī śiḥ cha Pitarāḥ cha yathā-kramam | Khyāty-idyāḥ jagrīrhuk kanyāḥ munayo muni-sattama | “Younger than them (the other thirteen daughters of Daksha) were eleven virtuous and lovely-eyed damsele, Khyāti, Satī, Sambhūtī, Smṛti, Priṅa, Kshama, Sannattī, Anusūṣa, Uṛjā, Svāhā, and Svadhā. Bhṛguḥ, Bhavaḥ, Marichiḥ, the muni Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu the excellent rishi, Atrī, Vasishṭha, Vahni (i.e. Agni or Fire), and the Pitris,—these munis in order married Khyāti and the other maidens.”
Linga Purāṇa describes appariition Linga to rebuke and humble them by pointing out the inferiority of both to the supreme Mahādeva: 

Linga Purāṇa, i. 17, 5–52.—Pitāmahāḥ uvācha | Pradhānaṁ lingam ākhyātāṁ lingī cha parameśvaraḥ | rakshārtham ambudhau mahāyaṁ | Vishnos tv āsit srottamāḥ | vaimāṇike gate sarge jana-lokāṁ saharshibhiḥ | sthitikāle tāda pūrne tataḥ pratyaśīrito tathā | chatur-yuga-sahasrāntē satyalokaṁ gate suvāṁ | vinā "āhipatyaṁ samataṁ gate 'nte Brahmano mama| śushke cha sthāvare sarve tv-anāvṛśiḥyā cha sarvaśaḥ | paśavo mānushaḥ vrikṣhāḥ piśāchāḥ piśītaśanāḥ | gandharvādyāḥ kraṣmeṇaiva nirdagdhaḥ bhānu-bhānubhiḥ | ekāraṇe mahāghore tamo-bhūte samantataḥ | pushte (?) hy ambhasi yogātmā nirmalo nīrupapalavāḥ | sahasra-śīrṣhāḥ viśvātmā sahasrākṣaḥ sahasra-pāṭe | sahasrabāhuḥ sarvajñaḥ sarva-deva-bhavodbhavaḥ | Hiranyagarbhō rajasa tamasā S'ankaḥ sarvam | sattvena sarvago Vishṇuḥ sarvātmate Mahēśvaraḥ | kālāntāṁ kalu-नābhas tu śuklaḥ kṛishnaḥ tu nirgupaḥ | Nārāyaṇo mahābāhuḥ sarvātma sadasamanyayaḥ | tathā bhūtam ahaṁ drishtāvāyaṁ panka- jekshanam | māyāyā mohtitas tasya tam avochar amarshītaḥ | kas tvāṁ va devī hastena samutthāpya sanātanam | tadh hasta-prahārena trecena sa dṛḍhena tu | prabuddho 'hiya-sayanāt sāmāsīnaḥ kṣaṇam vasi | dādarśa nidrā-vidkīrmāṁ nirajājumula-ločanaḥ | mām agre sanṣṭhitam 'hāśā dhāyasito bhagavān Hariḥ | āha chotthāya bhagavān hasan mām madhuraṁ sakrīt | svāgataṁ svāgataṁ vatsa pitāmaha mahādyute | tasya tad vachanāṁ sṛutē śmita-purvaṁ swarshabhāḥ | rajasa viddha-vairas cha tam avochar Janārdanaṁ | bhāṣhase vatsa vatseti sarga-samhāra-kāraṇam | mām āhantah-smaitaṁ kriṭvā guruḥ śishyam ivānagha | kartāraṁ jagataṁ sākṣhāt prakṛitéscha pravartakam | sanātanam ajaṁ Vishṇum Virinchiṁ viśva-sambhavam | viśvātmānaṁ cidhātāraṁ dhātāram pankujekshanam | kimartham bhāṣhase mohād vaktum arhaisa satvaram | so ’pi mām āha jagataṁ kartā 'ham iti lokaya | bhartā harta bhavān angād avatīrṇo mamāvyayat | cismrito 'si jagannāthaṁ Nārāyaṇam anāmayaṁ | purusham paramātmānam puruḥ-tatm purushēntum | Vishṇum ahyayutam iśānaṁ viśvasya prabhavodbhavam | tavāparādho nāṣṭī atra mama māyā-krītan tv idam | śṛṇu satyaṁ chaturvakrā sarva-devēśvaro hy aham | kartā netā cha harta cha na mayā 'sti samo vibhūh | aham eva param Brahma param tatvam pitāmaha | aham eva paraṁ jyotiḥ paramātmā tv ahaṁ vibhūḥ | yad yad drishtaṁ śrutaṁ sarvaṁ jagaty asminē charācharam | tat tad viddhi chaturvaktra sarvam manmayam ity atha |
mayā srishtam purā vyaktāṃ chatieruin śatikaṃ svayam | nityāntaḥ hy
anavo baddhāḥ srisṭaḥ krodhodbhavādyah | prasādaḥ hi bhavān anāgy
anekānaḥ līlayā | srisṭaḥ huddhir mayā tasyāṃ ahankarās tridhā tataḥ |
tanmātra-panchakaṁ tasmād mano dehendriyāni ca | ākāśādīni bhūtāni bhautikāni ca līlayā | ity uktavati tasmāṃ ca mayi chāpi vachas tathaḥ |
āavyoḥ chābhavaḥ yuddhāṁ sughoraṁ romaharṣanaṁ | pralayaṁ
madhye tu rajasaḥ baddhā-vaivaryoḥ | etasminn antare lingam abhavaḥ |
chāvyoḥ puraḥḥ | vivāda-samanārttham hi prabodhārttham tathaḥ 
vayoḥ | jvalā-mālā-sahasṛadhyāṁ kālānala-śatopaṅmaḥ | kshaya-vriddhi-vinirmuk-
tam ādi-madhyaṅta-varjitaṃ | anauṃpamya anirdesīyam avyaktaṁ visva-
sambhavam | tasya jvalā-sahasreṇa mohito bhagavān Hariḥ | mohitam
prāha mām atra parīkṣāvō gni-sambhavam | adho gamiḥyāmy anala-
stambhasyūnapanasasya ca | bhavaṃ ārdhaṃ prayatnena gantum arhasi |
(sio) satvaram | evaṁ vyāhṛitya visvātmā svarūpam akarot tathā | vārāhaṃ akhry apy āṣu haṃṣatvam prāptavān surāḥ | tatha-prabhṛīti mām āhur |
haṃsaḥ haṃśo virād iti | haṃsaḥ haṃṣeti yo bṛiyād mām haṃsāḥ sa |
bhavishyati | suṣvetō hy anālakṣaṇaḥ cha visvātac pakṣa-saṃyutāḥ | maṇo-
-nilā-javo bhūtvā gato haṃ chōrdhvataḥ surāḥ | Nārāyaṇo 'pi visvātmā 
nilanjana-chayopamam | daśa-yojana-vistर्याम sata-yojanaṁ āyatam |
Muru-parvata-varṣhmāṇaṁ gaura-tīkṣhṇa-gra-dāṣṭṛṇaṁ | kālāyitaṁ-saṃ-
bhāṣaṁ dirgha-ghoṇam mahāśvaṇam | ārasva-pādaṁ vichitrāṅgaṁ jaiṭraṁ |
dridham anauṃpamam | vārāhaṃ asītam rūpam āsthāya gatavān adhaḥ | 
evaṁ varṣa-sahasraṁ tu tvaran Vishnuḥ adho gataḥ | nāpaśyaḥ alpaṃ apy 
asya mālaṅaṁ lingasya sūkṛaḥ | tāvataḥ kālaṁ gato hy ārdhaṃ akhry |
apy ārisūdanaḥ | satvaram sarva-yatnena tasyāntaṁ jnātum ichhāyā |
śrānto hy adrisṭvā tasyāntam ahankarād 143 adho gataḥ | tathaiva bha-
gavān Vishnuḥ śrāvaḥ saṃtrasta-lochanaḥ | sarva-deva-bhasaṁ tūrṇaṁ 
uttitāḥ sa mahāvapuḥ | samāgato mayā sārdham pranipatya mahā-
manāḥ | māyāya mohiḥḥ Sambhos tathaḥ saṃvigna-maṇaśaḥ | prishṭha-
taḥ pāśvatas chaiva chāgṛataḥ paramśvaram | pranipatya mayā sārdha-
am saṃsāra kim idaṁ tv iti | tadaḥ samabhavaḥ tatra nādo vai sabda-
lakṣaṅgaḥ | om om iti sura-sreṣṭhaḥ śwavyaḥ pluta-lakṣaṅgaḥ | kim idaṁ 
tv iti sanchintya mayā tishṭhaṁ mahāsvanam | lingasya dakṣiṇe bhāge 
tadaḥ-pāśyata sanātanam | ādyam varṇam a-kāraṁ tv u-kāraṁ chottare 
tataḥ | ma-kāraṁ madhyataḥ chaiva nādaṁtaṁ tasya chom iti | 

143 In a transcript of this passage made for me in India, and published in my 
Mataparikṣaḥ, the reading is ahām kātād, which seems a preferable reading. 
144 Bhayād muhuḥ—reading in the Matapaṅkṣa.
"Vishnu is everywhere. Time armed with a thousand eyes and feet, he, Brahma, in answer to an inquiry of the gods and rishis) says: 'Pradhana (nature) is called the Linga, and Parameswara is called Lingin' (the sustainer of the Linga). It arose for the preservation of myself and Vishnu in the ocean, O deities. When the Vaimânika creation had proceeded with the rishis to the Janaloka, and when—the period of the continuance [of the world] having then been completed,—[all things] had been absorbed, at the end of the thousand sets of four yugas, and had departed to the Satyaloka— I, Brahma, being at length reduced to a condition of equality [with other creatures] without dominion over them, and all immovable things having become altogether dried up from want of rain,—beasts, men, trees, Piśāchas, flesh-eating goblins, Gandharvas, etc., were by degrees burnt up by the rays of the sun. The one awful ocean being everywhere enveloped in darkness, the great-armed Nārāyaṇa, the soul of all things, formed of existence and non-existence, sleeps upon the water, plunged in contemplation, spotless, tranquil, thousand-headed, the soul of the universe, thousand-eyed, thousand-footed, thousand-armed, omniscient, the source of the existence of all the gods, he who is himself through passion (rājas) Hiranya-garbhha, through darkness (tamas) Sankara, through goodness (sattva) the all-pervading Vishnu, and in his universality Mahēśvara, having the character of time, having time for his centre, white, black, free from the three qualities, the great-armed Nārāyaṇa, the universal soul, having the essence both of entity and non-entity. Beholding the lotus-eyed deity in this condition, sleeping, I, deluded by his illusion, touching the eternal being with my hand, impatient, said to him, 'Who art thou? speak.' Roused

145 Lingādhishthānam | Comm.
146 Vaimānike sarge deva-sarge | Comm.
147 "The different accounts agree in stating that when the three lower spheres are consumed by fire, Maharloka is deserted by its tenants, who repair to the next sphere, or Jana-loka. Jana-loka, according to the Vāyu, is the residence of the rishis and demigods during the night of Brahma,' etc.—Wilson, Vishnu Purāṇa, p. 213, note; see also the same work, p. 632, and note 7 (=pp. 22/ ff., vol. ii., and pp. 192 ff., vol. v. of Dr. Hall’s ed.).
148 Lit. "the end of me, Brahma, having come to equality without dominion."
149 The reading of the Bombay text is here pushte; but some such word as sete, "sleeps," seems to be required by the sense.
150 Kālānaibha is the term in the original. Perhaps the proper reading may be Kālanātha, "the lord of time," which occurs in the Mahābhārata, S’antip. 10368. See Böhtlingk and Roth s.v.
by the strong and violent stroke of my hand from his snaky couch, sitting for a moment, self-restrained, the deity whose eyes are pure as the lotus looked up heavy with drowsiness. The divine Hari, invested by lustre, seeing me standing before him, rising up, said to me, sweetly smiling at the same time, 'Welcome, welcome, my child, the glorious Pitāmaha.' Hearing these words of his, accompanied by a smile, O deities, my ill will being excited by passion (ṛajas), I said to Janārdana (Vishṇu): 'Dost thou, O sinless god, like a teacher speaking to his pupil, smiling inwardly, address the words 'child, child,' to me [who am] the cause of creation and destruction, the undisputed maker of the worlds, and the mover of Prakṛiti (nature), the eternal, unborn, Vishṇu, Virinchi, the source and soul of all things, the disposer, the upholder, the lotus-eyed? Why dost thou foolishly address me thus? Tell me quickly.' He said to me, 'Perceive that I am the maker, the preserver, the destroyer of the worlds; thou hast issued from my imperishable body. Thou hast forgotten the lord of the world, the potent Nārāyaṇa, Purusha, the supreme Spirit, invoked of many, lauded of many, Vishṇu, the undecaying, the lord, the source and origin of the universe. In this there is no fault of thine: it arises from my illusion. Listen to the truth, O four-faced deity: I am the lord of all the gods, the maker, the director, the destroyer; there is none equal to me, all-pervading. I, even I, O Pitāmaha, am the supreme Brahma, the supreme reality, the supreme light, the supreme spirit, all-pervading. Whatever thing, movable or immovable, has been seen or heard of in this world, know, O four-faced deity, that it is all formed of me. By me of old has been created everything that is discernible, consisting of the twenty-four principles; the atoms, which in their ultimate [and most subtile] form are eternal, have been united; and the beings sprung from my wrath (Rudra), etc., have been created. From my complacence thou and numerous (mundane) eggs have been formed in sport. Intelligence (buddhi) has been created by me in sport; and then from it three-fold ahankāra: from it the five tanmātras, and thence mind, with the bodily senses, as also ether and the other elements, and things formed of the elements.' As soon as he and I had thus spoken, a dirful and terrific fight arose

151 Brahmā here assumes this character as belonging to himself.
152 See above, pp. 230 and 266 f.
in the sea of universal dissolution between us twain, whose enmity had been roused by passion. At this time there appeared before us, to stay our contention and admonish us, a luminous Linga, encircled with a thousand wreaths of flame, equal to a hundred final mundane conflagrations, incapable of diminution or increase, without beginning, middle, or end, incomparable, indescribable, undefinable, the source of all things. Bewildered by its thousand flames, the divine Hari said to me (Brahmā) who was myself bewildered, 'Let us on the spot examine the source of [this] fire. I will go down the unequalled pillar of fire, and thou shouldst quickly proceed strenuously upwards.' Having thus spoken, the universal-formed took the shape of a boar, and I immediately assumed the character of a swan. Ever since then men call me Hansa (swan), for Hansa is Virāj. Whoever shall call me 'Hansa, Hansa,' shall become a Hansa (unimpassioned saint). Having become purely white, and fiery-eyed, with wings on every side, rapid as thought and as the wind, I went upwards. Nārāyaṇa too, the soul of all things, having taken the dark form of a boar, like a heap of blue collyrium, ten yojanas broad and a hundred yojanas long, bulky as mount Meru, with white sharp-pointed tusks, luminous as the sun of mundane destruction, long-snouted, loud-grunting, short-footed, wondrous-limbed, victorious, strong, incomparable, proceeded downwards. Speeding thus downwards for a thousand years, Viśṇu, the boar, beheld no base at all of the Linga. For the same period I went rapidly upwards, O destroyers of your foes, with all my might, desirous of learning its end; but I descended from the lapse of time, without seeing its end; and so, too, the divine Viśṇu of vast bulk, the source of all the gods, worn out, with affrighted look, ascended rapidly. Meeting with me, that magnanimous deity, prostrating himself, bewildered by the illusion of Sambhu (Śiva), and disturbed in mind, bowing, along with me, before Parameśvara (Śiva), behind, at the side, and in front, exclaimed, 'What is this?' Then, O chief of the gods, there arose there the articulate sound 'om, om,' distinct and protracted. Considering what this could be, he then, standing

153 See the commencement of this extract.
154 In the 5th and 6th sections of the Śiva-purāna "it is explained in a puerile and inept manner why Brahman took the form of a swan and Viṣṇu of a boar." —Aufrecht's Catalogue of the Bodl. Sansk. MSS., p. 633.
155 See the first volume of this work, pp. 9 and 36.
with me, beheld this eternal loud-resounding [monosyllable] upon the right side of the Linga; the first letter a-kāra, after it u-kāra, ma-
kāra in the centre, and Om as the result of the sounds.'"

This is followed by a great deal of mysticism about the letters of the word om and the other letters of the alphabet, etc., etc.

The eighteenth section of the same Purāṇa contains a hymn addressed by Viśnū to Rudra, which recites a list of the attributes of the latter deity. Mahādeva is gratified with this hymn, and tells Brahmā and Viśnū that they had both spring from him, offers them a boon, and touches them with his auspicious hands. Nārāyaṇa asks as a boon that they may both entertain an eternal devotion for him; which Mahādeva as a matter of course grants. I cite the verses which follow, in the original:

Linga Purāṇa, 19, 8 ff.—Jñānabhyaṁ avanīṁ gatāṁ punar Nārāyaṇaṁ svayam | praṇipatyā cha Viśveśam prāha mandataram vaśi | “āvayor deva-
devaśa vīvādam ati-sobhanam | ihāgato bhavān yasmād vīvāda-samanāya

nav” | tasya tad-vachanāṁ sruṭvā punaḥ prāha Haro Harim | praṇipatyā sthitam mūrdhnaṁ kriñjānji-puṭam smayan | Sṛi-mahādevaṁ uvācha | pra-
laya-sthitī-sargāṇaṁ kartā tvaiṁ dharaṇipate | vatsa vatsa Hare Viṣṇo
pālayatātḥ charācaram | tridhā bhīnno hy ahaṁ Viṣṇo Brahma-Viṣṇu-
Bhavākhyāyā | sarga-rakṣā-laya-guṇāṁ niskalāḥ paramesvaram | sammo-
ham tyaja bho Viṣṇo pālayainam Pitāmaham | pādme bhavishyati sutāḥ

kalpe tava Pitāmahah | tadā drakṣyasi māṁ chaivaṁ so 'pi drakşyati
padma-jaḥ | evam utkva sa bhagavāṁs tetrīvaṁtaradhyata | tadā-pra-
bhrīti lokeshu lingār̥cā supratiṣṭhita | linga-vedi Mahādevi lingām
sākṣād Mahēśvarah | “The self-restraining Nārāyaṇa, falling on his knees on the ground, and having made obeisance to Viśveśa (Siva), spoke gently thus: ‘Our dispute, O god of gods, has proved most auspicious, since thou hast come hither to allay it.’ Having heard these words, Hara (Siva), smiling, again said to Hari (Viṣṇu), who stood making obeisance with his hands joined: ‘Thou, lord of the earth, art the author of the creation, continuance and destruction [of the uni-

I cannot render this sentence, as it stands, otherwise than by taking viśvādam for a neuter nominative, though nouns of this formation are masculine. The commentator explains sobhanam as meaning ubhayor api sama-balatvāḥ ehhobhamānam, “brilliant from the equal powers of the two combatants”; and supplies samaya, “appease, or stop, it” (ataḥ samaya ity adhyāḥāraḥ).
verse]: my child, my child, Hari, Vishnu, preserve all this moving and stationary world. I, the undivided supreme lord, am divided in a threefold manner under the names of Brahmā, Vishnu, and Bhava, possessing the attributes of creating, preserving, and destroying. Relinquish, Vishnu, thy delusion; cherish this Pitamaha. He shall be thy son in the Pādma Kalpa. Then shalt thou behold me, and he also who sprang from the lotus (Brahmā) shall see me.' Having thus spoken, the deity vanished. Thenceforward the worship of the Linga has been inaugurated in the world: the pedestal of the Linga is Mahādevī (Umā), and the Linga is the visible Mahēśvara."

The reader will probably be of opinion that this story does not throw much light on the real origin of the Linga-worship.

The Vishnu Purāṇa (i. 7, 6 ff.) does not assign a high rank to Rudra; but makes him the offspring of Brahmā (as the Mahābhārata, quoted above, p. 230 and 266 f., makes him of Vishnu): Sanandanaidaya ye cha pūrveṃ srisṭā tu Vedhasaṁ na te lokeshv asajjanta nirapekṣāḥ prajāsu te sarve te chāgata-jnānāḥ vīta-rāgāḥ vimatsarāḥ tesa evaṁ nirapekṣeshu loka-srisṭaṁ mahātmanah | Brahmāno 'bhūd mahākrodhas trailokyadahana-kshamaḥ | tasya krodhaṁ samudbhuta-jvālā-mālā-vidīpitam | Brahmano 'bhūt tādā sarvaṁ trailokyam akhilam mune | bhrukuti-kutīlataḥ tasya lalitaḥ krodha-dīpitā | samutpammas tādā Rudro madhyāṁrkarā-saṃ- prabhāḥ | ardha-nārī-nara-vapuḥ prachanda 'ti-śariravān | "vibhajātma- nam" ity uktaṁ tam Brahmā 'ntardadhe punaḥ | tathokto 'sau dvidhā strītvam puruṣatvaṁ tathā 'karot | bibheda purushatvam cha dasadāḥ chaikadāḥ cha saḥ | saumyasaumyais tathā śantaśantaṁ strītvam cha sa prabhāḥ | bibheda bahuḥdaḥ devaḥ svarupair asitaṁ sitaḥ | "Sananda and the others who were before created by Vedas (Brahmā) had no regard for the worlds, and were indifferent about offspring, for they had all attained to knowledge, and were free from love and from hatred. As they were thus indifferent to the creation of worlds, the mighty Brahmā was filled with fierce anger, sufficient to burn up the three worlds. The three worlds were illuminated in every part by the wreaths of flame engendered from the wrath of the god. From his forehead, wrinkled with a frown and inflamed with anger, Rudra then sprang forth, glorious as the noonday sun, his body half male and half female, fierce, and huge in bulk. Brahmā disappeared after saying to him, 'Divide thyself.' Being thus addressed, he severed himself into twain, into
a male and a female body. The god then divided his male form into eleven portions, gentle and ungentle; and in like manner his female body into many forms—black and white.” 157

In the same way the Harivansha says (v. 43): Tato ’srijat punar Brahmā Rudraṁ roshātma-sambhavam | “Then Brahma next created Rudra, the offspring of his anger.”

Sect. VII.—Results of the preceding Sections.

The various texts quoted in Sections i.—iv. (pp. 299–355) from the Rig-, the Yajur-, and Atharva-vedas, and from the Brähmaṇas, relative to Rudra, compose the principal materials which we possess for forming an idea of the characteristics ascribed to that deity in the more ancient portions of Indian literature anterior to the composition of the Epic poems and Purāṇas. The Upanishads from which I have derived the mystical extracts given in the fifth section (pp. 355 ff.) are of uncertain date, and their contents throw but little light on the development of the worship of Rudra. The extracts which I have given from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata in chapter ii. (pp. 176 f., 184 ff., 223–226, 230 ff., 240 f., 263, 266 ff., 278 ff., and 283–291), and in the last section, while they contain some of the earliest descriptions of which I am aware, of Rudra in the new, and very different, aspect in which he has been conceived in the later ages of Hindu mythology, since he has come to be identified with Śiva or Mahādeva, are yet unfitted to elucidate the process by which he became elevated to the highest rank in the Indian pantheon. I shall, however, draw from these texts a summary of the attributes which they respectively assign to Rudra, which will exhibit the modifications which the conception of this deity

157 See Professor Wilson’s notes on this passage, V. P., 2nd ed., vol. i., p. 103, ff. The Śāntiparvan of the Mahābhārata also speaks (vv. 13723 ff.) of Mahādeva, the three-eyed, and the great devotee, as having sprung from the forehead of Brahma, of his coming to visit his father on the mountain Vaijayanta, and of his saluting him respectfully, falling at his feet, and being raised up by him with his left hand. Brahma then proceeds to unfold to him the nature of Purusha. (Athā tatrātatas taśya Chaturvaktirasya dhīmataḥ | tatāta-prabhavāḥ putrāḥ Śivaḥ uciṣd yadvigharaḥ | gūkṣena mahāyogī purā trinayanaḥ prabhūḥ | tatāh khaḍa nipapatiḥ dharanaḥkara- mūrdhāni | agrataḥ chābhavat prīto vavande chāpi pūdayoh | tam pūdayor nipatitan drishtvā saevena pāññāḥ | uthopayāyamasa tadā prabhū ekaḥ Prajaśpatih | uvācha chainam bhagavānāḥ chirasayatam ātmajam.)
undergoes in the later, as compared with the earlier, passages. To my own remarks on this subject, however, I shall prefix some observations by Professors H. H. Wilson, Weber, and Whitney, on the character of the Vedic Rudra.

The following remarks by Professor Wilson are extracted from the Introductions to the first and second volumes of his translation of the Rig-veda (published, vol. i., 1st ed., in 1850, and 2nd ed. in 1866; and vol. ii. in 1854):

"We have a Rudra, who, in after-times, is identified with S'iva, but who, even in the Purânas, is of very doubtful origin and identification; whilst in the Veda he is described as the father of the winds, and is evidently a form of either Agni or Indra. The epithet kaparddin which is applied to him appears, indeed, to have some relation to a characteristic attribute of S'iva,—the wearing of his hair in a peculiar braid; but the term has probably in the Veda a very different significance—one now forgotten,—although it may have suggested in after-time the appearance of S'iva in such a head-dress, as identified with Agni; for instance, kaparddin may intimate his head being surrounded by radiating flame, or the word may be an interpolation; at any rate, no other epithet applicable to S'iva occurs, and there is not the slightest allusion to the form in which, for the last ten centuries at least, he seems to have been almost exclusively worshipped in India, that of the Linga or Phallus: neither is there the slightest hint of another important feature of later Hinduism,—the Trimûrtti, or Tri-une combination of Brahmā, Vishṇu, and S'iva, as typified by the mystical syllable om, although, according to high authority; on the religions of antiquity, the Trimûrtti was the first element in the faith of the Hindūs, and the second was the Lingam." \(^{156}\) (vol. i., pp. xxvi., xxvii.)

"Of Rudra also, the character is equivocal; but it may be doubted if it partakes in any remarkable degree of that fierceness and wrath which belong to the Rudra of a later date; he is termed, it is true, the slayer of heroes, but so is Indra: the effects of his anger upon men and animals are deprecated; but he is also appealed to as wise and bountiful, the author of fertility and giver of happiness, and his peculiar characteristics are evidently his presiding over medicinal plants and removal of disease, attributes of a beneficial, not of a malignant and

\(^{156}\) Creuzer, Religions de l'Antiquité, book i., chap. i., p. 140.
irascible deity. As above remarked, the Maruts, or winds, are termed his sons; and this relationship would assimilate him to Indra. There is also a class of inferior deities, termed Rudras, who in one passage are worshippers of Agni, and in another are followers of Indra; being the same as the Maruts. So far, therefore, Rudra might be identified with Indra; but we have the name applied unequivocally to Agni in a hymn exclusively dedicated to that divinity (R. V. i. 27, 10). The term denotes, according to the Scholiast, the ‘terrible Agni’; but there is no warrant for this in the text, and we may be content, therefore, with the latter, to regard Rudra as a form or denomination of fire."—(Ibid. pp. xxxvii. f.)

"Rudra is described, as in the first book, by rather incompatible qualities, as both fierce and beneficent; but his specific province is here also the tutelarship of medicinal plants, and administration of medicine, and he is designated as a physician of physicians (R. V. ii. 33, 4). With respect also to his presiding over medicinal plants, there occurs a passage worthy of note, as among the herbs are those, it is said, which Manu selected, alluding, most probably, to the seeds of the plants which Manu, according to the legend as related in the Mahābhārata, took with him into his vessel at the time of the deluge. There are more particulars of the person of Rudra than usual. He is sometimes said to be brown or tawny, but he is also said to be white-complexioned (R.V. ii. 33, 8); he is soft-bellied and handsome-chinned; he is armed with a bow and arrows, and brilliant with golden ornaments. He is also called the father of the Maruts. There is little, however, in all this, except his fierceness, to identify him with the Rudra of the Purāṇas."

—(vol. ii., pp. ix. f.)

The following interesting and ingenious speculations of Professor Weber are translated from his Indische Studien, ii., 19–22 (published in 1853):

"In the beginning of the ninth book of the Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa (see above, p. 347 f.), we obtain a complete explanation of the Satarudriya (see above, p. 322 ff.). When the preparation of the consecrated place for kindling the fire is completed (chity-upadhāna-parisamāpty-ānantaryam, Sāyana), and the fire has been kindled, and blazes up (dipyamāno

159 See the Section on the Maruts in the fifth vol. of this work, pp. 147 ff.
'tish̄hat), the gods (i.e. the Brahmans \(^{160}\)) are terrified by it, \(yas vai no \) 'yan na himsyyād iti ('lest it should destroy us'): and with the view of appeasing this [howling, hungry] flame, which is conceived of as in the form of Rudra, i.e. to consecrate and propitiate the fire, they offer their adoration to Rudra, and to his supposed troop of associates; i.e. to all conceivable shapes of terror, and by this means render them favourable, and avert all their malevolent influences. Hence the Brāhmaṇa explains \(s\)ata-rudriya by \(s\)ānta-rudriya (as \(g\)ata comes from the root \(g\)am); a double sense, which may perhaps have actually been, though indistinctly, contemplated, when the name was first given.\(^{161}\) In this application of Rudra as the god of fire (independently of the other contents of the \(\dot{s}\)atarudriya), we may find an indication of the time when it was composed. Though Rudra originally signifies generally the howler, and consequently can stand as well for an epithet of the crackling fire as of the raging storm, yet in the earliest period the word had been more specially used to denote the latter signification, and is therefore frequently used in the Rig-veda in the plural as an epithet of-the Maruts. The unbridled fury (\(m\)anyu) of the storm, its roaring, its tearing up (\(a\)ufwühlen) of heaven and earth,\(^{162}\) must have produced a strong and overpowering effect upon the Arian Indians in the high mountain valleys (perhaps of Kashmir) in which we must conceive them to have lived at that early period; and it was thus in the natural course of things that they should connect everything terrible and horrible with the idea of the god of storms, and regard him as the lord, and the cause, of every evil:\(^{163}\) numberless, indeed, were these aerial hosts, black, pierced only by the quivering gicams of the lightning, diffusing everywhere shuddering and horror.

"It is true that Rudra 'is also appealed to as wise and bountiful, the

\(^{160}\) "In the Brāhmaṇas the thoughts of men are very frequently put into the mouths of the gods. For instance, when the gods go to Prajāpati, and request him to solve any difficulty, this is merely a transcendental expression for the fact of a few wise men applying for instruction to one still wiser than themselves."

\(^{161}\) "The Ārṣādhyāya of the Chārāyanīya School of the Kāthaka also (ii. 17) says: \(Ṣ\)atarudriyaṁ devānāṁ Rudra-pāman.") 'The \(Ṣ\)atarudriya is an appeasing of Rudra by the gods.'

\(^{162}\) "Hence in the R.V. i. 114, 5, he is also called \(v\)arāha, "boar," as the storm-clouds too are elsewhere conceived under the same image" (Ind. Stud. i. 272, note).

\(^{163}\) "In R.V. i. 114; ii. 33. Hence, too, seven verses from these hymns are incorporated in the \(Ṣ\)atarudriya."
author of fertility, and giver of happiness;' but it is only indirectly that he is so addressed, and merely because he departs, and directs his destroying arrows towards some other quarter, against the enemies of the suppliant, and leaves the latter himself in peace; the worshipper flatters him with fair words, as if he were purely benevolent, to pacify his anger, and to render him gracious (śiva); and he only appears directly beneficent in so far as he chases away clouds and vapours, purifies and clears the atmosphere; in reference to this he is called a physician, and moreover acquainted with healing herbs: but he carries also diseases and contagions themselves as arrows in his quiver, and slays therewith men and cattle.

"In the crackling flame of the fire, now, men thought that they heard again the wrathful voice of the storm, that in the consuming fierceness of the former, they perceived once more the destructive fury of the latter. In this way we have to explain how it happened that both deities became gradually identified, and lent their respective epithets to one another, particularly as at the same time the storm is, in bad weather, accompanied with gleaming and fiery lightnings. This identification seems to have extended not merely to Agni and Rudra themselves, but also to the Rudras, in so far as the latter, from being the raging and flaming companions of the storm, appear to have become the representatives of all sorts of terrific shapes in general, until in the epic period they retired completely into the background, while their ancient master, Rudra, in his combination with Agni, became continually more firmly condensed as the god of rage and destruction, and a new class of beings took the place of the Rudras as attendants upon him (in his capacity of Śiva).

"At the period when the Rudra-book (the Satarudriya) was composed, the blending of the two destructive deities (Storm and Fire) had evidently taken place; and the epithets which are there assigned to Rudra lead us back partly to himself, and partly to Agni. The epithets 'dweller in the mountains' (girīṣa, girīṣaya, girīṣanta, girītra), and those of kapiṛādīn, vyuṭa-keśa, ugra, and bhīma, bhishaj and śiva, saṃbhū and śankara, belong to the Storm, while on the other hand those of nila-grīva (=niłakaṇṭha, spoken of smoke), sitīkaṇṭha, hiranyābāhu (of flame), vilōhitā, sahasrākṣa (of sparks), paśupati (of sacrificial

victims), sarva and bhava, etc., belong to Fire. Now almost all these epithets are technical epithets and characteristics of the epic Siva, and when applied to him are partially unintelligible, and become explicable only after they have been distinguished according to the two separate elements to whose combination this god owes his origin. But as in the Rudra-book Rudra nowhere appears as Isā or Mahādeva, and no character is assigned to him analogous to that of the epic Siva; and as the word siva is applied to him simply as an epithet (with its comparative sivatara annexed) ; the book in question must in any case be held to date from an earlier epoch of the Indian religion, whilst its elevation to the rank of an Upanishad may only have taken place in the epic period, and have been occasioned by the special worship of Siva.'

The following remarks of Professor Whitney on the same subject are taken from the Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. iii., p. 318 f. (published in 1853); and are reprinted in the volume entitled "Oriental and Linguistic Studies," published by their author in 1873:

"To the second domain, the atmosphere, belong the various divinities of the wind and storm. God of the breeze, the gentler motion of the air, is Vayū (from the root vā, 'blow'). He drives a thousand steeds; his breath chases away the demons; he comes in the earliest morning, as the first breath of air that stirs itself at daybreak, to drink the soma, and the Auroras weave for him shining garments. The storm-winds are a troop, the Maruts or Rudras: the two names are indifferently used, but the former is much the more usual (the etymology of neither is fully established). They drive spotted stags, wear shining armour, and carry spears in their hands; no one knows whence they come nor whither they go; their voice is heard aloud as they come rushing on; the earth trembles and the mountains shake before them. They belong in Indra's train; are his almost constant allies and companions. They are called the sons of Rudra, who is conceived of as peculiar god of the tempest. As their father he is very often mentioned; as a divinity with independent attributes he is of much rarer occurrence; hymns addressed to him alone are but few.

165 "And so of many other epithets found elsewhere: thus Siva owes his epithet Tryambaka, and his wife Amākā, to Rudra; and, on the other hand, his epithet Tripura, and his wife Kāli, Karāli, to Agni," etc.

166 "Hence he is also called Kālagnirudra, as in the Purāṇas, and in the Kālagnirudra Upanishad."
He is, as might be expected, a terrible god: he carries a great bow from which he hurls a sharp missile at the earth; he is called the ‘ruler of men,’ *kṣhayadhūra;* his wrath is deprecated, and he is sought not to harm his worshipper; if not in the *Rīk*, at least in the Atharvan, and Brāhmaṇas, he is styled ‘lord of the animals,’ as the unhoused beasts of the field are especially at the mercy of the pitiless storm. At the same time, to propitiate him, he is addressed as master of a thousand remedies, best of physicians, protector from harm: this may have its ground, too, partly in the beneficial effects of the tempest in freshening the atmosphere of that sultry clime. Rudra’s chief interest consists in the circumstance that he forms the point of connexion between the Vedic religion and the later Čiva-worship. Čiva is a god unknown to the Vedas: his name is a word of not unfrequent occurrence in the hymns, but means simply ‘propitious’; not even in the Atharvan is it the epithet of a particular divinity, or distinguished by its usage from any other adjective. As given to him whose title it has since become, it seems one of those euphemisms so frequent in the Indian religion, applied as a soothing and flattering address to the most terrible god in the whole Pantheon. The precise relation between Čiva and Rudra is not yet satisfactorily traced out. The introduction of an entirely new divinity from the mountains of the north has been supposed, who was grafted in upon the ancient religion by being identified with Rudra; or again a blending of some of Agni’s attributes with those of Rudra to originate a new development. Perhaps neither of these may be necessary; Čiva may be a local form of Rudra, arisen under the influence of peculiar climatic relations in the districts from which he made his way down into Hindostan proper; introduced among, and readily accepted by, a people which, as the Atharvan shows, was strongly tending toward a terrorism in its religion.”

The characters ascribed to Rudra in the hymns of the R. V. are most heterogeneous and frequently indefinite. I shall endeavour to gather, from different places and to group together those epithets which have most affinity to each other. This god is described as wise, bountiful, and powerful (*i.e.* 43, 1; *i.e.* 114, 4), as the strongest and most glorious of beings (*i.e.* 33, 3), as lord (*išāna*) of this world, possessed of

167 Compare the note on the sense of this word, above, p. 301 f.
divine power (ii. 33, 9), as unsurpassed in might \(^{168}\) (ibid. 10), as the father of the world, \(^{169}\) mighty, exalted, undecaying (vi. 49, 10); as cognizant of the doings of men and gods by his power and universal dominion (vii. 46, 2); as putting the waters in motion (x. 92, 5); as self-dependent (vii. 46, 1), and as deriving his renown from himself (i. 129, 3; x. 92, 9); as the lord of heroes (i. 114, 1, 3, 10; x. 92, 9); as the lord of songs and sacrifices (i. 43, 4), the fulfiller of sacrifices (i. 114, 4); brilliant as the sun, and as gold (i. 43, 5), tawny-coloured (this epithet is frequently applied), with beautiful chin (ii. 33, 5), fair-complexioned (ibid. 8), multiform, fierce, arrayed in golden ornaments (ibid. 9), youthful (v. 60, 5), terrible as a wild beast, destructive (ii. 23, 11), wearing spirally-braided hair (i. 114, 1, 5); and as the celestial boar (ibid. 5). He is frequently represented as the father of the Maruts or Rudras (i. 64, 2; i. 85, 1; i. 114, 6, 9; ii. 33, 1; ii. 34, 2; v. 52, 16; v. 60, 5; vi. 50, 4; vi. 66, 3; vii. 56, 1; viii. 20, 12). He is once identified with Agni (ii. 1, 6). He is described as seated on a chariot (ii. 33, 11), as wielding the thunderbolt (ii. 33, 3), as armed with a bow and arrows (ibid. 10, 14; v. 42, 11; x. 125, 6), with a strong bow and fleet arrows, with sharp weapons (vi. 74, 4; vii. 46, 1; viii. 29, 5). His shafts are discharged from the sky, and traverse the earth (vii. 46, 3). He is called the slayer of men (nri-gne, iv. 3, 6).\(^{170}\) His anger, ill-will, and destructive shafts are deprecated (i. 114, 7, 8; ii. 33, 1, 11, 14; vi. 28, 7; vii. 46, 3, 4). But he is also represented as benevolent (i. 114, 9), as mild, and easily invoked (ii. 33, 5); beneficent (ibid. 7), gracious (śiva, x. 92, 9), as the cause or condition of health and prosperity to man and beast (i. 114, 1). He is frequently described as the possessor of healing remedies, and is once characterized as the greatest of physicians (i. 43, 4; i. 114, 5; ii. 33, 2, 4, 7, 12, 13; v. 42, 11; vi. 74, 3; \(^{171}\) vii. 35, 6; vii. 46, 3; viii.

\(^{168}\) Compare the similar epithets applied to Vishṇu and Indra above: see pp. 97 f. and generally sections i. and ii., chapter ii. above. And yet in R. V. ii. 39, 9, Rudra is described in common with Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman, as unable to resist the will of Savitṛī. See the fifth volume of this work, p. 163.

\(^{169}\) Bhuvanasya pitarac. Compare Raghuvanśa i., 1, where Parameśvara (Śiva) and Pārvatī are styled the "parents of the world" (jugataḥ pitarvac).

\(^{170}\) In vii. 56, 17, it is similarly said of the Maruts, āre gohā nyihā vadhō vo astu: "Far be your kine-slaying, man-slaying bolt."

\(^{171}\) In this passage Soma is associated with Rudra as the dispenser of remedies.
29, 5). He is supplicated for blessings (i. 114, 1, 2; ii. 33, 6), and represented as averting the anger of the gods (i. 114, 1; ii. 33, 7). In R. V. vi. 74, 1 ff., he is connected with Soma in the dual, and entreated along with the latter to bestow good and avert evil.

On a review of these passages, and the hymns from which they are drawn, it appears that in most places Rudra has no very clearly defined function (such, for instance, as is ascribed to Indra and Agni, or even to Vishnu) as an agent in producing, or a representative of, the great phenomena of the physical world. It would be difficult to make out from the larger portion of the texts which I have cited to what region of the universe the activity of this god should be referred. It is true that he is repeatedly declared to be the father of the Maruts or Rudras (the winds or storms); and from this relation we might anticipate that he would be described as, still more eminently than they, the generator of tempests, and chaser of clouds. There are, however, few, if any, distinct traces of any such agency being ascribed to him. The numerous vague epithets which are constantly applied to him would not suffice to fix the particular sphere of his operation, or even to define his personality, as most of them are equally applied to other deities. This is the case with the terms “fierce,” “tawny-coloured,” “with beautiful chin”; and even the word kapardin (“with spirally-braided hair”), which at a later period became a common, if not distinctive, epithet of Mahadeva, is in the R. V. applied also to Pushan (see above, p. 301, note 7). While, however, the cosmical function of Rudra is thus but obscurely indicated, he is described as possessing other marked and peculiar characteristics. It is, however, principally in his relation to the good and evil which befall the persons and property of men that he is depicted. And here there can be little doubt that, though he is frequently supplicated to bestow prosperity, and though he is constantly addressed as the possessor of healing remedies, he is principally regarded as a malevolent deity, whose destructive shafts, the source of disease and death to man and beast, the worshipper strives by his entreaties to avert. If this view be correct, the remedies of which Rudra is the dispenser may be considered as signifying little more than the cessation of his destroying agency (as Professor Weber remarks, see above, p. 397), and the consequent restoration to health and vigour of those victims of his ill-will who had been in danger of perishing. It may appear
strange that opposite functions should thus be assigned to the same god: but evil and good, sickness and health, death and life, are naturally associated as contraries, the presence of the one implying the absence of the other, and vice versa; and in later times Mahādeva is in a somewhat similar manner regarded as the generator as well as the destroyer. We may add to this that, while it is natural to deprecate the wrath of a deity supposed to be the destroyer, the supplicant may fear to provoke his displeasure, and to awaken his jealousy, by calling on any other deity to provide a remedy. When the destructive god has been induced to relent, to withdraw his visitation, or remove its effects, it is natural for his worshippers to represent him as gracious and benevolent, as we see done in some of the hymns to Rudra.

From the above description, however, it will be apparent that the elder Rudra, though different in many respects from the later Mahādeva, is yet, like him, a terrible and destructive deity; while, on the other hand, the ancient Vishnu, like the modern god of the same name, is represented to us as a preserver, of a benignant, or, at least, of an innocuous, character (R.V. i. 22, 18; i. 155, 4; i. 186, 10; viii. 25, 12).

In the Yajur-veda we find the same characteristics assigned to Rudra as in the Rig-veda. Thus both a healing virtue (iii. 59; xvi. 5, 49) and a destructive efficacy are ascribed to him, the latter being depicted in the liveliest colours, and deprecated in every variety of expression. Thus he is represented (iii. 61; xvi. 1, and elsewhere) as carrying a bow and arrows, and is earnestly supplicated (xvi. 9 ff., 51 ff.) to avert his shafts from the worshipper. Many of the epithets which are applied to him in the Rig-veda occur again here, such as "brown" or "tawny" (xvi. 6), the god "with spirally-braided hair" (ibid. 10), the "fierce" (ibid. 40), the "bountiful," the "gracious" (51), etc.; while a multitude of new appellations are heaped upon him (and his attendants), such as "blue-necked," "thousand-eyed" (ibid. 7), "thousand-quivered" (13), "clad in a skin" (iii. 61; xvi. 51), "the dweller in the mountains" (xvi. 2, 3, 4), and others far too numerous to repeat (xvi. 17-46). The imagination of the rishi runs riot in the invention of these epithets, which are of the most heterogeneous description. Some of the characteristics here attributed to Rudra are of a disgraceful nature, as where he is styled the "lord of thieves, the robber, the cheater, the deceiver, the lord of pilferers and robbers," etc. (vv. 20,
21). Several new names are ascribed to Rudra in this Veda, as Bhava, Sarva, Paśupati, etc., etc. (vv. 18, 28). Altogether an approximation is discernible in the epithets, which occur in the Satarudriya to the fierce, terrific, impure, and repulsive character of the later Mahādeva. Ambikā is mentioned for the first time in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (iii. 5), and is described not as the wife, but as the sister of Rudra.

In the Atharvaveda also reference is made both to the therapeutic character of Rudra and to the destructive arrows and lightnings of Bhava and Sarva (ii. 27, 6; vi. 93, 1; x. i. 23; xi. 2, 1, 12, etc.). Rudra is identified with Agni (vii. 87, 1); and again with Savitri (xiii. 4, 4). On the other hand, Bhava and Sarva, and again Bhava and Rudra, are spoken of in the dual (viii. 2, 7; x. i. 23; xi. 2, 1; xi. 2, 14, 16; xi. 6, 9; xii. 4, 17); and would thus appear to have been regarded by the rishi as distinct gods. Sarva is described as an archer, Bhava as a king (vi. 93, 2); and they, as well as Rudra, are said to have poisons and consumption at their command (vi. 93, 2; xi. 2, 26). In A. V. xi. 2, 2, 30, the devouring birds and dogs of Rudra are alluded to (compare Vāj. Sanh. xvi. 28). In another verse Bhava is said to rule over the sky and the earth, and to fill the vast atmosphere (A. V. xi. 2, 27).

In the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (i. 7, 3, 8) Sarva, Bhava, Paśupati, and Rudra are said to be all names of Agni; and of these appellations Sarva is declared to be in use among the people of the east, and Bhava among the western tribe of the Bāhikas. Another passage (vi. 1, 3, 7 ff.) of the same Brāhmaṇa describes the birth of a boy (kumāra, a word applied to Agni in the Rig-veda, v. 2, 1), to whom the names of Rudra, Sarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Āśāṇi, Bhava, Mahāṇ-deva, and Īśāna were successively

172 In the same Veda, xxxix. 8, we have the following gods, or appellations of one god, specified, viz., Agni, Āśāṇi, Paśupati, Bhava, Sarva, Īśāna, Mahādeva, Ugra-deva, etc. (Agniḥ kṛdayena Āśāṇin kṛdayogreṇa Paśupatin kṛitena-kṛdayena Bhavaṁ yaknŚ | Sarvaṁ matsanābhyām Īśānaṁ manyunā Mahādevam antahparśav-yena Ugraṁ devaṁ vanishtuṁ aithyadū).  

173 The Nirukta i. 15, as I have already remarked, p. 355, note 98, contains the first words of a text relating to Rudra which is given at length by the commentator Durga, and is cited and translated above. After ascribing a martial character to Rudra in the first line, this text appears to assign to him, in the second, the threefold function of universal creator, preserver, and destroyer. As it is partially quoted in the Nirukta, this verse, though it does not appear whence it comes, must, unless interpolated, be of considerable antiquity.
given, all of them, according to the writer, representing different forms of Agni. In the somewhat different version of the same story given in the Sānkhyāyana Brāhmaṇa (see above, pp. 343 ff.) the newly-born deity is not identified with Agni. But the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, in another passage (ix. 1, 1 ff.) referred to by Professor Weber (see above, pp. 347 and 395 f.), appears again clearly to make this identification. Finally, traces of the early connexion of Rudra with Agni are discoverable, as I have already remarked (p. 349), in the legend of the birth of Kārttikeya, which I have quoted from the Mahābhārata.

Though, however, these deities may have at one time come to be thus identified, the distinctive epithets applied to Rudra in the Rigveda appear sufficiently to prove that he was generally discriminated from Agni by his early worshippers. The tendency visible both in the hymns of the Veda and in the Brāhmaṇas (see above, R.V. ii. 1, 6, p. 306; A. V. vii. 87, 1, and xiii. 4, 4, pp. 333 and 338; Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, as quoted in p. 341; Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 1, 5, p. 22) to identify the different deities with one another may have arisen from a vague conception of the unity of the divine principle by which all these several divinities were supposed to be diversely animated.

Between the texts which I have cited from the Brāhmaṇas relative to Rudra, and the earliest descriptions of the same deity which we discover in the Epic poems, a wide chasm intervenes, which, as far as I am aware, no genuine ancient materials exist (for the Upanishads I have quoted are of uncertain date) for bridging over. The Rudra of the Mahābhārata is not indeed very different in his general character from the god of the same name who is portrayed in the Satarudriya; but in the later literature his importance is immensely increased, his attributes are more clearly defined, and the conceptions entertained of his person are rendered more distinct by the addition of various additional features, and illustrated by numerous legends. Instead of remaining a subordinate deity, as he was in the Vedic era, Rudra has thrown Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya, Mitra, and Varuṇa completely into the shade; and although Indra still occupies a prominent place in the Epic legends, he has sunk down into a subordinate position, and is quite unable to compete in power and dignity with Rudra, who, together with Vishnu, now engrosses the almost exclusive worship of the Brahmanical world. Ambikā, who was subsequently identified with the
spouse of Rudra, is in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (above, p. 321) spoken of as his sister. Umā or Pārvatī, with whom he was unconnected in the Vedic period, and of whom the earliest mention, as far as I know, occurs in the Kena Upanishad, and the Taittirīya Āranya, is now his acknowledged consort. In systematic mythology the function of destroyer is assigned to him, as that of creator is to Brahmā, and that of preserver to Viṣṇu; but he is also worshipped under the emblem of the “Linga” as the great generative power.

I have (above, pp. 192 f.) quoted a passage from the Mahābhārata in which the Linga is dwelt upon at length, though it is difficult to say to what age this passage may be referable. Comp. also the epithet “mahāśepha” in p. 191 f., which points to the same idea.

In the following passage of the same book, the Linga is again mentioned in verses which follow the last of those quoted above in p. 197 ff.:

Anuśāsana-parvan, v. 7510.—Dahaty ārdhvaṁ sthito yach cha prāṇān nrīnāṁ sthiraś cha yat | sthira-lingas cha yan nityaṁ tasmāt Sthāṇur iti smṛtah | . . . . . v. 7516. Nityanetcha brahmacharyena lingam asya yadā sthitam | mahayanty asya lokās cha priyaṁ hy etad mahātmanah | vigraham pūjayed yo vai līnyāṁ vā pi mahātmanah | linga-pūjayitā nityam mahatīṁ bṛiyam aśnute | rishayas chāpi devās cha gandharvāpārasas tathā | lingam evvachhayanti sma yat tad ārdhvaṁ samāsthitam | ityādi | “And since, standing aloft, he consumes the lives of men, and since he is fixed, and since his Linga is perpetually fixed, he is therefore called Sthāṇu. . . . 7516. And when his Linga remains constantly in a state of chastity, and people reverence it, this is agreeable to the great [god]. The worshipper of the Linga, who shall adore the image (vigraha), or the Linga, of the great [god], enjoys continually great prosperity. It is the Linga, raised up, which the rishis, gods,

174 These passages will be quoted in the next section.

175 It appears (see Westvegard’s Dissertation on the Oldest Period of Indian History, p. 82, note) that Pāṇini’ (4, 1, 49) gives a rule whereby, in addition to the names of the goddesses Indrāṇī and Varuṇāṇī, which are found in the Rig-veda, the names of four others who are not found there, and who are all wives of Śiva (under his different appellations of Bhava, S’arva, Rudra, and Mṛīdā)—viz. Bhavānī S’arva, Rudra, and Mṛīdā—may be formed. (The rule is this: Indra-Varuṇa-Bhava-S’arva-Rudra-Mṛīda-himārayya-yava-yavana-mātulūchāryāṇān āṇuk). It does not, however, follow that these last-named goddesses had risen into any importance in the time of Pāṇini. Indrāṇī and Varuṇāṇī were never of any significance.
Gandharvas, and Apsarases worship." Compare with this extract verses 9616 ff., 9625 and 9631 of the Droṇa-parvan.

The Linga is also mentioned in the list of Śiva’s names in another part of the same Anuśāsana-parvan, v. 1160:

*Urdhva-retāḥ urydva-lingah urydva-sāyī nabhah-sthitah | v. 1191. Lingādhyakshah surādhyakshah . . . vijāṭhyaksho vija-kartā . . .*

*“He whose seed is raised up, whose Linga is raised up, who sleeps aloft, who abides in the sky.” . . . v. 1191: “The lord of the Linga, the lord of the suras (gods) . . . the lord of seed, the former of seed.”* 176

We possess no records to show how this phallic emblem became connected with Rudra. But, as Dr. Stevenson (Journal R. A. S., viii. 330 177) and Professor Lassen (Ind. Ant., i. 2nd ed. 924) imagine, it

176 In the Sauptika-parvan it is related that Mahādeva had been appointed by Brahmā to create living beings. He proceeded to perform austerities, and continued doing so so long that Brahmā produced another creator, who performed his task. Mahādeva at last came, and seeing that the creation had already been effected, he became angry and split his Linga, which was then placed in the earth (v. 780 f.: chukrādha bhagavān Rudro lingam svām chāyāvidhyata | tat praviddhain tathā bhūmau tathaiva pratyatishṭhata). I have not observed any mention of the Linga in the earlier part of the Rāmāyaṇa, but in the Uttara Kāṇḍa, sect. 31, v. 42 f., the following lines occur: *Yatra yatra cha yāti sama Rāvano rākshaseśvaram | jambu-adamayaṁ lingam tatra tatra sama niyate | 43. Bālūkā-vedi-nadhye tu tal lingaṁ sthitāḥ Ravaṇaḥ | ardhayāmīśa gandhaś ca puṣpaṁ ca saṁpratirāṇaṁ [“Wherever Rāvaṇa, lord of the Rākshasas, went, a golden linga was carried thither. Placing that linga in the midst of a pedestal of sand, Rāvaṇa worshipped it with incense, and flowers of ambrosial odour.” The commentator remarks on v. 43: Tal lingaṁ jambūnamayāṁ nitya-pūjā-lingam | Aiśvarya-kāmanayāḥ het tal-linga-pūjā Ravaṇasya | Aiśvarya-kāmanaya sauvarya-līnga-pūjāyōs tantreshūkeḥ | “That golden linga was intended for constant worship. He worshipped it from the desire of sovereignty. For it is prescribed in the Tantras that a golden linga should be worshipped when any one desires sovereignty.”* 177 In this paper on “the Ante-Brahmanical Religion of the Hindus,” the Rev. Dr. Stevenson asserts that the “worship of Śiva, especially under the form of the Linga,” is one of the practices for which he considers modern Hinduism is indebted to the ante-Brahmanical religion of India, i.e. to local superstitions prevalent among the aboriginal tribes anterior to the development of the existing Brahmanical system. This opinion in regard to Śiva is grounded by Dr. Stevenson on the facts: (1) that Śiva is not named in the ancient Vedic hymns; (2) that Rudra does not occupy in those hymns the high position which the later Śiva holds; (3) that various particularisms in the legend of Daksha (see above, p. 372 ff.), such as the general indisposition to acknowledge Śiva’s right to share in the sacrifice, and the circumstance that his rites required no Brahmanical priest (see above, p. 377, note 132), point to a recent introduction of Śiva’s worship (comp. Maḥābhārata, Vana-parvan, vv. 11001 ff., cited
is not impossible that it may have been at first an object of veneration among the aboriginal or non-Arian Indians; and that it was subsequently adopted by the Brahmins from them, and associated with the worship of Rudra.

This conjecture would acquire additional probability if we were justified in supposing that the word "śis'na'deva," which occurs in two passages of the Rig-veda, had any reference to a worship of this sort existing among the barbarous tribes towards whom the authors of the hymns so often express hostility, as the followers of a different religion from their own. The texts in which the word in question is found have been already adduced and translated in the second volume of this work (p. 391, note 76). But I shall quote them again here with their obscure and difficult contexts, and endeavour to elucidate them further. The first passage is as follows:


"3. Thou, heroic Indra, hast caused to flow the abundant waters which had been obstructed by Ahi. Through thee the cows (rivers, in p. 284 of this volume); (4) that there is no connexion between the Linga and any of the ancient Brahmanical emblems; (5) that the principal seats of the Linga worship are to be found in the south and north-east of India, at a distance from the original Brahmanical settlements; (6) that in the Mahratta country no Brahman officiates as priest in a Linga temple, while, on the contrary, in the temples of Vishnu Brahmins alone officiate. [This distinction does not, I think, exist in Northern India. In the temple of Vīśeśvara, at Benares, the officiating priests, if I am not mistaken, are Brahmins. The same is the impression of Prof. Fitz-Edward Hall, with whom I have communicated on the subject.—J. M.]

178 For the sense assigned to this word in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, see s.v. vedyā.
according to Śāyaṇa) have rolled on like warriors in chariots. All created things tremble for fear. 4. The terrible [god], skilled in all heroic deeds, has with his weapons, mastered these [cloud-demons]. Indra, exulting, has shattered their cities; armed with the thunderbolt he has smitten them asunder by his might. 5. Neither demons impel us, Indra, nor, O puissant [deity], of a truth any evil spirits. The glorious [Indra] defies the hostile beings: let not those whose god is the ‘śīśna’ approach our sacred ceremony. 6. Thou, O Indra, hast surpassed in power, when thou runnest thy course. The worlds have not comprehended within them thy greatness. By thine own might thou hast slain Vṛitra. No enemy hath attained the end of thee in battle. 7. The earlier gods have yielded to thy divine power; their powers have bowed before thy sovereign might. Indra having conquered, dispenses wealth. Let men invoke Indra in the combat. 8. Indra, the bard hath invoked for protection thee, the lord of great prosperity. O thou who bringest a hundred succours, thou hast been a defence to us, a defender against the assailant of him who is devoted to thee.”

R. V. x. 99, 1 ff.—Kaṁ naś chitram ishanyasi chiktvān prithugmānaṁ vāśram vāvridhadhyai | kat tasya dātu śavaso vyuṣhaṁ takshad vajram Vṛitra-turam apinvat | 2. Sa hi dyutā vidyutā veti sāmu prithuṇa yonim asuratvā””sasāda | sa saṅilebbhiḥ prasahdno asya bhrātur na rite saptathasya māyaḥ | 3. Sa vājaṁ yātā apadushpadā yan svarshātā parishadat sanisyhan | anarvā yat śata-durasya 190 vedo ghanas śiśnadevaṁ abhi varpasā ḍhūt | 4. Sa yahyo avanīr gosuṁ arvā a juhoti pradhanyāsaḥ sasṛiḥ | apādo yatra yujyāso ’rathāḥ dronya-aśvāsah śrate ghṛtāṁ vāḥ | 5. Sa Rudrebhir asasta-vāraḥ ribhvā hitvā gayam āre-avadyāḥ a agāt | vanrasya manye mithunā viveṛvī annam abhiṁya arodayaḥ mushāyan | 6. Sa id dāsaṁ tuvi-ravam patir dan saṅkṣeṣaṁ tri-sir,hāṇaṁ damanyat | asya Trīto nu ojasā vṛdhdhāṁ viṁpa varāhāṁ ayo-agrayaḥ han | 7. Sa druṅvane manushe ūrdhvasanāṁ ā sāvishad arśasānāya ṣarum | sa nṛitamo nahusho ’smat sujātaḥ puro ’bhinaḥ arhan dasyu-hatyā | “What wonderful; wide-travelling bull dost thou, perceiving, send to us for our delight! What an act of power does he display at the dawn! He has formed the

179 “Ihre Kraft kommt deiner Herrscherkraft nicht gleich,”—Böhtlingk and Roth s.v. mār-anu.
180 This word in the locative plural also occurs in R. V. i. 51, 3.
Vṛitra-slaying thunderbolt, and has strengthened thee. 2. With gleaming light he comes to the gal; in his divine glory he hath seated himself on our broad place of sacrifice; with his allies he overcomes the delusions of him who pretends to be his seventh brother. 3. Proceeding to the conflict, and desiring to acquire them, he has gone to, and in hostile array besieged, inaccessible places, at the time when, irresistible, slaying those whose god is the 'śisna,' he by his craft conquered the riches of the city with a hundred gates. 4. The steed, coming among the cows conquered in battle, pours out the flowing rivers [in the place] where the allies, without feet or chariots, employing the clouds as their horses, send forth fertilizing water. 5. The great [Indra], who has indescribable, treasures, and from whom evil is far removed, forsaking his house, has arrived with the Rudras. Coming and plundering their food, he has, I believe, made the two unsheltered (children) of Vamra to weep. 6. This lord subjugated the loud-voiced Dāsa with six eyes and three heads. Trita, increasing through his strength, struck the boar with his iron-tipped shaft. 7. Rising up, he has launched his arrow against the malignant and destructive man. He, the noble and potent hero, has shattered for us the cities of the enemy (or of Nahush) in the conflict with the destroyers (Dasyus).”

The following is Śāyāna’s explanation of the word “śiśnadeva” in the first of the preceding passages, R.V. vii. 21, 5, and repeated briefly in his note on the second passage: Śiśnadevaḥ | śiśnena divyanti kriṣṭanti iti śiśnadevaḥ | abrahmacharyāḥ ity arthaḥ | tathā cha Yāskāḥ | . . . “śiśnadevaḥ abrahmacharyāḥ” | . . . “Śiśnadevāḥ” are those who sport with the śīrā (membrum virile), i.e. unchaste men; as Yaska says, ‘Śiśnadevāḥ’ means the unchaste.” Durga, the commentator on the Nirukta, as cited by Roth (ILLust. of Nir. p. 47), gives the same explanation as Śāyāna. He says that those men are called “śiśnadeva” who, “are always dallying carnally with prostitutes, forsaking Vedic observances” (śiśnena nityam eva prakṛtāḥ śṛṣṭāḥ sakaṁ kriṣṭantaḥ āsate śrautaṁ karmāṇy utṣṛjya). Roth, in the place I have cited, thinks the word is a sarcastic appellation for priapic or lustful demons, and translates it by “Schwanz-götter.”

181 Prof. Aufrecht has given me much assistance in translating these two passages. —Note in first edition. I have made a good many alterations in the second edition.
It does not appear to me that Sayana's interpretation has much to recommend it. There are some other words in the Veda in which the word "deva" forms the last member of the compound, as "anritadeva" (vii. 104, 14) and "mura-deva" (vii. 104, 24). Sayana explains "mura-devāḥ" as="māraṇa-krīḍāḥ," "those who make a sport of killing"; and he therefore takes "deva" there in the same sense as he does in "śiśna-deva." But in the other word, "anritadeva," he takes "deva" in the usual sense of "god," and interprets it as "he whose gods are false" (anūtāḥ asatyā-bhūtāḥ devāḥ yasya tādṛīsāḥ). In the same way he understands "anti-devam" in R.V. i. 180, 7, as meaning "near the gods." And though in Böhhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary the word "anrtita-deva" is explained as signifying a "false player," this interpretation is afterwards withdrawn (in favour of that which Sayana gives of this word) at the close of the article on the word "deva." Nor does the sense assigned by Sayana to "śiśna-deva" appear to be in itself a very probable one. For the epithet "lascivious" would not necessarily be a term of reproach in the mouth of an Indian poet of the Vedic age, when, though the institution of marriage was recognized and honoured, no great amount of reprobation could have been attached to unchastity in the case of men (compare R.V. i. 167, 4; ix. 112, 4; x. 85, 37, and x. 86, 16, 17, and the fifth volume of this work, pp. 307 ff., 460 ff.). On the other hand, if the word "śiśna-deva" is to be understood of human beings, and if it could be taken as describing any deviation from the contemporaneous Arian worship, it would find many parallels in the Rig-veda, as may be seen by a comparison of the words "akarman," "adevayu," "anrich," "anindra," "anya-vrata," "apavrata," "avratā," "abrahman," "ayajvan" "ayajyu" | "without ceremonies, no worshippers of the gods, without hymns, without Indra, following other rites, averse to rites, without rites, without priests, or prayers, offering no sacrifices," in the passages quoted in the second volume of this work, pp. 359 ff., 371 ff.

It is, however, objected that "śiśna" cannot be taken as equivalent to "Linga," which means a sign, the phallus, and is therefore emblematic, while the "śiśna" denotes not an image, but the male organ itself. "Siśna" has also the sense of "tail," as in R.V. i. 105, 8,

152 The word is explained by Böhhtlingk and Roth s.v. as="mūladeva," and as denoting a species of goblins.
pointed out to me by Professor Aufrecht, where the words mūsko na śīśnā vyadanti mā ādhyāḥ mean, "cares worry me, like mice gnawing their tails." The word "śīśnadevāḥ," if understood of demons, may therefore mean, as Roth suggests, "tailed (or priapic) demons," and not "worshippers of the śīśna." The same difficulty which we encounter in fixing the meaning of the word "dasyu," viz. whether it is to be understood of men or demons (see the second volume of this work, pp. 362 ff.; 388 ff.), recurs here. In the first of the passages quoted above (vii. 21, 5) it appears, so long as we are ignorant of the real sense of "śīśna-deva," that it might be understood either of men or demons, either of whom would have been unwelcome visitors at an Arian ceremonial. Perhaps, as the word "yātavah" (demons) precedes, it is most likely that the latter are intended: and the same remark may be held to apply to the second passage (x. 99, 3).

However interesting, therefore, it would be to find a proof of the existence of a phallic worship among the aboriginal tribes contemporary with the Vedic rishis, it must be confessed that the word "śīśnadeva" does not supply this evidence.

In a passage (in the Preface to the tenth vol. of his Rāmāyāna, p. ix.) which I have adduced in the second vol. of this work (pp. 419 ff.), Signor Gorresio expresses the opinion that the Southern race, whom he supposes to be symbolized under the appellation of Rākshasas, were specially addicted to the worship of "Rudra, or a terrible" and, as he believes, "a Hamitic deity."* In note 35 (p. 291 of the same volume), on the destruction of Daksha's sacrifice, he says: "It appears to me that in this fact the struggle of the ancient religions of India is represented under a mythical veil. Śiva (a deity, as I believe, of the Cushite or Hamitic tribes which preceded on the soil of India the Arian or Indo-Sanskrit races) wished to have a part in the worship of the conquerors, and in their sacrifices, from which he was excluded; and by disturbing their rites, and by a display of violence at their sacrifices, he succeeded in being admitted to participate in them." Signor Gorresio, however, offers very little proof of his assertion in regard to the worship of Śiva being specially prevalent among the savage tribes of the south. In note 116, p. 370, of his ninth vol., indeed, he remarks as follows on a passage (Rāmāyāna vi. 19, 50 f.) where it is said that Indrajit, son of Rāvaṇa, had a golden serpent for
his banner: "The serpent was the special symbol in the worship of the Hamite races, and here therefore Indrajit, the black Râkshasa, the Hamite, sets it up as his banner. Thus in the seventy-eighth chapter of the Sundara Kânda it is said that Indrajit was in the habit of sacrificing especially to S'iva, the Hamitic deity, who possesses all the attributes of the Hamitic religion, and who entered into the Indo-Sanskrit Olympus by one of those religious syncretisms of which traces are so frequently to be found in the ancient systems of worship."

The passage of the Sundara Kânda to which Gorresio refers occurs, in the Bombay edition, in the seventh section of the Yuddha Kânda, vv. 18 f. (=Sundara Kânda 78, 17, in Gorresio's ed.), and is as follows:

Tishtha vâ kim mahârâja sramena tava vânarân | ayam eko mahârâja Indrajit kshapayishyati | anena cha mahârâja Mâhesvaram anuttamaṁ |

ishťvâ yajnaṁ varo labdho lokes parama-durlabhaḥ | "Stay, great king, what need is there of thy exertions? This Indrajit alone will destroy the monkeys. For by him a boon, hard to be gotten, was obtained after he had offered an unequalled sacrifice to Mahâdeva."

This passage is not sufficient to prove that Mahâdeva was in a special degree the god of the savages of the South. We have already seen (pp. 184 ff., 283 ff.), by the cases of Arjuna, Jayadratha, Parasurâma, and above all, of Jarâsandha, as recorded in the Mahâbhârata, that the worship of Mahâdeva (frequently for the purpose of obtaining some boon) was practised by the warriors of Northern India, just as it is here said to have been by Indrajit. Further, it is not S'iva alone whom the Râkshasas worshipped for their own purposes. It appears from the passage of the Râmâyana (cited above in p. 167) that Râvana had obtained the gift of invincibility from Brahmâ. At the same time it will be seen from a passage cited below from the Uttara Kânda 25, 9, that it was the sacrifice to Mahâdeva, and not the one to Vish'nu which procured for Indrajit his magical powers.

The same worship of Brahmâ is related in regard to Atikâya, one of Râvana's sons, in Râmâyana vi. 71, 31 f. (Bombay ed.):

Etenârâdhito Brahmâ tapasâ bhâvâtûmanâ | astrâni châpy âvâptâni ripavâb cha parâjítâḥ |

sûrâsurair abadhyatecaṁ dattam asmai Svayambhuvâ | "By this contemplative (Râkshasa) Brahmâ had been worshipped with austerities, and he had obtained weapons, and conquered
his enemies. [The privilege] had been bestowed on him by Svyayambhu that he should be indestructible by gods or Asuras.”

In verse 28 he is described as “reverent to the aged, and of renowned strength” (vriddha-sevi śruta-balāh). Rāvana himself is represented in the Rāmāyana as an observer of the Vedic ritual. Thus in Book vi. 93, 58 ff. (Bombay ed.—vi. 72, 62 ff. of Gorr.), his minister, Supārśva (Avindhyā in Gorr.), who is described as “virtuous and pure,” is introduced as saying to him: Veda-vidyā-ṛataḥ snātās svā-karma-nirataḥ tathā | striyāḥ kasmād bṛhmaḥ vīra manyase Rāksha-seśvara | “Why dost thou, heroic Rāvana, lord of the Rākshasas, who knowest the Veda, hast practised the prescribed discipline, and art an initiated householder, and devoted to thy duty, meditate the slaughter of a woman?” And Vibhishana, in his eulogy on his brother after his death, says (vi. 111, 23, Bombay ed.—vi. 93, 30 of Gorr.): Esbo hitāgniś cha mahātapāś cha vedāntagah karmasu chāgrya-śūrah | “He had placed the sacrificial fire, was very austere, had read the concluding treatises of the Veda, and was an eminent hero in rites.”

183 Instead of śruta-balāh, Gorrésio’s edition reads śrutidharaḥ, “an observer of the Vedas.” In Manu vii. 38 the following verse occurs: Vṛiddhāṁśca nityośveta viprān veda-vidāḥ suchin | vriddha-sevi hi satataṁ rakshobhir api pūjyate | “Let [the king] constantly reverence old and pure Brahmons, skilled in the Vedas; for he who continually reverences the aged is honoured even by the Rākshasas.” Can this verse refer to the character vṛiddha-sevi given to Atikāya in the passage (Rām. vi. 71, 28) quoted above? If so, the passage in Manu must be posterior in date to the Rāmāyana. Or has this character been given to Atikāya in consequence of the verse of Manu? or have these two passages no connexion? The coincidence is at least curious.

184 He is, as remarked by the commentator, also called Avindhyā; and so in the (Rāmopākhyaṇa in the Vana-parvan of the) Mahābhārata (vv. 16148, 16492-6, and elsewhere).

185 The commentator thus explains these words: Veda-vidyā-grahāpekshtā-brahma-çaryā-ṛata-puruśa-vidyāṁ gṛiḥitvā | snātaḥ | guru-kulāt sāmūrittās tadanantaravairi dāra-grahāṇa-puruśaṁ nitya-gnihotrādī-svā-karma-nirataḥ | “One who has obtained a knowledge of the Veda after practising the discipline of continence required for the reception of such knowledge; and who, after returning from his preceptor’s family, has married a wife, and continues devoted to the practice of the āgnihotra and other indispensable rites.” See Wilson’s and Williams’s Dictionaries, s.vv. snāta and snātaka, and Kulīka’s note on Manu iii. 2, referred to by the latter lexicographer.

186 Esbo hitāgni’ ity ārahaḥ sandhiḥ | āhitāgni’ iti chhedah | Comm.

187 Vedāntagah | adhiṭopanishatāḥ | karmasu āgnihotrādīshu | agnysūraḥ | paramānukṣīṣṭāḥ parama-karmadhah | In some of the earlier lines of the same section Vibhishana thus speaks of Rāvana: Gataḥ setuḥ svāntānāṁ gato dharmasya vigrahaḥ | gataḥ satvasya sankshepaḥ suhastanāṁ gatir gataḥ | ādityaḥ patito bhūmāu
Again, it is related in the hundred and thirteenth section (Bombay ed.), that Rāvana was buried with the usual Brahmanical ceremonies, though the commentator (in his note on verse 107) says that the Brahmins who were concerned in them were Rāksha-brahmans (Rāksha-dvijāḥ).

Rāmāyaṇa vi. 113, vv. 112 ff. (Bombay ed.)—Chītāṁ chandana-kāṣṭhais cha padmakōśa-śaruṇāṁ | brāhmaṇāḥ 188 saṃvartayāmāsuh | rākṣavāstarānāvṛtītah | prachakrūḥ Rākṣha-saṃvārya pitṛinedham anuttamatam | vedīchca daksina-prāchīnāḥ yathā-sthānancha pāvakaḥ | prishadāyena sāmāpaṇam sruvaṁ skandhe prachikṣhipuḥ | pādayoh śakta-ṭam prāpur āravo chotukhalam tada | dāru-pṛatrāni sarvāni chottarāṇīm | dattvā tu musalaṁ chānyāṁ yathā-sthānāṁ vichakramuḥ | sāstra-dṛiṣṭena vidhiṁ māharshi-viḥiṭena 189 cha | tatra medhyam paśuṁ hatā Rākṣa-saṃvārya Rākṣaśāḥ | paristaraṇikām 190 rājno gṛhitāktilam | samaveśayō | gandhair mālyair alankṛtya Rāvanam dīna-viśasāḥ | Vibhiṣāṇa-sahāyaṁ te vastraṁ cha vīvidhair api | lājair avakiranti smā vāsīpa-pārṇa-mukhaṁ tathā | sa dadāu pāvakaṁ tasya viḍhi-juktāṁ Vibhiṣāṇaḥ | snātvā chaivārdra-vastreṇa tilām darbha-vimiṣirāya | udakena cha sammīrāṇ prādaṣya viḍhi-pūrvakam 191 | “They formed, magnae tamasi chandramiḥḥ | “The bulwark of the righteous is gone; gone is the image of virtue; gone is the summary of goodness [or strength, Comm.]; the lot of heroes has been gained by him. The sun has fallen to the ground; the moon has been quenched in darkness,” etc. And yet Vibhiṣāṇa abuses his dead brother in the hundred and thirteenth section (Bombay ed.), vv. 93 ff.

188 Veda-mārgāṇugata-kriyāḥ | Comm.
189 Kalpa-sūtra-kriya-rishi-viḥiṭena | Comm.
190 Paristiryaṭe mukham anaya iti paristaranikāḥ vupā | tāṁ rākṣa-saṃvārya mukhe samaveśaṇāya | “vupā ‘sya mukham praurṇaṁ” iti sūtrāḥ | Comm.; who seems therefore to understand paristaranikāḥ of fat (see Müller as quoted in the article referred to in note 192). The commentator, however, gives also another reading and explanation which I quote: Tīrthaḥ tu anustaraṇīkīṁ rājnaḥ iti pathitva anustaraṇīkīṁ rājagaviṁ tāṁ abhīya tachcharanaṁ yajamāṇaṁ āśrītvantaṁ ity arthaḥ | “But Tīrtha (a previous commentator) reads anustaraṇīkīṁ rājnaḥ, and explains the sense thus: having immolated a rājagavi (bos grunniens), they covered the sacrifice with its skin.”

191 I insert here part of Gorresio’s text for comparison (vi. 96, 10 ff.): Tātas te vedavīdvānaṁ tu rājah paścimitāṁ kriyāṁ | chakrīre rūkṣha-saṃvārya pretamedham anuttamatam | vedāṇcitā daksina-prāchīnāḥ yathā-sthānaṁ cha pāvektam | Vibhiṣāṇaḥ tu samprāpya lūcchāṁ samāpyaṁ suruvaṁ | prishadāyena saṃprāpyaṁ suruvaṁ sarvāṁ yathāvidhi | Rāvanasya tātra sarve vāsīpa-pārṇa-mukhaḥ ṛvijāḥ | pādayoh śaktaṁ cakrūra antarorātav uḍākhalam | vānaspātyāṁ chānyāṁ antare ‘pi vyadhāyāyaḥ | dattvā tu musalāṁ chaiva yathāsthanām mahātmanāḥ | sāstra-dṛiṣṭena vidhiṁ māharshi-viḥiṭena cha | tatha paśchātī paśuṁ hatāv rūkṣha-saṃvārya rākṣaśāḥ | athānustaranikāṁ sarvāṁ gṛhitāktilaṁ samaveśaṇāya |
with Vedic rites, a funeral pile of faggots of sandalwood, with "padmaka" wood, "uśira" grass, and sandal, and covered with a quilt of deer's hair. They then performed an unrivalled obsequial ceremony for the Rākshasa prince, [placing] the sacrificial ground to the south-east and the fire in the proper situation. They cast the ladle filled with curds and ghee, on the shoulder (of the deceased); they placed the car on the feet, and the mortar between the thighs. Having deposited all the wooden vessels, the [upper] and lower firewood (araṇī), and the other pestle, in their proper places, they departed. The Rākshasas having then slain a victim to their prince in the manner prescribed in the Śastra, and enjoined by great rishis, cast [into the fire] the coverlet of the king saturated with butter. They then, Vibhīṣaṇa included, with afflicted hearts, adorned Rāvaṇa with perfumes and garlands, and with various vestments, and besprinkled him with fried grain, their faces being covered with tears. Vibhīṣaṇa having bathed, and having, with his clothes wet, scattered in proper form "tila" seeds mixed with "darbha" grass, and moistened with water, applied the fire [to the pile]."

Gorresio remarks (note 94, p. 310, vol. x.) that the funeral rites of the Arian Brahman are here introduced as practised among the Rākshasas, a race of different origin and worship, in the same way as Homer represents Grecian ceremonies as having been celebrated in Troy.

192 "According to Āpastamba (says the commentator), it should have been placed on the nose; this must therefore have been done in conformity with some other sūtras" (yatāyapi "nāske śravaṇa" ity Āpastambenoskatān tathāpi sūrāntarāt skandhe 'pi nikhēpaḥ śravasya bodhyah). Compare Professor Müller's article on the funeral ceremonies of the Brahman in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1855, pp. vi. ff.

193 On this whole passage the commentator remarks: "Tatyajus tam mahābhāgam pancha-bhūtāni Rāvaṇaṃ | śrīrā-dhātavaḥ hy asya māṁsāṁ ruddhiram eva cha | nēvar brahmastra-nirdagdhāḥ na cha bhāṃsāpy adhikṣyata" iti Mahābhārata uktaevam kasya Vālmikīnā śmasaṇānāyana-pūrvakaṁ dūḥaṁ uktaḥ iti chena | tasya Rāma-vāya-tejo-vargasana-vishaye 'tyukty-alankāra-paratvād iti vado 'hā "Since it is said in the Māhābhārata (Rāmapākhyaṇa, in Vana-parvan 16529 ff.) that 'the five elements forsook the great Rāvaṇa, and the constituents of his body, flesh, and blood perished, when he was burnt up by the divine weapon (brahmastra), and not even any ashes were seen;'—who is it that is here alleged by Vālmiki to have been brought to the cemetery and then burnt? If any one raises this objection, I deny that there is any difficulty, as in the description of Rāma's prowess the Mahābhārata makes use of the ornament of exaggeration."
Nor does it appear that in the rites described in the following passage (of Gorresio’s edition) which are said to have been performed by Indrajit, the son of Rāvana, there is anything, except the “Rākshasa texts,” contrary to Brahmanical usages. As, however, the commentator (in the Bombay ed.), in his note on another passage, represents the worship at the Nikumbhīlā as being offered to ‘Kālī, and as the description is of some interest, I will quote it at length:

Rāmāyaṇa vi. 19, 38 ff. (Gorr.).—Indrajit tu tatas tena saṁyuge 'dbhuta-kārīṇā | nirjito Bāţi-puṭreṇa krodham chakre sudārunaṁ | so 'ntardhāna-gataḥ pāpo Rāvaṇī raṇa-karkasaḥ | nikumbhīlāyāṁ vidhi-vat Pāvaṅkam juhuve 'stra-vit | juhtevas tasya tatrāgni vaktos̥nīśāṁbarama-srajaḥ | ājahrus tatra sambhrāntāḥ Rākṣasāḥ yatra Rāvaṇī | sastraṇī śīladhārāṇī samidho 'tha vibhitakaṁ | lohitāṇi cha vāsāṃsi srwaṁ

194 The Bombay edition (vi. 44, 32 ff.) gives the first verse and the first half of the second nearly as in Gorresio’s edition, and the second half of the second, with its sequel, as follows: Brahma-datta-varo viro Rāvaṇī krodha-mūrchhitāḥ | adriśyo niśītān vāṇān munochāsāni-varc ASAḥ | “The son of Rāvana, to whom a boon had been given by Brahmā, mad with rage, discharged sharp arrows, gleaming like lightnings.” No mention is made of the sacrifice in the Bombay text. In Rāmāyaṇa, book v., sect 24 (Bombay ed.), it is related that the female Rākshasas had been threatening Śītā after her capture by Rāvana, because she would not yield to his desires, and that one of them, Sūraṇa, acceding to a proposal to eat her, says (v. 44 f.): Sūrā chāṇīyātāṁ kṣipraṁ sarva-śoka-vināśinī | mānusāṁ māṁsam āśvādyo nṛtyyino 'tha nikumbhīlāṁ | “And let wine be quickly brought, which annihilates all sorrows. Enjoying human flesh, let us dance at the Nikumbhīlā.” The commentator on this passage states that the Nikumbhīlā was an image of Bhadrakāli on the west side of Lankā (Nikumbhīlā nāma Lankāyāḥ paśchima-bhāga-vartī Śri Bhadrakāli | tāṁ nṛtyānaḥ tat-samāpan gatvā nṛtyāṇaḥ). In the Uttara Kāṇḍa (sect. 25, v. 2) we are told that Rāvana, with his attendants, entered “the Nikumbhīlā, a grove in Lankā” (tato nikumbhīlā nāma Lankopavamam uttamaṁ). The commentator says it was “a wood situated at the western gate of Lankā for the performance of rites” (Lankā-paśchima-dvāra-deśa-vartī-karna-siddhi-lotu-bhūtāmi kānanam). His son Indrajit, with the aid of the Brabman Uṣānas, had been celebrating there the seven sacrifices, the “agnishtoma,” “aśvamedhaḥ,” “rājasūyaḥ,” “gomedha” (cow-sacrifice), the Vaishnava ceremonial, etc. When he had performed the Māheśvara offering, “which it is difficult for men to obtain,” he obtained boons from Mahādeva, who appeared to him (iḥīd. verses 3 ff.). (This is the ceremony alluded to above, in p. 412.) But he had also been performing the Vaishnava rite; which, however, is not said to have been productive of any results. Verses 7b ff. of this section are as follows: Yajñā te septa putreṇā prāptās te bahu-vistarāḥ | 8. Agnishtoma 'śvamedhaḥ cha yañna bahusuvrāṇakah | rājasūyas tathā yañna gomedho Vaishnavas tathā | 9. Māheśvara pravritte tu yañna pūrṇīḥ sudurlabhe | varūṇaḥ te labdHAVAN Putraḥ sākhāḥ Paśupater iha | Only six kinds of sacrifice are here mentioned, unless the word “Bahasuvrāṇaka” stands for a seventh.
kārśāyasaṁ tataḥ | sarvato ’gniṁ samāṣṭirya saraiḥ sa-prāsa-tomaraiḥ |
chhāgalasyāpi krishnasya kaṁthad ādiya jivaṭaḥ | sonitaṁ tena vidhivat sa jhuḥa raṇotsukaḥ |
sabrid eva samiddhasya vidhūnasya mahārchiṁṣaḥ |
babhūvah saṁnimittani vijayaṁ yāpy aṣvedaṁ | pradakshinārta-sikhaṁ 
taptā-hāṭaka-sannibhāḥ | havis tat praṭijāgrāha Pāvakaḥ svayam utthitaḥ |
tato ’gni-maḍhyaṁ uttasthau kānchanaḥ syaṁpottamaḥ | chaturbhīṇ kān-
chanāpiṇḍair aṣṭāir yuktai prabhadrakaṁ | antardhāna-gataḥ śrīmān 
diṭa-pāvaka-saprabhāḥ | hutāṇim tarpayitvā cha daitya-dānava-rākṣa-
sāṁ | vāchayitvā tato svasti prayuktāṣir devjāṭībhīḥ | ārutoha rathaṁ 
śreshṭham antar-dhāna-charaṁ śubham | sva-vaśyair vājībhīr yuktaiṁ 
śastraṁ cha vividhaṁ yutam . . . 50. Jāmbūnādanaṁyā nāgaṁ taruṇā-
ditya-sannibhāḥ | babhūvendrajitaṁ ketur vaidūrya-samatānkrītaḥ | Hūtvā’gniṁ Rākṣaṁaṁ mantraiṁ tato vachanam abraviṁ |

“But Indrajit, being conquered in the conflict by the miracle-working son of Bāli, became inflamed with terrific anger. This wicked son of Rāvaṇa, fierce in battle, having become invisible, made an oblation to Pāvaka (Fire) in due form, on the sacrificial ground. When he was there throwing his oblation into the fire, wearing a red turban, garments, and garland, the reverent Rākṣasas brought thither sharp-edged weapons, logs of wood, and myrobalan, blood-red vestments, and a ladle of black iron. Having heaped the fire all over with arrows, darts, and iron maces, and having drawn blood from the throat of a live black goat, he offered it as an oblation, being eager for battle. At the same time there appeared from the brightly-burning and smokeless fire omens which portended victory. Pāvaka himself, rising, with his flame sweeping round to the right, and luminous as refined gold, received the oblation. Then from the midst of the fire there arose a magnificent golden chariot, drawn by four lucky horses with golden head-ornaments; but became invisible, while glorious and lustrous as burning fire. Having satiated the sacrificial fire, with the Daityas, Dānavas, and Rākṣasas, having caused a benediction (svasti) to be pronounced, and been blessed by the Brahmins, [Indrajit] ascended the beautiful chariot, moving invisibly, drawn by self-directed horses, and furnished with various weapons. . . . 50. A golden serpent, bright as the rising sun, and adorned with lapis lazuli, formed the banner of Indrajit. Having made an oblation to Fire with Rākṣasa texts, he then spake,” etc.

135 See, in reference to this, the quotation from Signor Gorresio given above in p. 412.
CEREMONY PERFORMED BY INDRAJIT.

The ceremony of Indrajit is again alluded to by Vibhīśaṇa in vi. 84, 14 ff. (Bombay ed.=vi. 63, 13 of Gorr. ed.):

"Having reached the sacred precinct of the great Kāli—viz. the root of the nyagrodha tree we called, this tree is mentioned in vi. 87, 2 ff., Bombay ed. (=vi. 66, 2, Gorr. ed.): . . . praviṣya tu mahād vanam | adarśayata tat-karma-Lakṣmaṇāya Vibhīśaṇaḥ | nila-jīmūta-sankūṣaṁ nyagrodham bhūmadarairānam | te jyoti Ravaṇa-bhṛtā Lakṣmaṇāya nyāde-
dayat | ihoṣaḥam bhūtanāṁ balavān Ravaṇātmajāḥ | upahṛitya tataḥ paśeṣāṁ sangrāṇam abhiṣartate | adṛśyaḥ sarva-bhūtanāṁ tato bhavati Rākṣasah | niḥkṣanti samare śatrum badhnāti cha śarottamaḥ | tam apraviṣṭāṁ nyagrodham balināṁ Ravaṇātmajam | vidhīmaśaya sarair dipāṁ śityūḍi |"

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196 It is related in the Uttara Kāṇḍa 30, 12 ff., that after his victory over Indra, Indrajit asked, and obtained, this boon as the condition of releasing his captive foe. For a summary of the story of Indra and Indrajit, see the Appendix.

197 Explained by the commentator as nikumbhilāṁ tad-yāga-bhūmin mahākāti-
ksketraṁ tad-ākhya-nyagrodha-mūla-rūpam | "That sacred precinct, the sacred
precinct of the great Kāli—viz. the root of the nyagrodha tree we called." This
tree is mentioned in vi. 87, 2 ff., Bombay ed. (=vi. 66, 2, Gorr. ed.): . . . praviṣya
tu mahād vanam | adarśayata tat-karma-Lakṣmaṇāya Vibhīśaṇaḥ | nila-jīmūta-
sankūṣaṁ nyagrodham bhūmadarairānam | te jyoti Ravaṇa-bhṛtā Lakṣmaṇāya nyāde-
dayat | ihoṣaḥam bhūtanāṁ balavān Ravaṇātmajāḥ | upahṛitya tataḥ paśeṣāṁ sangrāṇam abhiṣartate | adṛśyaḥ sarva-bhūtanāṁ tato bhavati Rākṣasah | niḥkṣanti samare śatrum badhnāti cha śarottamaḥ | tam apraviṣṭāṁ nyagrodham balināṁ Ravaṇātmajam | vidhīmaśaya sarair dipāṁ śityūḍi |
and kindled the fire, this, O enemy of Indra, is the manner of thy death,” etc.

It is related in the following section (86, 14, f., Bombay ed.—65, 12 Gorr.) that he rose before his rite had been completed:

_Svam anvikaṁ vishau ṇam tu dṛishtvā satrubhir arditam | udatishṭhata durḍharaṣṭa sa karmany ananushṭhite | vṛikshāṇḍhakārād nirgamya jātakrodhaḥ sa Rāvanīḥ | ityādi_ “Hearing that his army was harassed by their enemies, and dispirited, the irresistible (Rākṣasa) arose while his ceremony was unaccomplished. Issuing forth from the gloom of the tree, the son of Rāvaṇa, incensed, mounted his chariot,” etc.

Again, in a passage of the Sundara Kāṇḍa, or Fifth Book, sect. 89, vv. 22 ff. (only found in Gorresio’s, not in the Bombay ed.), which forms the sequel to the one given above, p. 370, Mahādeva is represented as receiving Vibhīṣaṇa with favour, after he had deserted his brother Rāvaṇa. Now if the author of the poem had intended to represent Śiva as an especial object of adoration to the Rākṣasas, he might have been expected to describe this deity as repaying their worship with especial favour and affection; but it is inconsistent with this that he should represent Śiva as receiving favourably a deserter from the Rākṣasa camp.

There is a section (the forty-first) of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa, or Sixth Book (which, however, is to be found only in Gorresio’s ed.), wherein Rāvaṇa defies Viṣṇu at great length. But I do not consider this as any proof that the poet intended to attribute to the speaker any especial hostility to Viṣṇu’s worship (particularly as Indra, Śiva, and Brahmā are also slightly spoken of), but rather as a demonstration called forth by the poetical necessities of the argument. Even while the poet represented Rāma as the incarnation of Viṣṇu, it was of course natural to make the arrogant Rāvaṇa defy him. The fact is, that the traits ascribed to the Rākṣasas in the Rāmāyaṇa must be regarded as poetical far more than historical. The poet assigns to his personages such characteristics as he considered at the moment to be most conducive to the interest, and effective with a view to the action, of his poem. These characteristics are sometimes absolutely contradictory, as when Rāvaṇa is described both as an observer of the Vedas and at the same time as a persecutor of Brahmans and polluter of their sacrifices. I do not therefore see that the Rāmāyaṇa supplies any
sufficient grounds for regarding the non-Arian tribes of Southern India as being especially addicted to the worship of Śiva.\footnote{198}

Sect. VIII.—The earlier and later representations of Umā, the wife of Śiva.

We have already seen (p. 267) that in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (3, 57) Ambikā, who at a later period is identified with the wife of Rudra, is declared to be his sister.\footnote{199}

The earliest work, as far as I am aware, in which the name of Umā occurs, is the Talavakāra, or Kena Upanishad. In the third section of that Treatise (see Dr. Roer’s translation in the Bibliotheca Indica, vol. xv., p. 83 ff.) it is mentioned that on one occasion Brahma gained a victory for the gods. As, however, they were disposed to ascribe the credit of their success to themselves, Brahma appeared for the purpose of disabusing them of their mistake. The gods did not know him, and commissioned first Agni, and then Vāyu, to ascertain what this apparition was. When, in answer to Brahma’s inquiry, these two gods represented themselves, the one as having the power to burn, and the other as able to blow away, anything whatever, he desired them to burn and to blow away, respectively, a blade of grass; but they were unable to do this, and returned without ascertaining who he was. Indra was then commissioned (Kena Up. iii. 11, 12; and iv. 1, 2):

\footnote{198} It is also related in the Uttara Kānda of the Rāmāyaṇa (sections 4–8, of which I shall give the substance in the Appendix) that a Rākṣasha named Sūkṣaṇa had formerly received a boon from Mahādeva and Pārvatī, and that his three sons, the lords of Lankā, had made an attack upon the gods, but had been driven back and defeated by Vishṇu, and compelled to take refuge in Pātāla. But neither does this, nor even the Linga-worship attributed to Rāvaṇa in the Uttara Kānda 31, 42 ff., suffice to prove any special adoration of Śiva among the southern races more than among the northern.

\footnote{199} Rodasī is his wife according to the Nirukta xi. 49; and xii. 46; Rodasī Rudrasya patnī. Śāyaṇa, however, on R.V. i. 167, 4 and 5, says that she is the wife of the Maruts. On v. 4 his words are: Tatya (Rudrasya) stī Rodasī iti kṣid āhum | apare tu Marutān stīvo Rodasī iti nīravadheyam ity āhum | āyaṃ eva pakṣho yuktah uttaratra evaṃ evaṃ vyavahārāt | “Some say Rodasī is Rudra’s wife. Others say Rodasī is the name of the wife of the Maruts. This is the correct view, from the word being so applied afterwards” (in the next verse). On verse 5 Śāyaṇa says: Rodasī Marut-patnī vidyud vā. “Rodasī is the wife of the Maruts, or Lightning.” In this verse she receives the epithet of vishita-stukā, “having dishevelled hair,” and is said to seek the society of the Maruts (Joshad yad iva asuryā sahādyai vishita-stukā Rodasī nṛimānāh). I doubt if she is much, if at all, noticed in the later literature. See the fifth volume of this work, pp. 148 and 345.
In his remarks on this passage of the Kena Upanishad (Ind. Stud. ii. 186 ff.), Professor Weber supplies an interesting and ingenious contribution to the mythological history of Uma. He says: “The representation in sections 3 and 4 indicates that the Kena Upanishad was produced at a time when,—in place of the three principal gods, Agni, Vāyu, and Śūrya, who had become developed into the conjoint representatives of the divine principle on earth, in the atmosphere, and in heaven,—Agni, Vāyu, and Indra were regarded as such. These are properly only two, since Indra is essentially identical with Vāyu. Though I have found numerous examples of the first triad, especially in the two Yajur-vedas, I have noticed only one other of the second triad, which is properly only a duad, viz. in the Rik-text of the Purusha Sukta (R. V. x. 99, 13). Nor am I able to give a satisfactory

This is explained by the commentator: Tusya Indrasya yakshe bhaktim buddhavā Vidya Uma-rupini prādurbhut stri-rupā | sa Indras tām Umaṁ bahu sobhamānāṁ sarveshāṁ hi sobhamānānāṁ sobhanatamānāṁ Vidyaṁ tadā “bahu sobhamānā” iti videshaṁ upapannam bhavati | 
Haimavatīṁ hema-kritāhāravatāṁ iva bahu sobhamānāṁ ity arthaḥ | athavā Uma eva Himavato duhitā Haimavatī nityam eva sarveṣaṁ Isvareṇa saha varṣate iti jñā̄tām samarthā iti kriyāṁ tām upādāyām Indras tām ha Umaṁ kila vācha paprachha kim etad darśayitvā tirobhūtam yakṣam | “Knowing Indra’s devotion to this apparition, Knowledge, in the form of a woman, Uma, appeared. Indra [caṣṭ] to her who was very resplendent, to Knowledge who is the most resplendent of all the resplendent beings, and whose epithet ‘very resplendent’ is then established. ‘Haimavati’ means that she was very resplendent like a female with ornaments made of gold. Or, it was Uma Haimavatī, the daughter of Himavat, who from continually dwelling with the omniscient Isvāra (Mahādeva) is able to know. With this belief Indra approached Uma, and said to her, ‘What is this apparition which appeared and vanished?’”

Already translated by Dr. Roer (Bibl. Ind. xv. 84 ff.).

See above, pp. 163 and 298.
explanation of it. On the other hand, the totality of the divine was already comprehended in Brahman (neuter), and it is the object of the legend here to make clear and to enforce the supremacy of Brahma over all temporary divine manifestations, and even over the triad of such.

"But how shall we explain the position of Uma Haimavati, who comes forward as mediatrix between the eternal Brahman and the gods? According to Sankara, she is Vidyā (knowledge) who appears Umrūpiṇī (in the form of Uma) to Indra. The same explanation is found in Sāyaṇa, who (on Taitt. Ār. x. 1, 150, p. 787 of the text in the Bibliotheca Indica), when interpreting the word soma, cites this passage, and remarks: Himavat-putrāḥ Gauryāḥ brahma-vidyābhimanirāpatvād Gaurī-vāchakaḥ Umā-śabdo brahma-vidyām upalakshayati | atāḥ eva Talavakāropanishadi brahma-vidyām mūrti-prastāvo brahma-vidyā-mūrtiḥ paṭhyate "bahu śobhamānām Umām Himavatiṁ tāṁ ha uvācha" iti | tad-vishayaḥ Paramātma Umayā saha vartamānāt vāt Somāḥ | 'Since Gaurī, the daughter of Himavat, is the impersonation of divine knowledge, the word Umā, which denotes Gaurī, indicates divine knowledge. Hence in the Talavakāra Upanishad, in the passage on the impersonation of divine knowledge, the impersonation of divine knowledge is introduced in these words: 'He said to the very resplendent Umā Haimavati. The supreme Spirit, who is the object of this Divine Knowledge, from his existing together with Umā, is called Soma (i.e. Sa+Uma.'"] 204 And again in the same commentary on Anuvākā 48, it is said: Umā brahma-vidyā tasyā saha vartamāna Soma paramātman | 'Umā is divine knowledge: thou who existest with her, O Soma, supreme spirit,' etc. Further in the same commentary on Anuvāka 48, in explanation of the term Ambikā-putaye, we have the words: Ambikā jāgonmātā Pārvatī tasyāḥ bhartrā | 'Ambikā is Pārvatī, the mother of the world,—to her husband,' etc.; and the word Umāpataye (which stands in the Drāviḍa, but not in the Andhra, text of the Taitt. Ār.) is thus interpreted: Tasyāḥ eva brahma-vidyātmako dehaḥ Umā-śābdena-chyate tasyāḥ svāmine | 'Her (Ambikā's) body, consisting of divine knowledge, is designated by the word Umā—to her (Umā's) husband,'
This last passage is the only one in the circle of the Vedic writings in which—with the exception of that in the Kena Upanishad—I have as yet directly met with the name Umā; for the expression 'Umā-sahāya' in the Kaivalyā Upanishad (see above, p. 363) no longer belongs to the Vedic period; and further, though the commentaries in other places also explain 'soma' by 'Umāyā sahita', 'accompanied by Umā' (as Śāyaṇa has done in the passage above cited), such an interpretation is just as groundless as in the texts commented on by Śāyaṇa, where the word signifies simply the Soma libation. From the considerations just stated, therefore (i.e. partly from the unanimity of the commentaries, and partly from the very position which Umā here assumes in the Kena Upanishad), the signification of this word might seem to be fixed with tolerable certainty as denoting 'Brahma-vidyā,' 'divine knowledge,' and Umā might appear to be directly related to Sarasvatī, the divine word, and we might even be tempted to bring her into etymological connexion with the sacred word 'om.' There are, however, some additional points which seem to place the original signification of Umā in quite a different light. First of all, why is she called Haimavatī? What has she to do with the Himavat? Is it that the Brahma-vidyā (divine knowledge) came originally from the Himavat to the Arians dwelling in Madhyadeśa (the central region of Hindustan)? We have learnt from the Kaushi-takī Brāhmaṇa (Ind. Stud. i. 153) that the north of India was distinguished by greater purity of speech, and that students travelled thither to learn the language (vācām śikhitum), and on their return thence enjoyed great consideration and authority. Now it would have been quite natural if this state of things had not been confined to language, but had become extended to speculation also, and if the knowledge of the one eternal Brahma, had been sooner attained in the peaceful valleys of the Himālaya than was possible for men living

[The entire text of the Anuvāka, and the part of its commentary which refers to the terms Ambikāpataye and Umāpataye, as given in the Bibl. Indica, are as follows:

Text: Namo hiranyādbhave hiranyavarṇayo hiranyārtyopaya hiranyapateye Ambikāpataye Umāpataye paśupateye namo namah | Comm.: Ambikā jagannātā Pārvatī | tasyāḥ pataye bharatē | tasyāḥ eva Ambikāyāḥ brahma-vidyātmaka dehaḥ Umāśabdena uchyaṭe [ājñayāḥ Umāyāḥ pataye svāminī Rudrāya punah punah namaskāro 'stu.]

EG. Mahādhara on Vāj. S. 16, 39, and Bhāṭṭa Bhāskara Mīśra on the corresponding passage of the Taitt. Saḥhitā.]
in Madhyadeśa, where their minds were more occupied by the practical concerns of life. Such a view of Umā Haimavatī appears to me, however, to be very hazardous. For—not to say that in our explanations of the ancient Indian deities we act wisely when we attach greater importance to the physical than to the speculative element—we are by no means certain that Umā actually does signify divine knowledge (brahma-vidya); and, moreover, her subsequent position as Rudra's wife (in the Taitt. Ār.), and so Śiva's, would thus be quite inexplicable. Now there is among the epithets of this latter goddess a similar one, viz. Pārvatī, which would lead us in interpreting the word Haimavatī, to place the emphasis not upon the Himavat, but upon the mountain (parvata): and with this I might connect the epithets of Rudra which we have learnt from the 'Satarudriya (see above, p. 322), Giriśa, Giriśanta, Giriśaya, Giritra, in which we recognize the germ of the conception of Śiva's dwelling on Kailāsa. He is the tempest, which rages in the mountains, and his wife is therefore properly called Pārvatī, Haimavatī, 'the mountaineer,' 'the daughter of Himavat.' At the same time it is not clear what we have to understand by his wife; and further she is, perhaps, originally not his wife, but his sister, for Umā and Ambikā are at a later period evidently identical, and Ambikā is Rudra's sister (Ind. Stud. i. 183). Besides, this identification of Umā with Ambikā leads us to a new etymology of the former. For as

207 Indian mythology, however, assigns wives to the gods, without always, or even generally, ascribing to the wives any specific cosmical function. Weber adds in a note: "Does she perhaps denote the streams and torrents, poured forth by Rudra, the Storm, from the mountains and clouds? and does the name Ambikā stand in direct relation thereto? In the same way Sarasvatī also, the goddess of streams and of speech, is called Ambitamā, is addressed with the word 'Ambikā,' and is said to be 'produced on the highest peak on the mountain top' (uttame śīkhare jātā parvata-mūrdhāni). According to this view, Umā and Sarasvatī, Ambikā and Ambitamā, Pārvatī and the parvata-mūrdhāni jātā, would perhaps have been originally identical, and have only become gradually separated, in such a way that in the one the violent and destructive energy of nature had become concentrated, and in the other the harmonious music of the streaming waters? And should we thus have to seek in the Umā of the Kenā Upanishad and, on the other hand, in the Vairādhā of the Taitt. Ār. two examples of the original identity of both? Kuhn, at least, as he has informed me, holds Ambikā to be decidedly identical with Sarasvatī." [Is not a certain confirmation of this supposed original connexion of Umā and Sarasvatī to be found in the fact that in the mythology of the Rāmāyana i. 36, 13 (quoted below in p. 430) Umā is the younger, while the river Gangā is the elder daughter of Himavat?]—J.M.

208 See above, p. 321.
Ambikā, ‘mother,’ appears to be merely an euphemistic and flattering epithet, employed to propitiate the cruel goddess (see Mahīdhara on Vāj. S. 3, 57,209—just as Rudra was called Śiva), in the same way it appears that we must derive Umā from the root ‘u,’ ‘av,’ ‘to protect.’ It is true that a final vowel before ‘ma’ commonly takes ‘guna,’ or is lengthened, but the words ‘sima’ and ‘hima’ show that this is not necessary, and the name of Rumā is perhaps (unless we derive ‘it from ‘ram’) a perfectly analogous formation. It certainly remains a mystery how we are to conceive the cruel wife of Rudra coming forward here in the Kena Upanishad as the mediatrix between the supreme Brahma and Indra, for on that supposition this Upanishad would have to be referred to a period when her husband, Rudra, was regarded as the highest god, the Iśvara, and thus also as Brahma; i.e. it would belong to the period of some Śaiva sect. But since this remains questionable and improbable, we must first of all hold to the view that the conception entertained by the commentators of Umā as representing ‘divine knowledge’ rests solely upon this passage of the Kena Upanishad, unless indeed the original identity of Umā with Sarasvatī, which in the last note was regarded as possible, is here again visible.

“I consider the present opportunity a favourable one for speaking of some other names of Śiva’s spouse. As in Śiva, first of all two gods, Agni and Rudra, are combined, so too his wife is to be regarded as a compound of several divine forms,210 and this becomes quite evident if we look over the mass of her epithets. While one set of these, as Umā, Ambikā, Parvatī, Haimavatī, belong to the wife of Rudra, others, as Kālī, Karālī (see Ind. Štud. i. 287) carry us back to the wife of Agni, while Gaurī and others perhaps refer to Nirīti, the goddess of all evil.

209 [The words of Mahīdhara here referred to are: Yo ‘yaṁ Rudrākhyāḥ krūro devas tasya virodhīhinaṁ hantum ichhā bhavati tadā anayā bhaginyā krūredevatāya sādhanaḥ śūtatāyā tapaḥ hinaśti] ‘This cruel god called Rudra desires to slay his enemy. Then by the instrumentality of this sister, a cruel goddess, he destroys him.’ Then follow the words quoted above in p. 321, note 40, at the end.]

210 ‘The most remarkable instance of this is to be found in Mahābhārata iv. 178 ff., in the hymn of Yudhishṭhira to Durgā, where he calls her Yasodā, Kṛishṇā, ‘born in the cowherd family of Nanda,’ ‘sister of Vāsudeva,’ ‘enemy of Kansa,’ and ‘having the same features as Sankarshana,’ etc., etc. However late the date of this hymn may be, it is still in the highest degree remarkable.”
"The Tenth Book of the Taittirīya Āranyaka, in which she is several times invoked under different names, is particularly important for a knowledge of her character. The principal passage in which these invocations occur has been already noticed above (Ind. Stud. i. pp. 75 and 228\textsuperscript{211}). It is, like the prayers which precede it, an imitation of the Gāyatrī, and runs thus: Kātyāyanīya vidmahi Kanyakumāri\textsuperscript{212} dhīmahi | tan no Durgīḥ prachodayāt | ['We think on Kātyāyana and meditate on Kanyakumāri; may Durgi advance us.'].

\ldots "Now it is certainly difficult grammatically to find in this text the sense which Śāyaṇa puts into it,\textsuperscript{213} and which must have been traditionally connected with it, as that sense is the basis of the modification of the passage as found in the Atharva collection of Upanishads.

\textsuperscript{211} In the first of these passages (Ind. Stud. i. 75) the author remarks that the Nārāyanīya Upanishad (the part of the Taitt. Ār. in which the verse in question occurs) is also found among the Upanishads of the Atharva-veda, "but with remarkable variations, which indicate a later period. Thus the words quoted above according to the reading in the Taitt. Ār., viz. Kātyāyanīya vidmahi Kanyakumārin dhīmahi tan no Durgīḥ prachodayāt, are, in the Upanishad as it is given in the Atharva collection, changed into Kātyāyanīya vidmahi Kanyakumārin dhīmahi tan no Durgīḥ prachodayāt | This agrees with the sense which Śāyaṇa, in his interpretation, puts on the words." In the passage of the Linga Purāṇa ii. 48, of which the commencement is given in the third volume of this work, p. 263 f., this invocation of Durgīḥ occurs as follows in verse 26: Kātyāyanīya vidmahi Kanyakumārin dhīmahi tan no Durgīḥ prachodayāt |

\textsuperscript{212} The author observes here that in Ind. Stud. i. 75, he had incorrectly given Kanyakumārin as the proper reading. The text in the Bibl. Ind., p. 770, has Kanyākumāri.

\textsuperscript{213} Śāyaṇa's interpretation, as given by Weber i. 228, note, quæ here, is as follows: Pārshuḍ Durgā-gāyatrī | Hema-prabhyaṁ indu-khaṇḍākṣa-madūlim [-āntamadūlim, in Bibl. Ind.] īty āgama-prasiddha-mūrti-dharam [-rīṁ, B. I.] Durgām prārthayate "Kātyāyanīya" īti | kṛttim vaste īti Kātyo [Kārtyo, B. I.] Rudraḥ | \ldots sa eva ayanan adhīṣṭhāmaṁ yasyāḥ sā Kātyāyanī [Kārtyāyanī, B. I.] Athavā Katasya rishīi-viśeshasya apatyāṁ Kātyah | \ldots Ī Kutsitam anishṭham mārayati īti kumāri kanyā dīpyamāṇāṁ chāsaṁ kumāri cha Kanyakumāri | Durgīḥ Durgā | lingādī- vatyāṁyaḥ savatva chāndasa drashtyāḥ | [There see other variations in the text as given in the Bibl. Ind. \ldots \ldots Then follows Durgīḥ's gāyatrī. In the words 'Kātyānāya,' etc., he supplicates Durgā, bearing the form celebrated in the śāstras 'as bright as gold, and having for a diadem the ornament of a section of the moon,' Kātya is he who wears a skin, Rudra \ldots \ldots and Kātyāyanī is she whose path, support, is Kātya. Or, Kātyā is the offspring of Kata, a particular rishi. \ldots \ldots Kumāri is she who destroys what is bad, undesirable. She who is both Kāya, 'shining,' and Kumāri, is Kanyakumāri. Durgī is Durgā. Diversity in forms is to be seen everywhere in the Vedas,'
All the other gods who are invoked are male—viz. Rudra, Mahādeva, Danti, Nandi, Shaṅmukha, Garuḍa, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Nārasiṅha, Āditya, Agni; and it must therefore surprise us if we are to regard the twelfth deity as feminine, especially as the form is masculine. On the other hand, the sense of the words seems to compel us to adopt the traditional explanation. . . . Moreover, Kātyāyani, Kanyakumāri, and Durgā, are already well known to us as names of Śiva's consort: and, indeed, they all appear to carry us back to the flame of fire. It is true that as regards Kātyāyani this is somewhat difficult; though when we consider the great importance of the Kātya family in reference to the sacrificial system of the Brahmans, it does not seem very improbable that a particular kind of fire, which perhaps was introduced by one of the Kātyas, was called after him, and that this name was then associated with Kāli, Karāli, and Durgā, which are originally mere appellations of fire. Kanyakumāri, or 'the maidenly,' is a very fitting epithet of the holy, pure, sacrificial flame; and even at the time of the Periplus, i.e. of Pliny, we find her worship extended to the southernmost point of India, to the Cape which was then, as now, called after her Cape Comorin: but does it not appear that she was then no longer worshipped as the sacrificial flame, but as the wife of Śiva himself (whose name Nilakaṇṭha Lassen [Ind. Ant. i. 194] finds rendered in the Nεκκυδα of the Periplus)? The hymn to Agni in the second anuvāka of the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (Āndhra recension) seems pretty decisive in favour of our connecting Durgā with the sacrificial fire. It is there said 214 in the second verse [Bibl. Ind., p. 788]: Tām aṅgivarjānīn tapasā jvalantiṁ vairo-čāniṁ karma-phaleshu jjuṣṭāṁ | Durgāṁ devīṁ śaraṇam aham prapadye sutarasi tarase namaḥ | [‘I seek as my refuge the goddess Durgā, who is of the colour of fire, burning with austerity (or heat), daughter of the sun (or of fire), who is sought after for the reward of rites: adoration be to thy energy, O impetuous [goddess].’] The five following verses repeat (as does also the Durgā-stava in the Pariśīṣṭa) the same thought, which is also expressed in R.V. i. 99, 215 that Agni

214 “This verse is also found in the Durgā-stava of the Rātrīpariśīṣṭa between the fourteenth and fifteenth divisions of the seventh section of the eighth Ashtaka of the R.V.” (i.e. between Maṇḍala x. 127 and 128). See note in the Appendix.

215 This verse is as follows: Jūtavedase sunavāma somam arātiyaṁ niḍahāti vedāḥ | sa naḥ parshad ati durgāṁ viśvā nāveva sindhuṁ duritā 'ti Agniḥ |
would help the suppliant over all 'durga' and 'durita' (difficulties and evils). Verse second could certainly be understood as if the worshipper turned to the personified Durgati (Evil) herself, and sought her protection, so that thus Durgā would have arisen out of Nirṛiti. But it appears to me better to understand the passage of the violent flame of the fire, which, like the fire itself, delivers, atones, and frees from all 'durga' and 'durita,' is a 'durgā,' a protecting fortress, against them; so that this name would belong to the same class as Ambikā, S'iva, Umā. If at a later period Durgā decidedly appears to have taken the place of the evil goddess Nirṛiti, this is no proof that the case was so from the beginning, but only shows that the original signification had been lost; which is in so far quite natural, as the consort of S'iva bore a terrific character, both from her connexion with Rudra and also with Agni (compare Karālī).

"The last name of S'iva's consort which I find in the Taitt. Ār. x. is Varadā, in anuvākas 26 and 30. It is true that there it appears rather to be the name of Sarasvatī, not of Durgā, when it is said: Āyātus varadā devī aksharam brahma-sammitam | gāyatrīṁ [gāyatri, Bibl. Ind.] chhandasāṁ mātā idam brahma jushasva me | . . . sarvavarne mahā-devi sandhyā-vidyē Sarasvatī |216 But the words in anuv. 30 are not so clear: Uttame śikhare jātā bhūmyām parçata-mūrdhāṁ | brahmānebhyo 'bhyanujnātā gachha devī yathāsukham | stuto (=stutā u) mayā varadā veda-mātā prachodayantī pavane devjātā,217 etc.; where especially the first strophe reminds us of Pārvatī and Haimavatī, and one does not rightly comprehend how Sarasvatī obtains such an epithet (unless we are to understand the waters streaming from the hills, since Sarasvatī is, as is well known, at once a river goddess and the goddess of speech). In the same way the names Mahādevī and Sandhyāvidyā (see Wilson under Sandhyā) belong at a later period exclusively to the consort

216 [The sense of these words, according to the reading in the Bibl. Ind., is: "May the boon-bestowing goddess (or the goddess Varadā) come; do thou, the mother of the Vedas, the letter equivalent to the Veda, the gāyatrī, receive with favour this my prayer . . . O thou who hast all letters, great goddess, Twilight-science, Sarasvatī." The latter portion of this quotation is not found in the text in the Bibl. Ind.]

217 [The sense is: "Born on the highest peak, on the earth, on the summit of the mountain, dismissed from the Brahmans, go, goddess, wherever thou wilt. Praised by me, the boon-bestowing goddess, the mother of the Veda, twice born in the air, stimulating us," etc. The latter part of this quotation does not occur in the text as given in the Bibl. Ind.]
of Siva. The other names, however, 'sarva-varṇā,' 'chhandasām mātā,' 'veda-mātā,' and finally 'Ṣarasvatī' itself, conduct us to Sarasvatī; and so does also the liturgical usage, and the sense itself of anuvākas 26-30. Thus there only remains to us the possibility of assuming were a blending (and so a reminiscence of the possible original identity) of both goddesses; as we may perhaps also assume in the case of Umā Haimavatī in the Kena Upanishad, agreeably to the conjecture intimated above, p. 189" (see p. 424, note 207, above).

Two of the names alluded to in the above extract from the Indische Studien, which were afterwards applied to the consort of Siva, viz. Karāli and Karali, occur in a passage of another of the Upanishads (the Mundaka i. 2, 4), where they are appellations of two of the different tongues of fire: Karāli Karali cha Manojavā cha Sulohitā yā cha Sudhumārvārṇā | Sphulinginī Viṣvarūpī cha devī lelāyamānāḥ iti sapta jihvāḥ | which is thus translated by Dr. Roer (Bibl. Ind. xv. 153): "The seven flickering tongues [of the fire] are—Karāli (the black one), Karali (the terrific one), Manojavā (swift as the mind), Sulohitā (the very red one), Sudhumārvārṇā (of purple colour), Sphulinginī (emitting sparks), and the Viṣvarūpī (all-shaped) goddess." The words "of the fire" are not in the original. The commentator, however, briefly remarks: Karāli Karali Manojavā cha Sulohitā cha yā cha Sudhumārvārṇā Sphulinginī Viṣvarūpī cha devī lelāyamānāḥ dahanasya jihvāḥ | Agner havir-ahuti-grasanārthāḥ etāḥ sapta jihvāḥ | "Kālī, Karali, Manojavā, Sulohitā, Sudhumārvārṇā, Sphulinginī, and the goddess Viṣvarūpī, are the seven flickering tongues of fire. These are the seven tongues which Agni has for devouring oblations of butter."

On this passage Prof. Weber has the following remarks in his Indische Studien i. 286 f., which are thus of an earlier date than those above cited: "The first two of these names were at a later period personified, and came to represent Durgā (the consort of Siva, who was developed out of Agni), who (Durgā), as is well known, became the object of a bloody sacrificial-worship under the names Kālī (the dark, black), Karālā, Karālavadanā, Karālānamā, Karālamukhi. It is evident that a considerable time was required for the sense of the word to become developed from that of the 'dark, terrific, tongue of fire' to that of a goddess Kālī, Karālā, worshipped with bloody sacrifices: and since
we find the latter in the drama of ‘Mālati-Mādhava,’ by Bhavabhūti, who is assigned by Wilson to the eighth century, the Muṇḍaka Upanishad must be considerably older; unless, indeed, the ancient signification of these names maintained itself at a later period along-side of the popular one. The worship of Durgā, Umā, and Pārvatī, may be shown in its beginnings, if not from this passage, at all events from the Upanishads of the Yajus, see Ind. Stud.—i. p. 78.” In a note Weber adds: “The third name (Manojavā) reminds us of Manojavas, the appellation of Yama, the god of death, in the Vāj. S. 5, 11. Does it at a later period denote his wife? for Yama too, like Śiva, is one stage of Agni, the older, certainly, while Śiva is the more recent.”

In the passages quoted from the Bhāgavata and Vishnū Purāṇas in section vi. (pp. 378, 385), the spouse of Mahādeva is said to have been originally the daughter of Daksha, and to have become the daughter of Himavat only when she was born the second time after her voluntary death at Daksha’s sacrifice. The following passage of the Rāmāyaṇa says nothing of this double birth and parentage:

Rāmāyaṇa i. 36, 13 ff. (ed. Schl. = Bombay ed. 35, 13 ff; Gorresio’s ed. 37, 14 ff.).—S'ailendra Himavān nāma dhātūnām ākaro mahān | tasya kanyā-devaṁ jātain rāpenāpratimam bhūvi | yā Meru-duhitā Rāma tayor mātā sumadhyamā | nāmnā Menā manojnā vai patnī Himavataḥ priyā | tasayām Gangeyam abhavaj yesṣṭhā Himavataḥ sutā | Umā nāma dvitīyā ’bhūti kanyā-tasyaiva Rāghava | . . . 19. Yā chānya S'aila-duhitā kanyā’ sid Ragu-ha-nandana | ugraṁ sa vratam āsthāya tapas tepe tapo-dhana | ugreṇa tapasā yuktāṁ dadau S'aila-carah sutām | Rudrāyāpratirūpāya Umāṁ loka-namaskṛtam | Iśy ete S'aila-rājasya sute Rāma babhūvatuḥ | Gangā cha saritāṁ ārṣeṣṭhā devināṁ chāpy Umā varā | “To Himavat, the chief of mountains, the great mine of metals, two daughters were born, in beauty unequalled upon earth. The daughter of Meru, Menā by name, the pleasing and beloved wife of Himavat, was their slender-waisted mother.” Of her was born Gangā, the eldest daughter of Himavat; and his second daughter was called Umā. . . . 19. The other daughter of the mountain, rich in austerity, observances, having undertaken an arduous rite, fulfilled a course of severe austerity. This daughter, Umā, distinguished by severe austerity, adored by the worlds, the chief of mountains gave to the matchless Rudra.
These, Rāma, were the two daughters of the king of mountains, Gangā, the most eminent of rivers, and Umā, the most excellent of goddesses.”

The Harivamsa (vv 940 ff.) gives the following history of Umā, which differs in some points from that of the Rāmāyaṇa, as it assigns three daughters to Himavat and Mena, among whom the Gangā is not included:

Eteshmān mānasī kanyā Menā nāma mahāgireḥ | patnī Himavataḥ kṛṣṇīthā  . . . 943. Tīrōḥ kanyās tu Menāyāṁ janayāmōsa S'āila-rāṭ | Aparṇām Ekaparṇām cha triśīyāṃ Ekapāṭālaṁ | tapāś charantyaḥ su-mahad duṣchraṁ Deva-Dānavaḥ | lokān samāpayāmāsas tās tīrōḥ sthānu-jangamān| āhāram eka-parjenaEkaparṇā samācharat | pāṭalā-pushyam ekaṁ cha ādadhāv Ekapāṭāla | ekā tatra nirāhārā tām mātā pratyashedhayat | “u mā” iti nishedhantā mātrī-snehana duḥkkhitā | sā tathoktā tada mātā devi duṣchara-chārīnī | Uṇēty evābhacat khyātā trīshu lokēshu sunḍarī | tathaiva nāmnā teneha visrutā yogadharmīnī | etat tu trikumārīkaṁ jagat sthāsyati Bhāṛgava | tapāḥ-sarīrās tāh sarvās tīrō yogo-balāvidītā | sarvās cha brahma-vādināyā sarvās chāvordhe-vardetasaḥ | Umā tāsāṁ varīshthā cha jyesṭhā cha vara-varnīnī | mahāyogabalogetā Mahādevam upashhītar | Asitasyaikaparṇā tu Devalasya mahā-manāḥ | patnī dattā mahābrahman yogāchāryāya dhimate | Jagishhavyāya tu tathā viddhi tām Ekapāṭālaṁ |

940. “Their (the Pitris’) mental daughter was Menā, the eminent wife of the great mountain Himavat. . . . 943. The king of the mountains begot three daughters upon Menā—viz. Aparṇā, Ekaparṇā, and Ekapāṭāla. These three, performing very great austerity, such as could not be accomplished by gōrs or Dānavas, distressed [with alarm] both the stationary and the moving worlds. Ekaparṇā (‘One-leaf’) fed upon one leaf. Ekapāṭāla took only one pāṭalā (Bignonia) for her food. One (Aparṇā) took no sustenance, but her mother, distressed through maternal affection, forbade her, dissuading her with the words u mā (‘O don’t’). The beautiful goddess, performing arduous austerity, having been thus addressed by her mother on that occasion, became known in the three worlds as Umā. In this manner the contemplative goddess became renowned under that name. But this world shall remain [distinguished by] having these three maids. All these three had mortified bodies, were distinguished by the force of contemplation, and were all chaste, and expounders of divine knowledge. Umā was
the eldest and most excellent among the three. Distinguished by the force derived from deep contemplation, she obtained Mahādeva [for her husband]. Ekaparṇā was given as a wife to the great Asita Devala, the wise teacher of the Yoga. And know that Ekapāṭalā was in like manner bestowed on Jaigishavaya.”

The following is the commencement of the hymn of Arjuna to Durga which, as has been mentioned in p. 205, he uttered ut the suggestion of Krishṇa: 218


“Reverence be to thee, Siddhasenāni (Generless of the Siddhas), the noble, the dweller on Mandara, Kumārī, Kālī, Kapāli, Kapilā, Krishnapingalā. Reverence to thee, Bhadrakāli; reverence to thee, Mahākāli; reverence to thee, Chandī, Chaṅḍē; reverence to thee, O Tārini (deliveress), O Varavarṇinī (beautiful-coloured), O fortunate Kātyāyani, O Karāli, O Vījaya, O Jayā (victory), who bearest a peacock’s tail for thy banner, adorned with various jewels, armed with many spears, wield-

218 The Bhagavadgītā, in which Krishṇa himself is so highly extolled and glorified, begins shortly afterwards in the twenty-fifth section of the Bhūshma-parvan, vv. 830 ff.
ing sword and shield, younger sister of the chief of cowherds (Krishna),
eldest, born in the family of the cowherd Nanda, delighting always
in Mahisha's blood, Kausiki, wearing yellow garments, loud-laughing,
wolf-mouthed, reverence to thee, thou delighter in battle, O Uma,
Sakambhari, thou white one [or Svetä], thou black one [or Krishnä],
O destroyer of Kaitabha. Reverence to thee, O Hiranyakshä, Virü-
päkshi, Dhümäkäskä (golden-, distorted-, dark-eyed), O Vedaśruti
(tradition of the Veda), most pure, devout, Jätavedasä (female Agni),
who dwellest continually near to (?..?) mountain-precipices and
sepulchres. Of sciences thou art the science of Brahma
(or of the Veda), the great sleep of embodied beings, O mother of
Skanda, divine Durga, dweller in wildernesses. Thou art called
Svähä, Svadhä, Kalä, Käs̄thhä (minute divisions of time), Sarasvaṭi,219
Sävitri, mother of the Vedas, and the Vedānta (or end of the Vedas).
Thou, great goddess, art praised with a pure heart. By thy favour let
me be ever victorious in battle. In deserts, fears, and difficulties, and
in the preservation of thy devout servants, and in Pätäla, thou con-
stantly abidest; and conquerest the Dänavas in battle. Thou art
Jambhani (destroyer?), Mohinī, Mäyä, Hrī, Sṛī, Sandhyä,220
the luminous, Sävitri, the mother, Tushī (contentment), Pushī (fatness),
Dṛiti (constancy), Dīpti (light), increaser of the sun and moon, the
power of the powerful in battle,—[all this] thou art seen by the
Siddhas and Chāraṇas [to be]."

In another part of the Mahābhārata, (fourth or) Virāṭa-parvan,
178 ff., there is another hymn (already referred to above, p. 425, note)
dressed by Yudhishthira to Durgā, and very similar to the preceding.
Among other things, she is there said to "have her perpetual abode
on the Vindhya mountains, and to delight in spirituous liquor, flesh,
and sacrificial victims" (Vindhye chaiva naga-kreshṭhe tava sthānaṁ hi
dīptam | Kāli Kāli Mahākāli sidhū-māṁsa-paśu-priye).

In the Harivaṃśa, vv. 3236 ff., it is related by Vaiśampāyana that
with the view of defeating the designs of Kansa in regard to the de-
struction of Devaki's offspring, Vishnu descended into Pätāla, where he
sought the aid of Nidrā Kāla-rūpiṇī (Sleep in the form of Time); and

219 Compare what has been said by Prof. Weber on the relation of Umā and Saras-
vatī, above, p. 424, note, and p. 428.
220 See above, p. 428.
VISHNU SEeks THE AID OF NIDRA KALARUPIÑI.

promised her in return that through his favour she should be a goddess adored in all the world (v. 3242). He desires her to be born as the ninth child of Yasoda on the same night on which he was to be born as the eighth child of Devaki (3247), when he would be carried to Yasoda and she to Devaki. He tells her that she would be taken by the foot, and cast out upon a rock; but would then obtain an eternal place in the sky, becoming assimilated to himself in glory; would be installed by Indra among the gods (3251 ff.), received by him, as his sister under the name of Kausíki, and would obtain from him (Indra) a perpetual abode on the Vindhya mountain, where, thinking upon him (Vishnu), she would kill the two demons Sumbha and Nisumbha, and would be worshipped with animal sacrifices (tatraiva tvāṁ bhojiny-arthe grahoti sa Vāsavad | Kuśikasya tīt gotrenā Kausíki tvam bhavishyasi | sa te Vindhya naga-sresṭhe sthānāṁ dāsyati śāśvatam | ityādi). Vaisampāyana then (vv. 3268 ff.) repeats a hymn to Śrī (Durgā) which had been “uttered by rishis of old,” beginning Nārāyaṇīṁ mamasīyāmi devīṁ tribhuvanesvarīm | “I bow down before the goddess Nārāyaṇī, the mistress of the three worlds.” She is here called by many of the names which we have already met in Arjuna’s hymn (above, p. 432 f.), such as Śrī, Dhṛiti, Kīrti, Hri, Sandhyā, Kātyāyani, Kausikī, Jayā, Vijaya, Tushṭi, Pushṭi (3269 f.). She is also called the eldest sister of Yama (jyesṭhā Yamasya bhaginī, v. 3271); and it is worthy of note that she is said to be worshipped by the [savage tribes of] Savaras, Varvaras, and Pulindas (Savaras Varvarais chaiva Pulindais cha supājitā, v. 3274). She is also described as fond of wine and flesh (surāmāmsa-priya, v. 3279), the goddess of wine (surā-devī, v. 3286), as being Sarasvatī in Vālmīki (comp. pp. 424 f., 427 f.), and Smṛiti (memory) in Dvaipāyana, i.e. Vyāsa (Sarasvatī cha Vālmīke Smṛitrī Dvaipāyane tathā, v. 3285), and among sciences, the science of Brahma or the Veda (vidyānam brahma-vidyā, v. 3291), and as pervading the entire world (tvāya vyāptam idam sarvāṁ jagat sthāvara-jangamam, v. 3293).

The object of this passage seems to be to take Durgā and her worship (the extensive prevalence of which could not be ignored by the Vaish- navas) under the protection and patronage of Vishnu.

221 Kausikī is applied as an epithet to Indra in R.V. i. 10, 11. See the first volume of this work, p. 347 f., and the fifth volume, p. 219.
A hymn addressed to Durgā by Pradyumna, the son of Kṛṣṇa, is also to be found in Harivaṃsa vv. 9423 ff.; and another uttered by Aniruddha, son of Pradyumna and grandson of Kṛṣṇa, occurs in vv. 10235 ff. of the same work. The latter hymn is repeated by Vaiśam-pāyana after he had made obeisance to the "infinite, imperishable, celestial, eternal primeval-god Nārāyaṇa" (anantam akṣhayam divyam adi-devam sanātananam | Nārāyaṇanām namskritya, 10232); and he talks of the goddess as being "adored by rishis and gods with flowers of eloquence" (rishibhir daivataiś chaiva vāk-pushpār architām śubhām, 10234). The hymn addresses Durgā as the sister of Indra and Vishṇu (Mahendra-Viṣṇu-bhagīnī, v. 10235), as Gautamī, and by many of the names which we have already found in the preceding hymns, as well as by many new appellations, and goes on thus (v. 10256 ff.):

Brahmā Viṣṇuḥ cha Rudras cha Chandra-sūryāgni-mārūtāḥ | . . . kṛitsnam jagad idam proktam devyāh nāmānukirtanāt | "Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, the sun, moon, and wind . . . all this world is pronounced by uttering the name of this goddess."

The worship of this goddess reaches its climax in such works as the Devimāhātmya in the Markandeya Purāṇa, sections 81 ff.; where it is remarkable that she is connected with Viṣṇu, and not with her proper consort, Mahādeva. She is there called Mahāmāyā (the great Illusion), Yoganidrā (the Sleep of meditation), etc. It is there said of her (v. 47 ff.): Nityaiva sa jagan-mūrtir tayā sarvam idam tattam | tathāpi tat-samatpattir bhūddha śrayatāṁ mama | devanāṁ kārya-siddhy-arthaṁ avirbhavati sa yadā | utpanneti tada loke sā nityā ḍpy abhidhygate | "She is the eternal form (or substance) of the world; by her all this [Universe] is stretched out; and yet hear from me her manifold birth. Whenever she is manifested to effect the purposes of the gods, she, though eternal, is said in the world to be born." The narrative then proceeds, that when Viṣṇu was sunk in this sleep of contemplation (Yoganidrā) at the end of the Kalpa, two demons, Madhu and Kaṇṭha, sprang from his ear and were about to kill Brahmā; when the latter, seeing Viṣṇu asleep, with the view of arousing him, began to celebrate the praises of Yoganidrā, "his divine sleep who was abiding in his eyes, the mistress of the universe, the support of the world, the cause of its continuance and destruction" (Harinetrakritālayām | viśveśvarīṁ jagadāhātṛīṁ sthitī-sāmśrīra-kāri-
nim | nidrām bhagavatīṃ Vishnuḥ). Some of the functions assigned to her are as follows (v. 56): _tvayaiva dhāryate sarvaṁ tvayaitat srijyate jagat | tvayaitat pāyate devi tvam acy ante cha sarvadā | “By thee the universe is upheld; īṣy thee the world is created, by thee it is preserved; and thou always devourest it at the end.” Again, it is said of her (v. 63 ff.): Yacheha kinchit kvachid vastu sad asad vā 'khillatmake | tasya sarvasya yā saktīḥ sā tvām kiṃ śtūyase tādā | yaya tvaya jagat-sraṣṭā jagat-pātā 'tī yo jagat | so 'pi nidrā-vasaṃ nītaḥ kas tvām stotum iewvardāḥ | Vishnuḥ sarīra-grahāṇam āham Isāna eva cha | kāritis te yato 'tas tvām kaḥ stotum saktimān bhavet | “Thou art the power (sakti) of whatever substance, existent or non-existent, anywhere is, O thou soul of all things: why art thou, then, lauded [by us who are unequal to the task]? Who is able to magnify thee by whom the Creator of the world, the Preserver of the world, and the Devourer of the world, have been subjected to sleep? Since thou hast caused Vishnu, and me (Brahmā), and Isāna (Sīva) to become incorporate, who has the power to praise thee?”

The following is the beginning of a hymn addressed to her after her destruction of the demon Mahisha:

Mārk. Pur. sect. 84, 1 ff.—S'akrādayāh sūra-gaṇāḥ nihate 'tiviryē tasmin durātmanī surāribale cha devyā | tām tushťtvuḥ praṇatī-namra-śirodhārāmsaḥ vāgbhiḥ prahareha-pulakodgama-ḥarau-dehāḥ | devyā yaya yatam idām jagad ātma-śaktīya nīṁśeṣa-deva-gaṇa-śakti-saṃūḥa-mūrtīya | tām Ambyām akhilā-deva-maharshi-pūjyāṃ bhaktiya nītaḥ sma vidadhātu śubhiṇī sā naḥ | yasyāḥ prabhāvam atilam bhagavān Ananto Brahmas Haraḥ cha na hi vaktum alanā balancha | sā Chandikā 'khila-jagat-paripālanāya nāśaya chāsulha-bhayasya matīm Karotu | “When the goddess had slain this very powerful and malignant [demon] and the host of the enemies of the gods,—the deities, headed by Indra, with their necks and shoulders bowed down in obeisance, and their bodies beautified by horripilation, delighted, lauded her with [these] words: ‘We bow down with devotion before that goddess Ambikā, who stretched out this world by her own power, in whom are impersonated the various energies (sakti) of all the gods, who is to be adored by all the deities and rishis: may she confer upon us blessings. May Čaṇḍikā, whose unequalled majesty and might neither the divine Ananta (Vishnu), nor Brahmac, nor Hara (Sīva) is competent to express, de-
termine upon the preservation of the world, and the destruction of the fear of evil."

These specimens may suffice to show the dignity to which this goddess has eventually been elevated in the estimation of her worshippers; and a comparison of the characteristics which are here assigned to her with the descriptions quoted above from the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, etc. (pp. 364, 373 ff., 430 f.), will show that she has now attained a higher rank in the Indian pantheon than was originally enjoyed by the daughter of Daksha and Himavat.
APPENDIX.

NOTE A.—Page 33, line 19.

In the Uttarakanda, too, of the Rāmāyaṇa (iv. 9, Bombay ed.), it is said: Prajāpatiḥ purā srishtvā apaḥ salila-sambhavaḥ | tāsāṁ gopāyane sattvān asrijat padma-sambhavaḥ | "The lotus-born Prajāpati, sprung from the waters (or the source of the waters), having formerly created the waters, created beings to protect them;" who, from agreeing to undertake this function, were called Rākshasas (from the root rakṣ, "to protect").

On this verse the commentator remarks: "Apāḥ srishtvā" bhūmer adho-bhāga-vartinār apaḥ srishtvā ity arthāḥ | tatra "salila-sambhavaḥ" Prajāpatir abhūd ity anvayaḥ | . . . . "'Having created the waters:' the sense is having created the waters existing beneath the earth." In them the water-born Prajāpati arose: such is the connexion." . . . .

He then quotes Manu i. 8 (see p. 30, above), and two other texts from the Veda. See above, p. 24, note.

NOTE B.—Page 65, line 25.

In the description of the regions to which the monkeys were sent to search for Sītā after she had been carried off by Rāvana, which is given in the Kishkindha Kanda or fourth book of the Rāmāyaṇa, the following reference occurs to the three steps of Viṣṇu; and it is of such a character as to preserve some trace of Aurnabhava's interpretation of those steps:

Sect. 40, vv. 54a ff. (Bombay ed.)¹—Tataḥ paraṁ hemamayaḥ śrīmān Udaya-parvataḥ | tasya koṭir divaṁ sprishtvā śata-yojanam āyatā | jāta-

¹ Gorresio, iv. 40, 59 ff., has several various readings in this passage. I have noted those which occur in the most important verses.
rupamayi divya virajati sa-vedikā | . . . 57. Tatra yojana-vistaram uchhritaṁ daśa-yojanam | śringāṁ Saumanasaṁ nāma jātarūpamayaṁ dhruvam | 58. Tatra pūrva-padaṁ kṛtva purū Ṛヴァcultram (trivikramaḥ, Gorr.) | dvitiyaṁ śikhaṁ Meroḥ śhakāraṇaḥ purushottamaḥ | 59. Uttareṇa parikramya Jambudvīpaṇi divākaraḥ | dṛiṣṭyo bhavati bhūyishṭham śikharaṁ tad mahochhram (dṛiṣṭya bhavati bhūtānāṁ śikharaṁ tam upāśritaḥ, Gorr.) | 54. "Beyond that is the glorious, golden, Udaya parvata [mountain over which the sun rises]; the divine and golden peak of which shines, touching the sky, a hundred yojanas long, and supported by a basement. . . . 57. There stands the firm, golden Saumanasa peak, a yojana broad and ten yojanas high. When Viṣṇu, the chief of spirits, formerly strode three paces, he planted his first step there, and his second on the summit of Meru. When the sun has circled round Jambudvīpa by the north [or, with his last (step)], he is mostly visible on that lofty peak;" (or, ‘he is visible to living beings, resting upon that peak,’ Gorr.).

The commentator remarks on vv. 57 and 58: Tatra śata-yojana-dīrghe Udaya-giri-śikhare | 58. Tatra Saumanase śringe trivikrame tribhiḥ padaś trilokyāḥ ākramaṇa-prastāve prathamam padaṁ tatra kṛtva dvitiyaṁ padaṁ Meroḥ śikhare chakāra | On v. 59: Astānantaram uttareṇa Jambu-dvīpaḥ parikramya tan mahochhramṇi śkharam Saumanasākhyaṁ prāpya sthito divākaro Jambu-dvīpa-vartinām bhūyishṭāṁ dṛiṣṭho bhavati Saumanasa-śikhare ity arthah | idam satya-yugābhīpra-yāṁ tretāyāṁ kshīra-sūgara-madhya-gasya dvāpāṁ suroda-madhya-gasya kalau Lanka-madhya-gasya Jambudvīpa-stha-manushya-dṛiṣṭyāyāṁ anyatraḥkṣatvāt | “‘There,’ on this summit of the Udaya-giri, a hundred yojanas long. 58. ‘There,’ on that peak Saumanasa, in his triple stride, on the occasion of his traversing the three worlds with three steps, [Viṣṇu] placed his first step, and his second on the summit of Meru.” On v. 59 he observes: “After sunset, when the sun has circled round Jambudvīpa by the north [or, with his last (step)], he is mostly seen by the inhabitants of that āvīpa standing on the lofty summit called Saumanasa. This refers to the Satya yuga. For it is said in other books that in the Tretā age the sun is beheld by the men of Jambudvīpa to go through the ocean of milk, in the Dvāpara through the ocean of wine, and in the Kali through Lanka.”

The three steps of Viṣṇu are mentioned in other parts of the Rāmā-
Thus in book vi. 39, 21 (Bombay ed.), it is said: Prāsādaischa vimānais cha Lankā parama-bhūshitar ghanair ivātaśpāye madhyamaṁ Viśṇavam padam | "Lankā was beautifully adorned with temples and palaces, as the middle step (or position) of Viśṇu, with clouds, at the departure of the hot season [and commencement of the rains]." The commentator explains the middle position of Viśṇu by ākāśa.

This passage appears to refer to the zenith.

NOTE C.—Page 134, line 34.

It will be observed that in the text of the Bombay edition the two parts of the story, viz. (1) the request of the gods to Viśṇu that he would assume the form of a dwarf, and (2) the petition of Kaśyapa to the same deity that he would become the son of himself and Aditi, are more closely connected than they are in Schlegel’s edition by the insertion of the words, “Bestow the boon which Aditi, the gods, and I solicit,” which are wanting in Schlegel’s text. Further, in the Bombay edition Kaśyapa is made to allude to “the hermitage where the work was accomplished,” as if he was himself present there, of which nothing is said in Schlegel’s edition. And again, as already noticed in note 129, p. 130, by the omission of the words “thus addressed by the deities,” which occur at the beginning of verse 17 of Schlegel’s text, the Bombay edition harmonizes the two parts of the story, and removes the appearance of interpolation which Schlegel’s text exhibits.

NOTE D.—Page 175, line 33.

In this note I shall adduce some further evidence tending to confirm the supposition that Rāma may not have been originally represented in the Rāmāyaṇa as an incarnation of Viśṇu.

In the summaries of the poem, contained in sections 1 and 32 of
the First Book, as given in the Bombay edition and in Schlegel’s, no allusion is made to the divine origin of Rāma; and the same is the case in the first and third sections in Gorresio’s edition also. In the fourth section, however, of the last-named recension (which the others do not contain), the plan pursued by the gods for the destruction of Rāvana, and the divine, fluid through which the sons of Daśaratha were produced, are distinctly referred to (vv. 14, 15: ‘Rāvaṇasya badhopaye mantraṇaṁ samudāḥritam | 15. Svargavatāravaṇaṁ chaiva suraṁṇaṁ samudāḥritam | divya cha pāyasotpatiḥ putra-jamana uṛipasya cha). In the first of the two summaries in Rāmāyaṇa i. 1, 13 and 18 (Bombay ed.), Rāma is described as “glorious like Prajāpati” (Prajāpati-samah śrīmān, v. 13), and as “resembling Vishnu in vigour, and pleasant to behold, like the Moon” (Vishnunā sadriśo vīrye soma-vat priyadarśanaḥ, v. 18). The first of the epithets in the last line would imply that he was not Vishnu. Otherwise, what necessity for the comparison? The commentator remarks thus on the expression in v. 18: Yadyapi Rāmo Vishnur eva sarva-rūpaś cha tathāpi mānushopādhi-bhedat sarvatra sādriśyam draśṭavyam | yadvā Vishnunā sadriśah ity ananvayālankārah | “Although Rāma was no other than Vishnu, still, from the seeming distinctness of his humanity, resemblances may be regarded as existing in all points [between the one and the other]. Or, the comparison may be regarded as coming within the class of improper similes (ananvayālankāra).” See Professor Goldstücker’s Dictionary under this word. In regard to the other epithet, “glorious like Prajāpati,” v. 13, the commentator similarly observes: Yadyapi Rāmo Brahma eva tathāpi mānusha-dharmāṇāṁ soka-mohadānm mayikānāṁ tatra darśanena aupādhika-bhedam ādāya tat-samatvoktiḥ | Bhārjavā-laokā-pratibandha-rūpāj

subhāryena saruṣṭreṇa yat prāptaṁ tatra tattvataḥ | 4. Hasitam bhāshitaṁ chaiva gatir yāvach cha cheshṭitam | tat sarvaṁ dharma-viryaṇaṁ yathāvat samprapaśyati | 5. Strī-strītyeṇa cha tathāḥ yat prāptaṁ charataḥ vane | satyasandhena Rāmeṇa tat sarvaṁ chāvayaśkṣata | 6. Tatāḥ paśyati dharmāmāṁ tat sarvaṁ yogam āsthitah | purā yat tatra nirevittam pūrṇa āmalakaṁ yathā | 7. Tat sarvaḥ; tattvato drishṭe vā ityadā | 3. “Whatever actually occurred to Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Śītā, to king Daśaratha with his wives and dominions, (4) their laughing, their talking, their fates and their endeavours—all that he sees exactly by the power of righteousness. 5. He also beheld all that happened to the truthful Rāma while travelling in the forest with his wife as the third. 6. Then the righteous (bard), falling into a state of contemplation (yoga), sees all that had formerly happened, like an “āmalaka” fruit in his hand. 7. Seeing all this exactly,” etc.
Although Rāma was no other than Brahma, still, owing to the circumstance that grief, delusion, and other illusory human attributes, were seen in him,—in reference to this apparent distinctness,—a resemblance is predicated. From the fact that he deprived Bhargava (Parāśurāma, see above, p. 177) of his celestial abode, that he conferred final emancipation on Jātāyu (Rāmāyana, Bombay ed., iii. 68, 37), and that he took with him, to Brahmā's paradise the whole of the inhabitants of Ayodhya in an embodied state, there is a similarity (between Rāma and Prajāpati); since only a being who was in all respects independent of others could be capable of such acts.” As instances of Rāma's “illusory human attributes,” I may mention his ignorance of Sītā's locality when she had been carried off by Rāvana (Ār. Kāṇḍa 58, 1 ff., Bombay ed. = Gorr. sect. 65), and the consequent search instituted for her discovery (Kishkindhā K. 40, 11 ff., Bombay ed. = Gorr. ed. 40, 9 ff.), and his doubt regarding her purity after she had been rescued from the Rākshasa's palace (Bāla Kāṇḍa 1, 81 ff., Bombay ed.). There are some phrases in the summary of the poem, in the first chapter of the first book, which are of a hyperbolical character, and do not necessarily point to a divine character in Rāma. Thus, in verse 4 the hero about whom inquiry is made is described as one of whom the gods are afraid (kasya bhīhyati devāḥ cha). In v. 84 Rāma is said to have been honoured, or worshipped, by all the gods (pūjitah sarva-devataih); while on the other hand he is said, v. 86, to have received a boon from the gods (devatāḥḥyā varum prāpya). In verse 32 Rāma and his party, while living at Chitrakūṭa, are compared to gods and gandharvas (deva-gandharva-sankāṣṭāḥ). In section 2, verse 32, the epithets dharmatmano bhagavatāḥ, and dhimataḥ, “righteous,” “divine or venerable” (an epithet constantly applied to Kṛishṇa, as well as to Buddha), and “wise,” are assigned to Rāma. “Bhagavat” need not necessarily mean “divine.”

In the text, pp. 170 ff. (see also pp. 165 ff.), following Lassen, I have pointed out that the second sacrifice described in the fourteenth section in Schlegel's edition has some appearance of not having formed a portion of the original poem. It will also be seen from note 164.
in p. 165, as compared with the quotation given in the text in the same and the following pages, that the Bombay edition, which frequently differs in its readings from Schlegel's, omits vv. 5–11 of the section in question (the fourteenth), as given in the latter, and passes at once from the fourth to the twelfth verse. In the account which follows of the request preferred by the gods to Vishṇu to become incarnate in the sons of Daśaratha, etc., the two editions differ in their arrangement of details, but not in the substance. In the Bombay edition the words pita/ram rochayāmāsa tadā Daśaratham nṛpam ("he accepted as his father the king Daśaratha"), which occur in section 15, 32, are repeated in section 16, 8.

In the text, pp. 174 f., I have given the account of the birth of Daśaratha's sons according to Schlegel's edition. I now subjoin the description of the same event as found in the Bombay edition and in Gorresio's:

[Bombay ed., sect. 18, vv. 8 ff.]

8. “After the sacrifice had been completed, the six seasons passed; and then in the twelfth month, in Chaitra, on the ninth lunar day, (9) in the lunar mansion of which Aditi is the deity, when five planets were culminating, when Jupiter was rising with the moon in the sign of Cancer,—(10) Kausalyā brought forth Rāma, the lord of the world, adored by all worlds, possessed of all virtues, equal in valour to Vishnu. 11. For this lotus-eyed Rāma was born from the half of Vishnu’s generative power, for the good of the worlds, and the destruction of Rāvana. 12. This glorious hero, a mine of virtues, excelled in fire and energy, and in manly vigour was not inferior to Indra and Vishnu. 15. So too Sumitra bore two sons, Lakshmana and Satruighna, firm in devotion, of great energy, second to Rāma in virtues. 16. These two also, combined, were two
fourth part of Vishṇu. 14. Then Sumitṛa bore two sons, Lakṣmaṇa and Sātrughna, heroes, skilled in all weapons, who had [each] the half [of the fourth] of Vishṇu. From the other fourth part there was born (17) to Kaikeyī, one son named Bharata, of real valour, righteous, high-souled, renowned for power, and energy.

But Bharata, of tranquil mind, was born under the lunār mansion Pushya and the sign of Pisces; while the sons of Sumitṛa were born under Sārpa (or the ninth lunar mansion), when the sun had risen in Cancer. 16. The four great sons of the king were separately born, possessing great qualities, resembling one another, and in brilliancy like the constellation Proshṭhapadā."

The Bombay edition has not the verse which is found as the fifth in Schlegel’s edition, and the thirteenth in Gorresio’s, but it, equally with the others, asserts in its eleventh verse (which is not in Schlegel’s edition) that the half of Vishṇu was incarnate in Rāma. The same remark which in p. 175 I have made on the passage as given in Schlegel’s edition, applies to this recension also—viz. that the verses which refer to Daśaratha’s sons being incarnations of Vishṇu might be omitted with little injury to the connexion. The account of Bharata, Lakṣmaṇa, and Sātrughna, given in vv. 13–15 (as they now stand), has a certain awkwardness, inasmuch as after leaving Bharata, and introducing (v. 14) Lakṣmaṇa and Sātrughna, the narrator recurs (v. 15) to Bharata, to give further particulars of his birth, and then goes back again to the other brothers. If, however, vv. 13 and 14 have been interpolated, it is possible that some other lines, which seem necessary to complete v. 15, and to tell the name of Bharata’s other, and the names of Sumitṛa’s sons (which that verse does not contain), may at the same time have been left out. In Gorresio’s text of this passage, the verses describing the astrological influences under which Daśaratha’s

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4 Which had been communicated to their mother. See sect. 15, 21, Schlegel.
APPENDIX.

sons were born, are left out; though these are not unlikely to have formed part of the original text of the poem. The twelfth verse of this (as well as the corresponding verses of the other two recensions), where Rāma is compared to Indra, and also the fourteenth verse (Gorr.), in which he is said to be not inferior to Indra and Vishnū [these two verses, I say, if original portions of the poem, as is not unlikely], sound somewhat strangely as part of a work in which the incarnation of Rāma was originally contemplated, as it would not exalt the reader’s conception of the dignity of the hero (supposed to be an incarnation of Vishnū) to compare his might to that of Indra, an inferior god. On this subject Gorresio remarks, in note 90, p. 423 f. of his sixth volume, as follows: “This is one of the passages in the poem from which it might be inferred that the avātara of Vishnū in Rāma was an interpolation in the epopee. If Rāma was a corporeal manifestation of Vishnū, and consequently Vishnū himself in a human form, the epithet ‘not inferior to Vishnū,’ which is here assigned to him, has neither appropriateness nor sense. It would be as if it were said to any one that he was not inferior to himself. But we shall not anticipate the judgment of a question which has need to be maturely considered.”

Again, it is related in the Āraṇya K., or Third Book, 30, 20 ff. of Gorresio’s edition, that when the Rākṣasas were about to attack Rāma, the gods and other beings became very anxious about his safety: Tato deva-rshi-gandharvāḥ siddhāś cha saha chāyāniḥ | uchāḥ parama-santāstāḥ ghyakanāḥ cha parasparam | chatur-dāsā sahasrāni rakṣasām bhīma-karmāṇām | ekāḥ cha Rāmo dharmātmā katham yuddham bhavishyati | Rāmo no vidito yo ‘yaṁ yatīḥ cha vaṣūdhāṁ gataḥ | manushyataviṁ tu matvā ‘syā kārṇyād vyātītam manah | nardanti ca chāmūs teshāṁ rakṣasāṁ kāma-råpiṇām | nānā-vikrita-pesānāṁ Ramāsrnumaṁ upāgatam | “Then the gods, rishis, Gandharvas, Siddhas, Chāraṇas, and Guhyakas, being greatly terrified, spoke thus among themselves: ‘There are fourteen thousands of Rākṣasas, terrible in their deeds, and the righteous Rāma is but one: how shall they fight together? We know who

5 Signor Gorresio, on the other hand, thinks they are superfluous (Preface, vol. i., p. lii.).

6 In the Āraṇya Kānda 68, 38 (Bombay ed.), Rāma and Lakṣmī are compared to the chiefs of the gods, Vishnū and Vāsava (Indra, surendrav aśva Vishnū-vāsava) The commentator makes no remark on this.
this Rāma is, and how he went to the earth; but considering his human nature, our minds are distressed from compassion. The army of these Rākshasas, who take any shape they will, and who have assumed various disguises, has approached the hermitage of Rāma, as if shouting."

In the Bombay ed. iii. 24, 19 ff., however, most of the words ascribed to the gods, etc., are quite different: Tato devāḥ sa-gandharvāḥ siddhāḥ cha saha cha-rāṇāḥ | sameyuscha mahātmāno yuddhā-ārṣāna-kāṅkṣhayā | 20. Rishayas mahātmāno loke brahma-shri-sattamāḥ | sametva chochhā sahitās le 'nyonyam punya-karnaṇāḥ' | 21. Svasti go-brāhmaṇānāncha lokānāṁ cheti samsthitāḥ | jayatāṁ Rāghava yuddhe Paulastyān rajani-charāṇ | 22. Chakra-hasto yathā yuddhe sarvān asura-pungavān | evam ukṛtvā punāḥ prochur ālokṣa cha parasparam | 23. Chaturdoṣa sahasrāṇi rakshasāṁ bhūma-karnaṇāṁ | ekaś cha Rāmo dharmātma kathāṁ yuddhām bhavishyati | 24. Iti rājarṣhayāḥ siddhāḥ sa-ganās cha devicrashabhāḥ | jāta-kautikalas tathūr vimāna-sthās cha devatāḥ | 25. Āvishṭāṁ tejasā Rāmaṁ sangrāma-sīrasi shhitam | dhriṣṭvā sarvān bhūtāṁ bhayād vivyathire tada | 26. Rūpaṁ apratimāṁ tasya Rāmasyākṣīkṣita-karnaṇāḥ | babhāva rūpaṁ kruddhasya Rudrasyeva mahātmāṇaḥ | . . . . . 35. Tasya rūṣṭasya rūpaṁ tu Rāmasyā dadriṣe tada | Dākshasyeva kratuṁ hantuṁ udayatāsa Pinaṁkinaḥ | 19. "Then the great gods, Gandharvas, and Siddhas, with the Chařānas, (20) and the great rishis, the most excellent Brahmān rishis, assembled in the world, eager to witness the battle: and being assembled, these holy beings thus spoke to one another: 21. 'Blessings be upon cows and Brahmas, and upon the worlds! may Rāma conquer in battle the Rākshasas, the descendants of Pulastya, (22) as the god who bears the discus (Vishnū) [overcame] the chiefs of the Asuras.' Having thus spoken, and looked at each other, they said again: 23. 'There are fourteen thousands of Rākshasas, terrible in their deeds, and the righteous Rāma is but one:

7 Adīrghatvam ārṣham | Comm.
8 The following is the commentator's note on the last four words of this line, of which it is difficult to make any sense as they stand: "Lokānāṁ ye 'bhisanatāh' iti pāthā lokānāṁ lokapātānāṁ sangatāḥ havir-honādī-devār upāntārakāṁ ity arthāḥ. According to another reading, lokānāṁ ye 'bhisanatāh, the sense is, 'and upon those guardians of the world who have arrived, who aid us by means of oblations, sacrifices,' etc.'
9 This verse, as given in Gorresio's edition, will be found above, p. 373, note.
how shall they fight together?" 24. [Having] thus [spoken], the royal rishis, Siddhas, and Brahman rishiś with the [other] hosts, stood in curious expectation, together with the gods in aerial cars. 25. Beholding Rāma, full of might, standing in the front of the battle, all creatures were agitated with fear. 26. The unparalleled form of Rāma, vigorous in action, was like that’ of the great Rudra when incensed. 35. The form of Rāma, incensed, was beheld then, like that of Pinākin (Rudra) when prepared to destroy the sacrifice of Daksha.'

From a comparison of these passages, as given in the two different recensions, it appears probable that the speech which is put into the mouths of the gods and other spectators, in the Bombay edition, is the most ancient and original, as no mention is there made of the divine nature of Rāma, the reference to Vishnu in the twenty-second verse being introduced only by way of illustration, in the same way as the allusions to Rudra in the twenty-sixth and thirty-fifth verses. In Gorresio's edition, on the other hand, there is a distinct reference to the divine nature of Rāma; and I therefore conjecture that the short speech which it contains has been substituted for the other somewhat longer one, by a subsequent editor in support of this later conception.

The career of Rāma in his conflicts with the Rākshasas was not entirely unchequered by reverses. In the forty-fifth section of the sixth, or Yuddha Kanda, Bombay ed. (corresponding to section 20 of Gorresio's recension), it is stated that both he and his brother Lakshmana were severely wounded and rendered senseless by a cloud of serpents transformed into arrows, which were shot by Indrajit, son of Rāvana.

In the following citations I shall use the Bombay edition only, except when I specially refer to Gorresio's. In vv. 7 ff. (sect. 45) it is said: Rāma-Lakshmana yor eva sarva-deha-bhidāh sarān | bhrisam āveṣa- 

gāmāsa Rāvanīh samitinjayaḥ | nirantarā-sarīrāu tu tāv ubhau Rāma- 

Lakshmanau10 | kruddhenendrajitā vinat pannagaih saratām gataiḥ | tayoh 

ksata-ja-mūrтан | tāvruva rudhiram bahu | ... 16. Buddhau tu sarabandhena tāv ubhau raṇa-mūrdhanā | nimeshāntara-mātreṇa na śekatur 

avakshitum | ... 22. Paśū prathamaṁ Rāmo viddho marmasu mārga-

naiḥ | krodhad Indrajitā yena purā Šakro ’ni nirijitah | "The son of

10 Instead of tāv ubhau Rāma-Lakshmanau, Gorresio's edition (vi. 20, 8) reads kritau tamb̄ayais tadā.
Rāvana, victorious in battle, discharged numerous arrows which pierced the whole bodies of Rāma and Lakṣaṁmana. Both of these two heroes had their bodies [wounded] in every spot by the incensed Indrajit with serpents 11 which had taken the form of arrows. Much blood flowed through the openings formed by their wounds. . . . 16. Bound by the chain of these arrows, in the front of the battle, those two could not look up even for a moment. 12 . . . 22. Rāma first fell, pierced in the most vital parts, in anger, by Indrajit, by whom even Indra had formerly been conquered. 13 Their allies the monkeys arrive and find the two brothers lying helpless. Sect. 46, 3 ff. . . . Anvaśochanta Rāghavau 'acheshṭau manda-nīśvasau sonitena pariplutau śara-jālāchita' 14 stabdhau bāyānau śara-talpa-gau | nīśvasantasau yathā sarpau nīśchesṭau dīna-vikramau | ityādi | "They bewailed the two descendants of Raghu, incapable of effort, breathing slowly, bathed in blood, encompassed with a net of arrows, stiff, lying on a bed of arrows, breathing like serpents, helpless, their vigour quelled," etc. Vibhīṣaṇa comforts the monkeys by saying that the good fortune of Rāma and Lakṣaṁmana would not forsake them (vv. 38 ff.): Athāvā rakṣayatāṁ Rāmo yāvat sanjña-viparyayāḥ | labāha-sanjnau hi Kākutsthau bhayaṁ nau vyapa-neshyataḥ | naitat kinehana Rāmasya na cha Rāmo munārshati | na hy enam hāsyate Lakṣmīr durlabhā yā gatāyushām | "Or, let Rāma be guarded while his insensibility continues. When the two descendants of Kākutstha have recovered their senses, they shall remove our fear. This [mishap] of Rāma is nothing; he is not about to die: for Good Fortune (Lakṣmī), who is beyond the reach of the dead, will not abandon him."

11 The edition of Gorresio (see preceding note) supplies the word "arrows." Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v. nirantarā, translate the clause thus: "There was no spot on their bodies in which an arrow was not sticking."

12 On this the commentator, in conformity with his dogmatic views regarding the divine nature of the two heroes, remarks: Na sekṣatūr avekṣhitam | tūḍrisva eva sthitau manushyaṁ-aṇjanāya iti bodhyam | . . . "Could not, look on!" remained, as it were, in this condition. This is to be understood as done to act (i.e. simulate) humanity (i.e. that they were mere men)."

13 Indrajit's victory over Indra is related in the Uttara Kāuḍa, section 27. "He was originally called Meghanāda; but after he had taken Indra captive, he received from Brahmā the name of Indra-jit, or the "conqueror of Indra," ibid. section 30. A summary of the story will be found further on.

14 Gorresio's ed. reads śara-jālāvritau.
It will be observed that nothing is here said of the divine nature of Rāma; and nothing is said of Lakṣmī being his spouse, though she is regarded in Hindu mythology as the consort of Nārāyaṇa (see the commentator’s remark on Uttara Kāṇḍa, 17, 35, which will be quoted below). In the next section (the forty-seventh) of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa it is related that Rāvaṇa sent Sītā on his car Pushpaka, with the Rākṣasī Trijāṭa (v. 14), to the spot where Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa were lying wounded and helpless; and that on seeing these brothers, “powerful as the sons of the gods” (deva-suta-prabhāvau, v. 23), she broke out into lamentations, supposing them to be dead. The forty-eighth section contains her lament, in the course of which she says: 16. “Did not the two sons of Raghu possess the supernatural weapons of Varuṇa, Agni, Indra, and Vāyu, and the Brahma-siras? 17. My two lords (though I am now lordless), Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, the equals of Indra, have been slain in battle by an unseen foe, by enchantment. 18. For no foe, though swift as thought, could return living, after he had once been beheld by Rāma in the fight. 19. Nothing can counterbalance the power of Time, and Fate is invincible” (vv. 16 ff.: Nanu Vāruṇam Āgneyam Aindraṁ Vāyavyam eva cha | astraṃ Brahma-sīraś chaiva Rāghavau pratyapadyata | 17. Adriṣṭamānumena rane māyāyā Vāsuvopamau | mama nāthāv anāthāyāḥ niḥatau Rāma-Lakṣmaṇau | 18. Na hi drishti-patham prāpya Rāghavasya rane ripuḥ | jīvaṃ pratiniḥteta yadyapi syād manojavaḥ | 19. Na Kālasyātībhāro ’sti kritāntas cha sudurjayaḥ). Sītā is then consoled by the Rākṣasī Trijāṭa, who tells her (v. 22) that her husband is not dead; and explains why she thinks so. In vv. 30 f., she says: Neman śakyau rane jetaṁ sendrait api surāsurasaiḥ | tādriṣṇām darśanam drīshtvā māyā. chodiritaṁ tava | idaṁ tu sumahacu chitram śaraḥ paśyasva Maithilis | visunjanau patitāv etau naiva Lakṣmaṇi vinun- chati | prāyena gata-sattvinām vāyuḥ vikramāṃ gatāyushām | driṣṭamāneshu vaktreṇu pariśaśvāva vaiścā vā charitam | “These two cannot be conquered in battle even by the Suras and Asuras, Indra included. Such a sight I have seen, and declared to thee. But behold this great wonder, that though they are lying senseless from the arrows, Fortune (Lakṣmī)

The commentator says on this verse: Pratyapadyata pratyapadyetān | ɪk-va- chanam ūrṣham | “nave” itaḥ pūrvāṃ tathām idānīm na smrītam iti śesāḥ.
does not abandon them. There is generally a great change in the countenances, when beheld, of men who have lost their lives, and whose breath has departed." While the monkeys were watching Rāma, he recovers his consciousness (sect. 49, v. 3): Etasminn antare Rāmo pratyabudhyata vīryavān | uthiratvāt satya-yogāchchhaś saraiḥ sandānito 'pi san | "In the mean time the heroic Rāma awoke, owing to his firmness and robustness of frame, though he had been bound by the arrows." He then begins to lament the loss of his brother Lākshmana, whom he supposes to be dead; and ascribes the misfortune to his own bad generalship (v. 18: Imām adya gato 'vasthām mamānāryasya durnāyaḥ).

In sect. 50, Vibhīṣaṇa laments the condition of Rāma and his brother, and the disappointment thereby caused to his own hopes of becoming king of Lankā; but is comforted by Sugrīva, who says to him (vv. 21 f.): Rājyam prāpsyasi dharma-jna Lankayāh neha saṁśayaḥ | Rāvanaḥ saha putreṇa sva-kāmāṁ neha lapsyate | 22. Garuḍā-dhishṭhihitāv etāv ubhau Rāghava-Lakṣmanaṁ | tyaktvā moham badhisheyete sa-gaṇaṁ Rāvaṇaṁ rāye | "Thou, O [prince], well skilled in duty, shalt without doubt obtain sovereignty in Lankā; but Rāvana and his son shall not obtain the object of their desire. 22. Both Rāma and Lākṣmana are watched over by Garuḍa: having escaped from their swoon, they shall slay Rāvaṇa with his hosts." Sugrīva, however, proposes to his father-in-law Sushena, to remove Rāma and Lakṣmana from the scene of action to Kishkindhā; and promises that he himself will slay Rāvaṇa, his sons and kinsmen, and bring back Sītā, as Indrā recovered the lost Sīrī (24 f.: Śaha śurair hari-gaṇair labdha-saṁjnāv arindamau | gachha tvām bhrātarau gṛihyas Kishkindhāṁ Rāma-Lakṣmanaṁ | ahaṁ tu Rāvaṇaṁ hattrā sa-putraṁ saha-bāndhavam | Maithilim anayishyāmi ṣakro nashām īva Sīrīyaṁ).17

Sushena, however, then relates (vv. 26–32) that once when the gods had been wounded with arrows and rendered senseless, in a combat with the Dānavas, they had been cured by Brīhaspatī by his knowledge and the use of herbs aided by sacred texts; and suggests that some of the monkeys should be sent to the ocean of milk to bring

16 Mahā-bala-yuktatvāt | Comm.
17 In Gorresio’s edition fifteen more verses (vi. 25, 27–41) follow, in which Sugrīva boasts further of what he will accomplish; but they are not found in the Bombay ed.
those herbs. The Bombay edition then goes on at once in vv. 33 ff. to relate that a tempest arose, attended with lightnings, and announces the arrival of the celestial bird Garuḍa for the purpose of curing Rāma and his brother. In Gorresio’s text the following verses are introduced between those which correspond to the thirty-second and thirty-third of the Bombay edition:

Gorresio, sect. 26, vv. 8, 9, 10, 11a.—Athaṁ yuṣaṇamyān
Vayuḥ karte vavoḥ vṛavat | Rāma Rāma mahābho atmāṇaṁ smara vai hṛidā | Nārāyaṇas tvam bhagavān Rākṣasārthe vatāritah | smara sarpa-bhujāṁ devaṁ Vainateyam mahābalaṁ | sa sarpa-bandhād ghorab tu ṣucāṁ sammochayishyati | sa tasya vachanam śrutvā Rāghavo Rāghu-nandanaḥ | sasmrā Garuḍaṁ devam bhujāgānāṁ bhayāvaham | “Then Vāyu, approaching him, spoke this word in his ear: ‘Rāma, Rāma, great-armed, recollect thyself in thy heart: thou art the divine Nārā-yaṇa, who hast descended [to earth] on account of the Rākṣasas. Call to mind the snake-devouring god, the strong Vainateya (the bird Garuḍa); he shall deliver you twain from the dreadful bonds of the serpents.’ Hearing Vāyu’s words, Rāma called to mind the god Garuḍa, the terrifier of serpents.”

The absence of these verses from the Bombay edition renders it probable that they formed no part of the original Rāmāyaṇa. But in addition to this fact, another proof to the same effect is to be found in the circumstance that in the verses which follow shortly after in both recensions Rāma, after being cured by Garuḍa, is represented as inquiring, and consequently, as being ignorant, who his benefactor is, although, according to Gorresio’s edition, he had just before called Garuḍa to mind, i.e. summoned him. It is true Rāma had been senseless; but he had regained his consciousness so far as to call upon Garuḍa: so that in Gorresio’s text it must be implied,—unless we are to suppose it to be inconsistent with itself,—that he again became unconscious. The verses in which this is shown are as follows (Bombay ed. 50, 37 ff. = Gor. ed. 26, 15 ff.):

Ādā yagatam abhipreṣhya ṛgās te viprādu-
dravuḥ | yais tu tau purushau baddhau śara-bhūtair mahābalaṁ | tataḥ Suṇaṁ Kākutsthau sprishtvā pratyabhinandya cha | vimāmaraṁ cha pānīḥyāṁ mukhe chandra-sama-prabhe | Vainateyena samśprishtāṁ tayoḥ samruṣurhuḥ

18 Yathā-pūrvām saṁruṣhaṁ māṁsāṁ abhūvau | Comm.
40. Tejo vîryam balaṁ chanjâh utsâhaścha mahâguṇâḥ | pradarśanancha buddhiśca smrītiś cha dviguṇâ 19 tayôh | tâv utthâpya mahâtejah Garûḍo Vasavopamau | ubhau cha sasrâje hrishto Râmiś chaînaṁ uvâcha ha | bhavat-prasûdhâd vyasaṃâm Râvana-prabhavam mahat | upâyena vyati-krântau śighraṁ cha balinau kriya | yathâ tâtaṁ Daśaratâm yathâ janche pitâmâham | tathâ bhavantam âsâdyâ hridayam me prasidati 44. Kö bhavân rûpa-sampanno divya-srag-anulepanâḥ (The last line is identical with that in Gorresio's edition) "Beholding him arrived, the powerful serpents by whom, in the form of arrows, these two heroes had been bound, took to flight. Then Garûḍa, having touched and saluted the descendants of Kakutstha, soothed with his hands their faces brilliant as the moon. Touched by Garûḍa, their wounds closed up, and their bodies became speedily sleek and of a beautiful colour. 40. Their fire, strength, energy, vigour, and beauty became many degrees greater, and their insight, understanding, and memory, were doubled. The powerful Garûḍa raised up and embraced those two [princes] resembling Indra; and Râma, delighted, thus addressed him: "By thy favour, and through thy appliances, we have quickly got over the great calamity inflicted by the son of Râvana, and have become strong. Since I have found thee, who art as my father Daśaratha, and my ancestor Aja, my heart rejoices. 44. Who art thou, distinguished by beauty, adorned with celestial garlands, and ungents?'" etc.

19 In his remarks on vv. 40, 41, the commentator, in the Bombay ed., explains this as follows: Dviguṇâ Vainateya-sparśat purṇato 'py adhiκā | atra anyair deveir avâtīrṇa bhagavato Râmasya mûla-mûrter ājyâ vyakârah sampûdito Garûḍena iti sva-rûpatah eva iti bodhyam | . . . . "Though far aery great, their insight, etc., became doubled from the touch of Garûḍa. Here it is to be understood that the assistance was rendered by the command of the divine Râma, the root [of all things] by other gods descending to the earth, but by Garûḍa in his own form."

20 In his remarks on this verse, the same commentator says: "Ko bhavân" ity ayam prashaν 'pi manuṣhya-sārīrochita-yû vyakârah eva tat-satyatva-pratyâpanarthah | atra Râma-samipâgmanama-parjantam paṅkṣya-ûtâmatañ || gatiya samnidhi-vaṁśreya nāga-bandhanancha nirâsya Râgâhu-sparśanâdy-arthat purushākñ̄e, a eyavahri-tavân iti bodhyam | "This question ' who art thou?' also harmonizes with [Râma's assumption of] a human body, and is designed to convince men of its reality. Here it is to be understood that the author accommodates to Râma's human character the entire narrative from [Garûḍa's] appearance in the form of a bird, his removal, by his mere proximity, of the fetters of the snakes, and his touching Râma, and ending with his near approach to the latter," etc.
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The corresponding passage in Gorresio's edition (sect. 26, vv. 16 ff.) does not, as I have intimated, differ materially from the above, and in it, in like manner, Rāma is distinctly represented as inquiring who Garuḍa is.

In reply to Rāma's question, Garuḍa tells him (vv. 46 ff.) who he is, says he is his friend, and that no one but himself, whether god or Asura, could have delivered Rāma from the bonds of the serpents, which had been turned into arrows by the magic art of Indrajit. He warns him that in dealing with the treacherous Rākshasas he must proceed warily, and finally assures him that he shall slay Rāvaṇa and recover Sītā; and then departs after walking round and embracing him (v. 60: Pradakṣiṇāṁ tataḥ kṛītā parivahajya cha). 21

There is another passage in Gorresio's edition (book vi, sect. 33) in which it is related that after the fall of Prahasta, one of the Rākshasas, Mandodari, Rāvaṇa's queen, went into the assembly to dissuade her husband from contending any further against Rāma, when she is introduced as saying (v. 25 f.): Na cha mānusha-mātro 'sau Rāmo Daśarathātmajāḥ | ekena yena vai pūream bahavo rākshasaḥ hatāḥ | “Nor is this Rāma a mere man, he by whom singly many Rākshasas have formerly been slain.” The same idea is repeated in the two following verses, where the number of the slain and the names of some of them are given.

The passage in which these verses occur is not, however, to be found in the corresponding section (the fifty-ninth) of the Bombay edition, which omits verses 6–51 of the thirty-third, and the whole of the thirty-fourth sections of Gorresio's edition.

In the fifty-ninth section of the same book (Bombay ed.) it is related that Lakṣmaṇa was wounded by Rāvaṇa with an iron lance given to the latter by Brahma (v. 105–7); but that when Rāvaṇa tried to lift his fallen foe, he was unable (v. 109 f.): Himavān Mandaro Merus trailekyam vā sahāmaraiḥ | sakyam bhujāśyām uddhartuṁ na sakyo Bharatānukaj | śaktyā brāhma | Somitris tādito 'pi stavaṁtare | Vishnoh amimāṁsya-bhagam ātmānam pratyānusmarat | “Himavat, Mandara,

21 From this last circumstance the commentator infers the divine nature of Rāma. His words are: Pradakṣiṇāṁ kṛītā iti anena dīya-devatāvantāro Rāmaḥ iti sarvān prākṛīta-kapāṇ praty api bodhitam | “By these words, 'having walked round him, with the right side towards him,' it is intimated even to all the ordinary monkeys that Rāma was an incarnation of a celestial deity.”
Meru, or the three worlds with the immortals, might be lifted by
him with his arms, but not the younger brother of Bharata. But
Lakshmana, though smitten on the chest with the lance given by
Brahma, recollected himself to be an incomprehensible portion of
Vishnu." Similar words are again ascribed to him in v. 120:
"Vishno bhāgam amīmāṃsyam ātmānam pratyayam. Expressions
of the same purport occur in the parallel verses in Gérresio's edition,
sect. 36, vv. 86, 88, and 98. The words in v. 58, are Vishno achintyo
yo bhāgo mānusham deham āsthitaḥ | "The inconceivable portion of
Vishnu residing in a human body." The expressions, however, may be
later interpolations in both editions. In vv. 122 f. of the same section

22 The commentator's note on v. 110 is as follows: Amoghayā Brahma-dattayā sta
nāntare āhataḥ Saumitrī Vishnoh amīmāṃsyam nīśāṃsaya-Vishnu-bhāgavatavantam
iyattayā chintayītum āsāyām vi Vishno bhāgag ātmānam pratyayamam pratyayam
smarat | na hi seyam evaḥ hinasty ity āsayena Bhraha-sakti-mūlāya (?) trtracerham
bhagavat-tejo nīsah evaḥ aham asmi iti dhīyāvān | na-ca va-ad angikrta-manushyavasya
itareśānī driṣṭha-pratity-artha-parām | na sarvadā tathā dhīyānam evaḥ cha Brahma-
bhāvanayā Lakṣmānena svaośārya gāriyastvam āpūrtīṁ ity uktam bhavati |
"Being struck on the breast with the unfailing (dart) given by Brahma, Lakshmana
recollected himself to be indubitably a portion of Vishnu, or to be a portion of Vishnu
which could not be conceived of as being of such and such magnitude. With refer-
ence to the principle that nothing destroys that which belongs to itself, he reflected,
with a view to his preservation from the lance of Brahma (?), that he was a part of the
divine energy. As he had, like an actor, assumed the human form, this reflection of
his had the object of confirming the belief of others, and it is not (to be imagined) that
he always so reflected. And so too by conceiving himself as Brahma, he made his body
very ponderous." It is afterwards said in verse 117 that Hanumat took Lakshmana
in his arms and carried him to his brother, and that, though he could not be moved
by his enemies, he made himself light to Hanumat in consequence of the latter's
friendship and devotion. On this the commentator remarks: Itaṁ cha bhaktā-mūtra-
sugrahavatam bhagavato bhagavat-adātāryāṁ cha svabhāva-siddham eva iti bhāyam |
evām cha Rāma-Lakshmanayor ajñāna-saktimatva-tātparyatayā bhāsamānāni vachā-
āṇāṁ manuṣya-vesha-nirvāhana-mūtra-parāṇi iti bhāyam | tād uktam Bhāgavate |
"Martyāvalarāv tv iha martyā-sīkṣhayaṁ rakṣo-badhāyaiṁ na kevalaṁ vibhoḥ kuto 'nyathā syuḥ ramataḥ sve ātmānāt Sītā-kritānī vyasaṁviśvesvarasya"! "This
capability of being taken up by a devoted person alone is to be understood as result-
ing from the nature of the Deity and of His incarnations. And so it is to be under-
stood that the expressions which seem to ascribe the possibility of ignorance to Rāma
and Lakshmana are only intended to serve the purpose of carrying our Vedic characters
in their human disguise. This is declared in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (the verse occurs
in v. 19, 5, as I learn from Böhtlingk and Roth's reference, s.e. śīkṣaṇa), *The
Lord's incarnation as a man on this earth was meant for the instruction of men,
and not merely in view the slaughter of the Rākṣasa. Otherwise, how could the
Lord, the Spirit, whose delight is in himself, have undergone the sufferings arising
from Sītā?"
(fifty-ninth, Bombay ed.) Hanumat tells Rāma to mount on his back, as Vishnū or that of Garumat or Garuḍa (Vishnur yathā Garumantam āruhya); and in verse 125, Rāma is said to have rushed on Rāvaṇa as Vishnū rushed on Vairocana (Vairochanāṁ iva kruddho Vishnur ityādi).

In the same sect. (59, 135 ff., Bombay ed.) it is related that Rāvaṇa was defeated by Rāma, but spared, and sent back to Lankā. After his return he thus speaks (sect. 60, v. 5 ff.): Sarvaṁ tat khalu me moghaṁ yat taptam paramāṁ tapāḥ | yat sanāno Mahendreṇa mānasheṇa vinirjītaḥ | 6. Itam tad Brahmaṇo ghoraṁ vākyam mām abhyupasthitam | "mānushebhya vijāniḥ bhayaṁ tvam iti iti tathā | 7. Deva-dānava-gandharvair yaksha-rūkshasā-pannagaiḥ | abadhyaṭvam mayā proktam mānushebhya na yāchitam | 8. Tam imam mānusham manye Rāmaṁ Daṇarathāṁmajam | Ikshvākū-kula-jātena Anaranyena yat purā | "Utpatsyaḥi hi mad-vāṁśe pururoṣa rūkshasādhama | yas tvāṁ sa-putraṁ sāmāyam sa-halāṁ sāsva-sārathin | 10. Nihānishyati sangrāme tvāṁ kulaḥdhama durmāte | īṣoḥ tam Vedavatāya cha yathā sā harṣhitā purā | 11. Seyaṁ Sitā mahābhāgā jātā Janaka-nandini | Uṁa Nandīśvaraṁ chāpi Rambhā Varunā-kanyakā | 12. Yathoktāṁ tan mayā prāptaṁ na mithyā rishi-bhāṣhitam | etad eva samāgamyam yatnāṁ kartum iḥāratha | "All the extreme austerity that I have undergone is then vain, since

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23 See Wilson's Vishnu Purāṇa, p. 371: “Whose (Sambhūta’s) son was Anaranya, who was slain by Rāvaṇa in his triumphant progress through the nations” (tata 'naryṇas | taṁ Rāvaṇo dig-vījaya jaghāna). Here, and in the legend related in the second volume of this work, p. 421, note 129, a set of events different from those narrated in the earlier books of the Ramayana, is referred to.

The story of Anaranya is, however, told in the Uttara Kīḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, section 19. Dushkanta (sic), Suratha, Gāḍhī, Gaya, Pururavas (though, as the commentator remarks, they lived at different periods [bhimā-bhimā-kūla-varitino 'pi Dushkantādayaṁ sva-sva-kāle Rāvaṇam prati jītata-vādaṁ vara-dānād uktaivantah)], yet they all in their own times) submitted, without fighting, acknowledging themselves conquered, to Rāvaṇa on his victorious march through the world in consequence of the boon Brahmad had given to him (v. 5). Anaranya, a descendant of Ikshvākū, and king of Ayodhya, however, when called upon either to fight, or acknowledge himself conquered, prefers the former alternative (v. 9); but his army is overcome, and he himself is thrown from his chariot (v. 21). When Rāvaṇa triumphs over his prostrate foe, the latter says that he has been vanquished, not by him, but by fate, and that Rāvaṇa is only the instrument of his overthrow (v. 26); and he predicts that Rāvaṇa should one day be slain by his descendant Rāma (v. 29: Utpatsyate kule hy 'asmin Ikshvākūnam mahātmanāṁ | Rāmo Daṇarathir nāma yas te prāṇān harṣhyati).

24 Yathoktavantāḥ . . . . yad uchus tan mayā iti pāṭhāntaram | Comm.
I, though the equal of Indra, have been overcome by a man. This is the direful word of Brahmā that has now reached me, [when he said]: 'Know that thy great cause of apprehension is from men. I have decreed thy indestructibility by gods, Dānavas, Gandharvas, Yakshas, Rākshasas, and Pannagas: but thou hast asked no [security] from men.' This man I consider 'to be Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, since I was formerly thus cursed by Anarāṇya of the race of Ikṣvāku; 'There shall arise among my posterity a man, who shall slay thee in battle, thou lowest of Rākshasas, and wicked wretch, along with thy scions, ministers, hosts, and charioteers.' And I was also cursed by Vedavatī when she was insulted by me: it is she who has been born as the great Sītā, the gladdener of Janaka. And that which Umā, Nandiśvara, Rambha, and the daughter of Varuṇa (Punjikasthalā) uttered, has befallen me. What has been spoken by rishi is never falsified. Wherefore, ye must assemble, and make exertions?"

In this passage it will be observed that there is no express reference to the divine nature of Rāma: and it is conceivable that the original legend may have represented him as being, even in his human capacity, of sufficient prowess to slay the king of the Rākshasas.

[Most of the stories referred to in the preceding passage are given in the Uttara Kāṇḍa, and I shall supply an abstract of them here. That of Anarāṇya will be found in note 23.

The rather pretty story of Vedavatī is related in the seventeenth section of that book, vv. 1 ff., as follows: Rāvana, in the course of his progress through the world, comes to the forest on the Himalaya, where he sees a damsel of brilliant beauty, but in ascetic garb, of whom he straightway becomes enamoured. He tells her that such an austere life is unsuited to her youth and attractions, and asks who she is, and why she is leading an ascetic existence. She answers that she is called Vedavatī, and is the Vocal daughter (vānāṇī kanyā) of Vṛhaspati's son, the rishi Kusādhvaja, sprung from him during his constant study of the Veda. The gods, grandharvas, etc., she says, sought to woo her, but her father would give her to no one else than

25 The stories connected with all these names are briefly referred to by the commentator.

26 The commentator remarks here: Rishi-padena tapo-yuktāḥ uchyante | "The word "rishi" denotes persons distinguished by austerity." It would thus refer to Vedavatī and others.
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to Vishnu, the lord of the world, whom he desired for his son-in-law (v. 12: Pitus tu mama jāmātā. Vishnuḥ kilā sureśvarah | abhipretas trilokeśas tasmān nāgavatā me pitā | dātum iḥḍhati tasmāi tu). This resolution provoked Sambhu, king of the Daityas, who slew her father, Kuśadhvaja, while sleeping, on which her mother (whose name is not given), after embracing his body, entered into the fire (15). Vedavati then proceeds (v.16): Tāto manorathān satyam pitur Nārāyaṇam prati | karomiti tam evāhaṁ brīdaya samudvacah | iti pratiṁnām āruhya charāṁ vipulaṁ tapah | . . . . 18. Nārāyaṇo mama patir na tv anyāḥ purushottamāt | āśraye niyamaṁ ghoraṁ Nārāyaṇa-parīpsaya | “In order that I may fulfill this desire of my father in respect of Nārāyaṇa, I wed him with my heart.”27 Having entered into this engagement, I practise great austerity. Nārāyaṇa, and no other than he, Purushottama, is my husband. From the desire of obtaining him, I resort to this severe observance.” Rāvaṇa’s passion is not in the least diminished by this explanation, and he urges that it is the old alone who should seek to become distinguished by accumulating merit through austerity; prāys that she who is so young and beautiful will become his bride; and boasts that he is superior to Vishnu (v. 24). She rejoins that no one but he would thus contend that deity. On receiving this reply, he touches the hair of her head with the tip of his finger (27). She is greatly incensed, and forthwith cuts off her hair, and tells him that as he has so insulted her, she cannot continue to live, but will enter into the fire before his eyes. She goes on (v. 31 ff.): Yasmat tu harṣhitā chāhaṁ tvaya pūpātmanā vane | tasmāt tava badhārthaṁ hi amuptasyaḥ aham | samutpatsyaṁ samutpatsye ity arthaḥ | Comm.) punah | nahi śakyah striyā hantum purushah pāpu-nīśchayah | śāpe tvayi mayotsriste tapasaś cha vyayo bhavet | yādi tv asti mayā kincit kritam dattam kutam tathā | tasmāt tv ayoni-jā sādhvē bhavayaṁ dharmaṁ sutā | evam uktaḥ pravishṭā sā āvalitaṁ jātavedasam | pāpata cha dīvo dīvyā rasāhpa-vrishṭih samantataḥ | saishā Janaka-rājya-prasūta tanyā prabhō | tava bhāryā mahābāho Vishnuḥ tvam hi sanātaṁ | pārvaṁ krodha-hataḥ śatrur yayaṁ sau niḥatas tvayā | upāśrayitvā saīlāhas tava vyayam amānusham | “Since I have been insulted by thee who art wicked-hearted, I shall be born

27 This language offers an exact parallel to that of devout female ascetics in other parts of the world.
again for thy destruction. For a man of evil designs cannot be slain by a woman; and the merit of my austerity would be lost if I were to launch a curse against thee. But if I have performed, or bestowed, or sacrificed, aught, may I be born the virtuous daughter, not produced from the womb, of a righteous man.® Having thus spoken, she entered the blazing fire. Then a shower of celestial flowers fell from every part of the sky. It is she, lord, who (having been Ṛedavatī in the Kṛita age, v. 38) has been born (in the Tretā age, v. 38) as the daughter of king Janaka, and [has become] thy bride; for thou art the eternal Vishnu. The mountain-like enemy who was [virtually] destroyed before by her wrath, has now been slain by her, after she had associated herself with thy superhuman energy." On this the commentator remarks: Anena Sitā eva Rāvana-badhe mukhyān kārayam Rāme tu hantritvam āropitam iti sūchitam | “By this it is signified that Sitā was the principal cause of Rāvana’s death; but the function of destroying him is ascribed to Rāma.” On the words “thou art Vishnu,” in the preceding verse, the same commentator remarks: Anena Sitāyāḥ Lakshmitvaṁ sphutām evoktam iti; tad uktam Parāśareṇa “Rādhavatve ’bhavat Sitā Rukmiṇi Krishṇa-janmani” iti | “By this it is clearly affirmed that Sitā was Lakṣmī. Parāśara says: ‘In the godly life as Rāma, she became Sitā, and in his birth as Krishṇa [she became] Rukmiṇī.’”

I have not noticed in the Uttara Kāṇḍa any separate legend about Umai, but the commentator connects this allusion to her in the preceding passage (vi. 60, 11) with the following story about Nandīśvara, which is thus told in the sixteenth section of the Uttara Kāṇḍa (v. 1 ff.): After his victory over Kuvera, Rāvana went to Saravaṇa, the birthplace of Kārttikeya. Ascending the mountain, he sees another delightful wood, where his car Pushpaka stops, and will proceed no further. He then beholds a formidable dark tawny-coloured dwarf, called Nandīśvara, a follower of Mahādeva, who desires him to halt, as that deity is sporting on the mountain, and has made it inaccessible to all creatures, the gods included (v. 10). Rāvana angrily

28 His words are: Tatra Umā-tāpah | Kailāśa-sikhara-chālana-vēlāyāṁ Rāvaṇasya strī-nimittam maranam ity evam-rūpam ity āhuḥ | “They say that at the time when he shook the summit of Kailāśa, a curse was pronounced on Rāvaṇa that he should die on account of a woman.”
demands who Sankara (Mahadeva) is, and laughs contemptuously at Nandisvara, who has the face of a monkey. Nandisvara, who was another body (aparā tasmāḥ) of Siva, being incensed at this contempt of his monkey form, declares that beings, possessing the same shape as himself, and of similar energy, monkeys, shall be produced to destroy Rāvaṇa’s race (v. 17: Tasmād mad-virya-saṃyuktāḥ mad-rūpa-sama-tejasah | utpāṭsyanti badhārthe vau hi kulasya tava vānarāḥ). Nandisvara adds that he could easily kill Rāvaṇa now, but that he has been already slain by his own deeds (v. 20). Rāvaṇa threatens (v. 23 ff.) that as his car has been stopped, he will pluck up the mountain by the roots, asking in virtue of what power Siva continually sports on that spot, and boasting that he must now be made to know his danger. Rāvaṇa then throws his arms under the mountain, which, being lifted by him, shakes, and makes the hosts of Rudra tremble, and even Pārvatī herself quake, and cling to her husband (v. 26: Chachāla Pārvatī chāpi tadā śliṣṭā Mahēśvaram). Siva, however, presses down the mountain with his great toe, and along with it crushes the arms of Rāvaṇa, who utters a loud cry, which shakes all creation. Rāvaṇa’s counsellors then exhort him to propitiate Mahadeva, the blue-throated lord of Umā, who on being lauded will become gracious. Rāvaṇa accordingly praises Mahadeva with hymns, and weeps for a thousand years. Mahadeva is then propitiated (v. 35), lets go Rāvaṇa’s arms, says his name shall be Rāvaṇa from the cry (rāva) he had uttered, and sends him away, with the gift of a sword bestowed on him at his request (v. 43).

The legend of Rambha is narrated in the twenty-sixth section of the Uttara Kāṇḍa. Rāvaṇa goes with his army to Kailāsa, to conquer the gods. He there sees the Rambhā, the most beautiful of all the Apsarases, and is smitten with her charms (v. 20). She says she is properly his daughter-in-law, being the wife of Nalakūvara (son of his brother Kuvera), with whom she has an assignation, and cannot therefore receive his addresses (v. 34). Ravaṇa says the Apsarases are mere courtezans, without any husbands, and ravishes her (v. 41). She goes and reports the outrage to Nalakūvara (46), who, after touching all his organs of sense (chakṣuḥ-ādindya-gaṇah sarvam | Comm.) with water, launches the following curse against Ravaṇa: v. 54. Akāmā tena yasmāt tvam balād bhūdāre pradharsita | 55. Tasmāt sa
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yuvatim anyām nākāmām upayāsyati | yadā hy akāmām kāmrto dharshayishyati yoshitam | mārdhā tu saptadhā tasya śakalibhavitā tadā |

"Since thou, kind lady, who hadst no passion for him, hast been forcibly insulted by him, he shall not approach any other damsels who does not reciprocate his passion. For when through passion he shall ravish any woman who has no passion for him, his head shall split into seven fragments." Hearing of this curse, Rāvana resolves to abstain from offering violence to women.

I have not noticed in the Uttara Kānda any story about the daughter of Varuṇa, but the commentator on the text (vi. 60, 11) explains the allusion to her thus: Varuna-kanyākā Punjikasthālā tan-nimittam brahma-śāpah stri-dharshane marana-rāpah | "The daughter of Varuṇa was Punjikasthālā. On her account, a curse of Brahmā, involving the penalty of death, [was pronounced] on the rape of women."

After expressing himself as above (p. 458), Rāvana desires his brother Kumbhakarṇa (a monster who, owing to the curse of Brahmā, slept for six months at a time, and remained awake for a single day) to be awakened. This is with immense difficulty effected. Kumbhakarṇa asks (book vi., sect. 60, Bombay ed., vv. 67 ff.) why they have awakened him, and is told that they stand in dread, not of the gods, but of a man, Rāma (v. 72: Mānuśān no bhayaṁ rājan tumulāṁ samprabādhate | ityādi); when he assures them that he will destroy their foes, and himself drink the blood of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. After drinking two thousand jālas of liquor, he goes to see and consult with his brother Rāvana; who, in answer to his inquiry, describes to him (sect. 62) the present position of aff'irs, and the necessity there is to obtain his assistance. Kumbhakarṇa, in reply, delivers (sect. 63, Bombay ed., vv. 2-21) a moral discourse on the wickedness of Rāvana's conduct, such as we should scarcely have expected from the speaker's antecedents; and is told by Rāvana in answer (vv. 23-27) that this is not the time for such laboured lectures, but for action, to which he calls upon him to proceed, if he has any regard for him, or pretensions to valour. Kumbhakarṇa then promises (vv. 30 ff. of the same section) to destroy the enemies of his brother. But before this last speech of Kumbhakarṇa, which is given in the forty-second section of Gorresio's recension, that text introduces another speech of

29 See sect 61, vv. 19 ff.
the same personage, which occupies vv. 30–53 of the fortieth section, and a further speech of Rāvana which fills the forty-first section; both of which are wanting in the Bombay edition, and even in one of the MSS. consulted by Signor Gorresio, as we learn from his Preface, vol. v., p. xlvi.; and might, as he thinks, be omitted without detriment, or perhaps with advantage, to the connexion of the ideas, and the march of the poem. Some mention must, however, be made of this speech, as in it Kumbhakarṇa gives the same account of the divine origin of Rāma, as we have already met with in the earlier part of the poem (see p. 168 ff., above). He says that one day he had seen the divine sage Nārada, who had told him that he had just returned from an assembly of the gods who had met to take counsel for the destruction of the Rākshasas, on which occasion Brahmā had spoken as follows (sect. vi. 40, 44 ff., ed. Gorrr.):- 

Evan ukte tu vacane
Brahmā devān uvācha ha | abadhyatvam mayā dattam deva-daiyaiścha
rākṣasaiḥ | mānushebhīyo bhayaṁ tasya vānarebhyaścha devataḥ | surā-sura-samehe 'pi badhas tasya na vidyate | tasmād eṣa Harir devaḥ padma-nābhas trivikramāḥ | putro Daśarathasyāśtu chaturbhuḥ sanātanaḥ |
bhavanto vasudhām gatvā Vīṣṇu asya mahātmanah | vānaraṁ tānūṁ kṛitvā saḥayaśvam karisyathā | "When [the priest of the gods Vṛhas-pati] had thus spoken, Brahmā said to the gods: 'I have conferred [on Rāvana] indestructibility by gods, Daityas and Rākshasas: he has, O gods, to fear men and monkeys. Nor can he be killed by all the Suras (gods) or Asuras. Wherefore let this god (devaḥ) Hari (Vīṣṇu), from whose navel sprang a lotus, who is thrice-striding, four-armed, and eternal, become the son of Daśaratha. You, gods, repairing to the earth, and assuming the form of monkeys, shall assist the mighty Vīṣṇu.'" Kumbhakarṇa says that Vīṣṇu has taken the human form of Rāma, and come to slay them. He therefore advises that Sītā should be restored, and peace made with Rāma, before whom the three worlds bow down.

In reply to this exhortation, Rāvana utters the following defiance of Vīṣṇu (sect. 41, 2 ff., ed. Gorrr.):- Ko 'saup Vīṣṇur iti khyāto yasya tvam tēta bibhyase | devate na namasye tam santaḥ nyāṁ devata-gaṇān | manushya-teṣaṁ gate tasmā kīṁ bhayaṁ tvāṁ upasthitam | nityam samara-bhītās tu mānushaṁ sumahābala | khaḍayitvā tu tāṁ pārvaṁ katham paśchād namāmy aham | praṇayya mānusahāṁ Rāmaṁ Sītāṁ datvā tu tasya vai |
hāṣya-bhūtas tu lokānām anyāṣyāmī prīṣhṭaḥ
dhāmāṉi dīṇa-rūpo 'tha dūsa-vaṭ
tiṟṇīṁ cha paśyamāno 'syā kathāṁ sākh-
yāṁ jīvitūṁ

|hṛtvā tasya purā bhāyāṁ māyāṁ kṛtva sudūraṁ
| praṇamod Rāvaṇo Rāmam eṣa te buddhi-nīrṇayaḥ
| yadi Rāmaḥ svayaṁ Vishnur Lakṣmhana 'pi Saṭākraṭuḥ
tiṣṭivas Tryambakaḥ sākṣhīṁ svayaṁ Brahma tu Jāmbavān
| aho śastrāṇy adhitīṁ-yāsyā te buddhir īdriśi
| atitāśramiṇāṁ Rāmaṁ yo namaskartum iḥchāṣi
devatvāṁ yah paritvajya mānushīṁ yonim āśrītaḥ
| asmāṁ hantuṁ khilāyataḥ sa sandheyaḥ katham
| mayā | yadi va Rāghava Vishnur vyaktaṁ te śrotram ṛgataḥ
devatāṁṁ hīlāṛthaṁ tu praviśṭaḥ mānushīṁ tuṁum
| sa vānaraṁāṁ rājānāṁ Sugrī-
van śaranaṁ gataḥ
| aho 'syā sādriśaṁ sakhyāṁ tīryagyonya-gataiḥ saha
| vīrya-hinas tu kīṁ Vishnur yāḥ śrītaḥ rikṣa-
vānānān | athavā vīrya-
|hīna 'sa-yena pūrṇam māhāśwaraḥ | vāmanāṁ rūpam āstāyā yācita
| tripadaṁ padam | Balis tu dīkṣīto yajne tena tvam sakhyam iḥchāṣi
| yena
dattā mahī sarvā sa-sāgara-cānāṁvā
| upachāra-kṛtā pūrvin 'sa baddho yajna-dīkṣītaḥ
| upakāri hitas tena so 'smēṁ rakshati vairāṇāḥ
| yadā me
| nirjītaṁ devāṁ svargaṁ gatav tvayā saha
| taddā kim nāsti Vishnutevāṁ tasya
devasya Rākṣasā | sāmpratāṁ kutoḥ āyutāḥ sa Vishnur yasya bhūhya-se
| sūrīra-rakṣānāṁrthāya brāsne tvam ēkārya iḍisam
| nāyaṁ kīvaiyutīṁ
| kālaṁ kālo yoddhūṁ niśāchāra | svāmyam Pitāmahāṁ prūptaṁ traṅkoyam
| vaśā-gaṁ kriṇam | Rāghavam prānaṁ kasmād hīna-vīrya-parakramam
| tad gachha sāyāṇīyaṁ tvam pīva tvam vigata-jvāraḥ
| sāyāmanāṁ na
| hōṇyāt tvāṁ Rāghava Lakṣmhanaṁ
tathā | ahaṁ Rāmaṁ badhishyāṁ
| Sugrīvane sa-Lakṣmhanām | vānaraṁśa hanishyāṁ tato devāṁ mahā-
|rana | Vishnuṇcchāva badhishyāmī ye cha Vishnuṁ-anuśayināṁ
| gachha
gachhasva tāt kṣhetraṁ chiraṁ jiva sukhi bāvva | bhrūtaraṁ tv ecam uktē
| 'sa Rāvaṇaṁ Kāla-choditaḥ | sāvalcpanā sa-garjanāṁ punar vachanam
| abratvā | jānāṁ Ṣitām dharaṇi-prasūtaṁ jānāṁ Rāmaṁ Madhūṣū-
danānaḥ | etad hi jāne tv aham asya badhyas teraṁkṛitā me Janākātma-
| jaśika | na kāmāchchāiva na krodhaṁ dharāṁ Janākātvajām | nihaṭa
| gantum ichhāṁ tad Vīshṇoḥ parāsyam padam

30 A verse resembling this in most of its clauses had previously occurred in a similarly defiant speech of Rāvaṇa's in sect. 34, 7, of Gorresio's recension: Jānāṁ Ṣitām Janaka-prasūtaṁ jānāṁ Rāmaṁ Madhūṣūdanāṇaṁ chā | Etad hi jāṇāṁ eham asya badhyas tathāpī sandhiṁ na karomy anna | “I know Sītā to be Janaka's daughter, and Rāma to be Madhūṣūdana; and I know this that I shall be slain by him; and yet I cannot make peace with him.” Gorresio regards both passages as of doubtful authenticity. In explanation of the epithet dharaṇi-prasūta applied to Sītā, I may quote these lines from the Rāmāyana (Bombay ed.) i. 66, 13 ff., where
"Who is that being called Vishnu, whom thou fearest? In his divinity I reverence neither him, nor any of the other hosts of gods: what fear is this, then, which has seized you, now that he has become a man? Men are always afraid of battle. When I have formerly eaten them, how can I afterwards bow down before them? Paying reverence to the mortal Rama, and restoring Sita, how could I,—an object of derision to the universe,—follow behind Raghava in humility like a slave? and beholding his prosperity, how could I live? This is thy opinion, that after carrying off Rama's wife, and manifesting terrible haughtiness, Ravana should bow down before him! Even if Rama were Vishnu himself, and Lakshmana were Indra, if Sugriva were Tryambaka (Siva), and if Jambavan were Brahma—O thou hast [well] studied the Sutas, thou who so thinkest, and who desirest to make obeisance to Rama who stands without the four orders of society; who, abandoning his divine nature, has entered into a mortal womb! How can I make peace with him who has come to kill us? Or if it has distinctly reached thy ears that Rama is Vishnu, and has entered into a mortal body for the welfare of the gods, [still] he has resorted [for help] to Sugriva the king of the monkeys. How suitable is his friendship with brutes! Is then Vishnu destitute of valour that he has sought [the aid of] bears and monkeys? Or, he is [certainly] devoid of valour who formerly assuming the form of a dwarf, demanded of the great Asura Bali three paces of ground, while he was consecrated for the sacrifice: with such a person thou desirest friend-
ship! He (Bali) who formerly presented to him the whole earth with its oceans, forests, and seas, was bound by him when consecrated for sacrifice! A benefactor was destroyed by him; and he is to deliver us who are his enemies! When I went to heaven with thee and conquered the gods, had not this god then his character of Vishnu? Whence has this Vishnu now come, whom thou fearest? Thou speakest in this strain to save thy body [from injury in battle]. This is not the time for timidity, Rākshasa, but for fighting. I have obtained dominion from Brahmā; the three worlds are subject to me; why should I bow down before Rāma who is destitute of energy and valour? Go, therefore, to thy couch; drink, free from disquiet. Neither Rāma nor Lakshmana will kill thee when thou art sleeping. I shall slay Rāma, and Sugrīva, and Lakshmana, and the monkeys, and then the gods also in a great battle. I shall kill Vishnu too, and all Vishnu’s followers. Go, go then to thy abode, live long, live at ease.’ Having thus, impelled by fate, spoken to his brother with arrogance and in a loud tone, Rāvana said again: ‘I know Sītā to be sprung from the earth; I know Rāma to be Madhusūdana. And this I know, that I am to be slain by him; and therefore have I carried off this daughter of Janaka. It is not from passion or from anger that I retain her: I desire, being slain, to go to that highest abode of Vishnu.’” Compare the quotation from the Vishnu Purāṇa, given above, regarding Śiśupāla, pp. 215 ff., note 212.

The change of tone in this last short speech is remarkable. The defier of Vishnu all at once acknowledges his deity and becomes his humble worshipper. This looks like a still later addition to the preceding part of the section, inserted by some editor who considered the earlier portion to be too blasphemous to be allowed to stand without some qualification, or recantation.

Again, after Rāvana’s death, Mandodarī, the highest in rank of his queens, in the lament which she utters for her husband’s loss, speaks as follows (sect. 113, 5 ff., Bombay ed.): Sa tvam mānusha-वृक्षेना Rāmeṇa yudhi nirjitah| na vyapratrapase rājan kim idāṁ rākshaseśvarā| 6. Katham trailokyam ákramya śriyā viryena chānvitam | aishahyam jaghāna tvāṁ mānusho vana-gocharāḥ | 7. Mānushānām aishhaye charataḥ kāma-rūpīṇāḥ | vināśas tava Rāmeṇa saṁyuge noppadyate | 8. Na chaitat

31 Such is the sense—apparently not a very suitable one—of the words.
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"5. Ārt not thou ashamed, O king, to have been conquered by Rāma, a mere man? What is this, lord of the Rākṣasas? 6. How did a man frequenting the forests slay thee who hadst assailed the three worlds, who wast distinguished by good fortune and heroism, and unconquerable? 7. That thou who movest at will, invisible to men, shouldst have been destroyed by Rāma, is inconceivable. 8. I do not credit this act of Rāma in the front of the battle, the overthrow by him of thee who wast endowed in every way. 9. Either Death (Kṛitiṅta) came in the form of Rāma, applying an unimagined magic for thy destruction, (10) or thou hast been overwhelmed by Vāsava (Indra).

11. But what power had Vāsava in battle even to look at thee, who wast the mighty in force and heroism, the glorious enemy of the gods? 12. This was manifestly the great contemplator (Mahāyogin), the supreme spirit, the eternal, without beginning, middle, or end, the great Being superior to the great (or to Mahat, i.e. Prakṛiti or matter), (13) superior to darkness, the sustainer, the wielder of the shell, the discus, and the club, (14) who bears the śrīvatsa on his breast, who

32 Svābhavikā-sarva-śakti-yuktāḥ | Comm.
33 This knowledge of the truth, says the commentator, was derived by Mandodari from the divine favour (satyaṃ evam Mandodari jānīte Bhagavat-kripāyā).
34 The commentator does not say in what sense the word mahat should be taken.
35 The commentator says that tamasah paraṁah means prakṛiteḥ pravartakah, "he who causes the activity of Prakṛiti (or matter)." Instead of tamasah, he adds, some read tapasah.
enjoys perpetual prosperity, the invincible, everlasting, unchanging, Vishṇu, of genuine prowess, who had assumed a human form, (15) and was attended by all the gods in the shape of monkeys, the glorious lord of all the worlds, who desired the good of all the worlds. [He slew thee], the terrific enemy of the gods, with thy attendant Rākshasas. 16. Formerly, by subduing thy senses, thou didst subdue the three worlds; but thou wast [afterwards, i.e. when thou didst carry off Sitā, etc.] overcome by thy senses, which, as it were, remembered [and revenged] that [former] hostility [of thine towards them]. 17. For since thy brother Khara, attended by many Rākshasas, was slain [by Rāma] in Janasthāna, Rāma is not a mere mortal. 7

If this quotation from the Bombay edition be compared with the corresponding passage of Gorresio’s text (sect. 95), it will be found that, on this occasion, the former is more diffuse than the latter. Verses 5–8 are nearly the same in both recensions; but instead of two verses (the ninth and tenth) affirming the divine character of Rāma, which we find in Gorresio’s edition, there are in the Bombay recension seven verses, in most of which, at least, the same idea is enforced. The ninth and tenth verses of Gorresio’s edition are as follows: 9. Athavā Rāma-rūpeṇa Vishnuṣ cha svayam āgataḥ | tava nāsāya māyābhīḥ pra-vīṣyāṇupalakshitah | 10. Yadaiva hi Janasthāne rākshasair bahubhir vītaḥ | Kharas tava hato bhūtā tadaivūsau na mānuṣhāḥ | “Or Vishṇu himself came in the form of Rāma, having entered into him unperceived, through supernatural powers, for thy destruction. 10. For since thy brother Khara, attended by many Rākshasas, was slain by [Rāma] in Janasthāna, Rāma is not a mere mortal.” It will be observed that here a verse (the tenth), which corresponds to the seventeenth of the Bombay edition, immediately succeeds the ninth, and that consequently there is in Gorresio’s text no such development of the idea contained in the ninth verse as we find in vv. 10–15 of the other edition. Now if we are to suppose that the original text of the Rāma-yāṇa made no allusion to Rāma being an incarnation of Vishṇu, it might at first sight seem as if the ninth and tenth verses of the Bombay text,

36 It is necessary (with the commentator, who says hatavōn iti seshah) to supply the words in brackets, or some others of a similar tenor, in order to make sense.

37 This clause the commentator explains thus: “Puru” Bhagavat-uḍdeṣena tapo-nuṣṭhāna-kāle “tad vairāṁ” svā-jaya-nimittaiṁ vairāṁ smaradbhir indriyair akarma-pravṛtti-sampādanena nirjītaḥ
which represent Death (Kritánta), or Indra, as taking the form of Ráma, were more genuine than the corresponding verse of Gorresio’s edition, which declares that Vishńu assumed the form of that hero. In this case, verses 12 ff. of the Bombay edition, which represent Ráma as an incarnate deity, would be a subsequent interpolation. But the twelfth and following verses appear, on examination, to hang well enough together with those which precede; and if the entire passage thus forms one connected whole, we can only (on the hypothesis that Ráma’s divine nature was foreign to the original poem) suppose that the interpolation, or alteration, has extended over a wider surface. It is worthy of remark that the hundred and thirteenth section of the Bombay edition is in other parts also more developed than Gorresio’s. Thus after verse 40 of the Bombay edition, corresponding to verse 28 of Gorresio’s, eighteen verses are inserted which are not in the latter, and after verse 59 of the Bombay edition—verse 29 of Gorresio’s, twelve verses are found which are wanting in the latter. From this it would appear that both recensions have, in different places, received developments after they began to be separately handed down, unless, indeed, we are to assume that that followed by Gorresio omitted passages which had previously existed in the common source of both.

In the passage which I shall next quote, the legend makes no mention of the incarnation of Vishńu, but specifies the birth of Sita as the means whereby Rávana is to be destroyed. After the Rákshasas had been defeated by Ráma and driven back into Lanká, their females loudly bewailed the calamities by which their race had been overtaken. In the course of this lament they say (sect. 95, vv. 25 ff., Bombay ed.—sect. 74, vv. 27 ff., Gorresio): Rudro và yadi và Vishńur Mahendro và Satakratuḥ | hant’ no Ráma-rūpeṇa yadi và svayam Antakaḥ | 26. Hata-pravirāḥ Rámena nīrāsāḥ jīvite vayam | apasyanto38 bhayasyāntam anāthāḥ vilapāmahe | 27. Ráma-hastād Daśagrīvaḥ śūro datta-mahāvaraḥ | idam bhayam mahājihoraṁ samutpannam na būhyate | 28. Tāṁ na devāḥ na gandharvāḥ na piśāchāḥ na rākshasāḥ | upasrīṣṭam39 pariṇātuṁ śaktāḥ Rāmena saṁyuge | 29. Upātāśchāpi drīṣyante Rāvanasya rāge rāge | kathayaniti hi Rámaḥa Rāvanasya nibhānām |

38 Apasyanto ’pasyantah | Comm.
39 Upasrīṣṭam haṭṭum ārabham | Comm.
30. Pitāmahena pritena deva-dānava-rākṣasaiḥ | Rāvaṇasyābhayaṁ
dattam manushebhya na yāchitam | 31. Tat idam mānusham manye
prāptaṁ niḥsaṁśayam bhayam | jābitanta-kaṇaṁ ghoraiṁ rākṣasaiṁ
Rāvaṇasya cha | 32. Pidyāmanas tu’ balīna varā-dānena rākṣasai |
diptais tapobhīr vibudhāh Pitāmahāḥ appajāyaṁ | 33. Devatānāṁ
hitārthāya mahātmā vai Pitāmahāḥ | uvācha devatas tushṭah idāṁ
sarvāḥ mahad vachaḥ | 34. Adya-prabhṛti lokāṁś trāḥ sarve dānava-
rākṣasāḥ | bhayena prabhṛitiḥ nityaṁ vicharishyanti śāśvatam 40 | 35. Daivatais tu samāgamyar sarvāiḥ chēndra-purūgamaiḥ | vṛisha-dhvaajas
Tripura-hā Mahādevaiḥ pratoshtaiḥ | 36. Prasannas tu Mahādevo devān
etad vacho 'bravīt | utpatsyati hitārthāṁ vo nārī rākṣah-ksaya-vaḥāḥ | 37. Eṣā devaiḥ prayuktā tu kshud yathā 41 dānavaṁ purā | bhakṣha-
yishyati naḥ sarvān rākṣasas-ghanā sa-rāvaṇān | 38. Rāvaṇasyāpāνitena 42
durvinātasya durmāteḥ | ayaṁ nishtānako 43 ghoraṁ sokena samabhiplutāḥ |
39. 'Ten na paśyāmahe loke yo naḥ saraṇa-do bhavet | Rāghavacupasrīk-
ṭānāṁ kaleneva yugakshaye | 25. “Either Rudra, or Vishnu, or the
great Indra Satākruṭa, or Death himself, slays us in the form of Rāma.
26. Having had our heroes destroyed by Rāma, we despair of life.
Seeing no end of our apprehension, we lament, deprived of our prot-
tectors. 27. The heroic Daśagrīva (Rāvaṇa), who had received a great
boon [from Brahmā] does not perceive this great cause of alarm which
[comes] from the hand of Rāma. 28. Neither Gods, nor Gandharvas,
of Piśāchas, nor Rākṣasas, are able to deliver him when assailed by
Rāma in fight. 29. Portents, too, regarding Rāvaṇa are seen in every
battle, which foretell his destruction by Rāma. 30. Pitāmahā, gratified,
granted to Rāvaṇa security against Gods, Dānavas and Rākṣasas, but
he did not ask [to be secured] against men. 31. This dreadful danger
from men has now, I think, without doubt arrived, which shall

40. These words are thus explained by the commentator: Dānavaṁ rākṣasāṁ cha
bhayena prabhṛitiḥ deśebhyo bhayaṁ bhidhūrāṇāṁ eva vicharishyanti | devāṁ svatāṁ
parato va 'smān pridāyishyanti iti arthāḥ | “The Dānavas and Rākṣasas shall roam
about entertaining fear of the gods: viz. that the gods themselves, or through-others,
would distress them.” This verse is thus given in Gorresio’s ed. on (74, 36 f.):
Adya-prabhṛiti lokeshu ye bhūtāḥ bhaya-varjitāḥ | bhāyāritāṁ te punar iba vicharish-
yanti rākṣasāh.
41. “Purā” purva-kaḷe pava-dānava-nāsāṛthaṁ prayuktā kshud yathā dānavaṁ
harati sma | Comm. “As formerly,’ in a former Kalpa, Hunger, being appointed by
the gods for the destruction of the Dānavas, carried them off.”
42 Apanitena anayena | Comm. 43 Nishtānako nāśaḥ | Comm.
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terminate the life of Rāvana and the Rākshasas. 32. Now the gods, when oppressed by the Rākshasa (Rāvana), who was mighty through the boon which [Brahmā] had conferred on him, worshipped Pitāmaha (Brahmā) with ardent austerities. 33. The great Pitāmaha, pleased, addressed this great word to all the deities for their benefit: 34. ‘From this day forward all the Dānavas and Rākshasas shall roam continually through the three worlds, influenced by fear.’ 35. But all the gods, with Indra at their head, assembled and propitiated Mahādeva, whose banner is a bull, and who destroyed Tripura (or, the three castles). 36. He, being pleased, thus spake to them: ‘For your benefit there shall arise a female who shall bring destruction to the Rākshasas.’ 37. This female slayer of Rākshasas, being commissioned by the gods, shall [now] devour all of us, including Rāvana; as Hunger formerly [devoured] the Dānavas. 38. Through the folly of the misguided and wicked Rāvana this dreadful destruction, accompanied by affliction, has come upon us. 39. We see no one in the world who shall afford protection to us assailed by Rāma, as it were by Time at the end of the ages.”

Compare with the preceding passage the story of Devavatī, extracted above (p. 458 ff.) from the Uttara Kāṇḍa. Both of these forms of the legend appear to regard Sītā, and not Vishṇu, as the real destroyer of Rāvana.

In an earlier part of the poem it is related that after Rāma had slain the Rākshasa Khara, he was congratulated by the gods in a way which, strictly speaking, is scarcely consistent with the idea that the poet regarded him as an incarnation of Vishṇu:


44 The commentator remarks here: Evam Brahmanāḥ prāśādāt sādhayatva-mātram pṛōpan | saṁhārādhikrita-Rudra-prāśādena tu nāśaḥ evāsuva karantā ity āhuḥ | “Thus by the favour of Brahman, the gods only obtained that the [Dānavas, etc.] should be terrified: but through the favour [granted to them] by Rudra, whose function is destruction, we shall be destroyed.”

45 Said to be Sītā, according to the commentator (sā eṣā Sītā eva ity āhuḥ). Gorresio’s text has Saśā daiva-prāśīstā tu kshudhitā Janakātmaṇā, etc.
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30. Khara-Dushana-0, the 'ardhadhikam-muhurtana Ramepa-nishita saraih | 31. Chaturdasa sahasra rakshasam kama-rupanam | Khara-Dushanamukhyananihatani mahamridhe | 32. Aho bata nahaat kurna Ramesya viditdtmanah | aho vryam aho-dardhya Vishno iva hi driyate | 33. Ity evam uktvah te sarve yayur devah yathagatam | 27. "Burnt up by the fire of the arrow, Khara fell like Antaka, who was formerly consumed by Rudra in the Svetas (white) forest. 28. He fell like Vritra snitten by the thunderbolt, like Namuchi by the foam, or like Bala by the lightning of Indra. 29. At this moment the gods, joined with the Charañas, beating kettle-drums, delighted, (30) rained on Rama a shower of flowers all round, and [said] in astonishment: In a muhūrta and a half (two hours) (31) fourteen thousand Rakshasas, changing their shapes at will, headed by Khara and Dushana, have been slain by Rama with sharp arrows in a great fight. 32. O what a mighty exploit of Rama, who knows himself! O, his valour and his firmness are seen to be like those of Vishnu!' 33. Having thus spoken, all those gods went as they came."

If the writer of these verses regarded Rama as an incarnation of Vishnu, it would seem to have been superfluous to compare him with that deity. In the corresponding section of Gorresio's edition (the thirty-fifth) the several classes of rishis are introduced as [among

46 On this legend the commentator informs us as follows: Andhakásurah Svetaranye Rudraṇā hataḥ iti purāṇa-prasiddham | . . . "Svetaranye yathā 'ntakah" iti pracharṇah pāthāḥ | tatra Kāverī-tīra-vartini Svetaranye Mārkandeyaprahyperu-vāya Antaka-sanīhāro Rudrenā kṛitaḥ iti tan-māḥūmye prasiddhiḥ | Kaurme tu uttarakhaṇde Svetasya rājarśheḥ paramāsaivaśasya Kālanjare parvate tapasy abhiratasya mauryāya aṇatasya Antakasya S'ivena vama-pāda-prahārenā sanīhāro kṛitaḥ iti saśātīnī 'dhyāye uktam | "The asura Andhaka was slain by Rudra in the Svetas forest, as is well known from the Purāṇas. . . . The reading, 'as Antaka in the Svetas forest,' is frequently met with. Regarding him it is told in the Glorification of Mārkandeya that, to prolong the life of that saçe, Antaka (the Ender, Death) was destroyed by Rudra. But in the latter part of the Kūrmā-purāṇa, sect. 36, it is related that Antaka, who had come to kill the royal rishi Svetas, an eminent votary of S'iva, who was addicting himself to austerities on the Kālanjara mountain, was destroyed by a blow of S'iva's left foot." Compare A.V. xi. 2, 7, quoted above, p. 336, where Rudra is called "the slayer of Ardhaka."

47 See above, p. 261, and note 259.

48 Vidyatmanah. This epithet is not explained by the commentator.
other things] applauding Rāma for displaying the qualities of a Kshatriya (dharmaṁ vardhase dishtyā kshatra-dharmena Rāghava, v. 99), and as saying to him, (vv. 105 ff.) that all the gods, Gandharvas, etc., were saluting him with congratulations on his victory (jaya-sīrbiḥ), and that Brahmā and Mahādeva were paying him honour. Rāma is then said to have "made obeisance to the gods whom he saw not far off standing on their celestial cars" (namaś chakre vimanasthānān dishtvā 'dore divaukasah).

The following is another passage of the sixth or Yuddha Kanda occurring in the Bombay edition, but not in Gorresio's, in which Rāma, when about to engage in battle with Rāvana, is recommended by Agastya to utter a hymn to the Sun, which will insure his victory over his enemy. Not a word is said of Rāma's own divinity; and in fact the use of such a prayer does not seem to harmonize with such a character:


49 Aksharādhikyaṁ ārśham | Comm.
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suchir bhūtvā dhanur ādāya viryavān | 30. Rāṇam prekṣhya hrishṭātmā jayārthāṃ samupāgamat | sarva-yathena mahatā vritas tasya badhe 'bhavat | 31. Ātha ravir avadad nirikṣhya Rāṇam mūdita-mañāḥ paramam prahṛishyamāyāḥ | niśicharapati-sankshayāḥ vidītvā sura-gana-madhya-gato vachas tvaretī |

"The divine Agastya then beholding [Rāma] fatigued with the conflict, standing anxious⁵⁰ in the battle, and in his front Rāvana, who had drawn near to the combat, [Agastya, I say], (2) who had arrived to see the conflict, joining 'the gods, and coming near to Rāma, said: 3. 'Rāma, Rāma, great-armed, hear the eternal mysterious [prayer], by which, my son,⁵¹ continually muttering it,—(4) the holy Āditya-hṛidaya (‘heart of the sun’), which destroys all enemies, brings victory, is undecaying, supreme, beneficent, (5) the auspiciousness of all auspicious things, the destroyer of all sins, the allayer of anxieties and sorrows, the prolonger of life, the most excellent—thou shalt conquer all thine enemies in battle. 6. Worship the rising Vivasvat,⁵² the radiant sun, adored by gods and Asuras, the lord of the world. 7. For he possesses the essence of all the gods, is fiery, the producer of rays. He by his beams sustains the gods, the Asuras, and the worlds. 8. He is both Brahmā and Vishṇu, Śiva and Skanda, Prajāpati, Ḫindra, Kuvera, Kāla (Time), Yama, Soma, and the lord of waters (Varuṇa), (9) the Pitṛis, Vasus, Śādhyas, Āśvins, Manu, Vāyu, Agni, created beings, breath, the former of the seasons, the producer of light, (10) Āditya, Savitṛī, Sūrya, moving in the sky, Pūshan, the radiant,

⁵⁰ The commentator will not allow this apprehension to be real: Evam bhaya-nātanāṁ tan-mūlakam Agastyād upadeśa-grahāṇaṁ lokanugrahaṁ lokasya jaya-sādhana-vastu-prakāśanārtham iti tatvam | "The truth is that this acting (or simulation) of fear, and the acceptance of instruction from Agastya founded thereon, originated in kindness to mankind, and in a desire to reveal to them the means of gaining victory."

⁵¹ See above, p. 389, how much Brahmā was offended by having this appellation, vaisa, "my son," applied to him by Vishṇu. If, then, the poet here intended to represent Rāma as possessing a divine nature, he must have conceived of Vishṇu as less susceptible than Brahmā, when he makes Agastya address him thus.

⁵² Compare the hymn to Sūrya in the Mahābh. iii. 166 ff., of which some specimens are given in the fifth volume of this work, p. 161. It is there said, v. 190: Tvam Indram ahus tvaṁ Vishṇus tvaṁ Rudras tvaṁ Prajāpatih | tvaṁ Agnis tvaṁ maṇah sūkhmanā prabhus tvaṁ Brahma sūvatam! "They call thee Indra; thou art Vishṇu, Rudra, Prajāpati: thou art Agni, the subtle Mind, thou art the lord, the Eternal Brahma."
of golden hue, the shining, who has golden seed, the maker of the day.” Then follow (vv. 11–15) many other titles of the Sun, succeeded (vv. 15–21) by invocations addressed to him under various appellations, among which is (v. 19) \textit{Brahmēśanāichyuteśāya},\textsuperscript{53} “to the lord of Brahmā, Ḥīṣāna (Siva), and Achyuta (Vishnu).” After some further eulogies of the Sun, Rāma is again exhorted to worship this deity (vv. 26 ff.): “Worship with fixed mind this god of gods, the lord of the world. Having thrice muttered this [hymn], a man shall conquer in battles. 27. In this moment, O great-armed, thou shalt slay Rāvanā.” Having thus spoken, Agastya went as he had come. 28. After hearing this, the vigorous Rāma became then freed from grief; and, with well-governed spirit, bore it in his memory. 29. Beholding the Sun, and muttering this hymn, he attained the highest joy. Having thrice rinsed his mouth, and become pure, the hero took his bow. 30. Beholding Rāvanā with gladdened spirit, he approached to vanquish him; and with great intentness became bent upon his slaughter. 31. Then the Sun, with rejoicing mind, exceedingly exulting, looking upon Rāma, knowing the [approaching] destruction of the chief of the Rākshasas, and standing in the midst of the gods, uttered the word ‘speed.’”

This extract, as I have said above, is entirely wanting in Gorresio’s edition, in which a verse (the last of its eighty-ninth section) corresponding with the last in the hundred and fifth section of the Bombay edition, is succeeded immediately by \textit{one} (Gorr. 90, 1) corresponding to the second half of the fourth verse of the hundred and seventh section of the Bombay edition. The whole of the matter which is wanting in Gorresio may be omitted without detriment to the connexion; and in fact the recurrence at the beginning of the hundred and seventh section (Bombay ed.) of an expression repeating in substance what had been said at the close of the hundred and fifth might

\textsuperscript{53} \textit{Brahmēśanāichyuteśāya} srishti-sāmihāra-sthiti-kartṛīnam īdāya svāmine “srishtisthity-anta-kāk īm Brahma-Vishnu-S’ivānām sa saṃjñām yāti bhagavān ekaḥ eva Janārdanāḥ” \textit{iti smṛiteḥ} | “To the lord of Brahmā, Ḥīṣāna, and Achyuta, who are the authors of the creation, destruction, and continuance (of the world); according to the Smṛiti text: ‘The divine Janārdana alone receives the conjoint title of Brahmā, Vishnu, and S’iva, representing the causes of the creation, continuance and end (of the universe).’” Such is the manner in which the commentator chooses to explain away his text.
lead to the conclusion that the whole of the hundred and sixth section was interpolated. On the other hand, it seems strange that a passage which appears to militate against Rāma’s divine character should be a later addition. The only conceivable motive for such an interpolation would be to glorify the Sun by the insertion of this hymn in celebration of his praise, an object which does not bear upon the main design of the Rāmāyana.

The following is, on the other hand, a passage which may be understood as ascribing a superhuman nature to Rāma. After Vibhishana had deserted his brother Rāvana, and come over to Rāma’s side, a consultation took place among the friends of the latter, whether the deserter was deserving of confidence or not. Some regarded him with suspicion, but Rāma himself was in favour of receiving him with open arms. In the course of the conversation he asks (Yuddha Kāṇḍa 18, 22 f., Bombay ed.): Sa dushta vāpy adushṭo vākim esha rajanicharaḥ | sūkṣham apy ahitaiḥ kartum mama saktah kathanchanaḥ | piśāchān dānavān yakṣān prithivyāṁ chaiva rākṣaśān | angulya-agrenā tān hanyāṁ ichhān hari-ganesvara | “Whether the Rākṣasā is good or bad, what, even the smallest, injury can he do to me in any way? If I wish, I can destroy Piśāchas, Dānavas, Yakṣhas, and Rākṣasas on the earth, with the tip of my finger.”

54 On this the commentator remarks: Anena sankalpa-siddhir aśivarama chihnam uktaṁ | yady evam asmadādi-sangraho vyarthas tatra-āha “ichham” | iti | svasya nirātisāya-mahimānāṁ tattvikam Brahma-bhāvam prakāśikartum ichhan yadi syāṁ tādā tathaiva kuryāṁ | sampratī tu deva-bhāvopeta-nīja-vilāsair aśeṣair “adbhayāvat vam asya māyāra dattam” | iti tat-paripālaṇāya sva-dviya-bhāvam sva-laktā eva antardhiya mānusha-maryūdayoṁ sthitā tad-bhūpa-prakāṣaṇāya eva Sitā-viṣṇug-pyuktā-rodana-vad bhāvādṛśa-sahāya-melanam | vastuto na svātikta-sahāya-yāntarāpkekṣhā mama | mānushyānāṁ saṁśastra-maryūda-jñāpanāṁ tad-evavahāra-phaṁ iti bhāvaḥ | “By this [phrase ‘with the tip of my finger’] the accomplishment of an intention is declared to be the mark of the Deity. If thus the efforts of persons such as we [men] are, be vain,—in regard to this the author says, ‘If I wish.’ If I be desirous to manifest my own surpassing greatness, my real character is Brahmā, then I can do this. But now, with the view of maintaining my fiat, [declared in the words] ‘I have conferred [on Rāvana] indestructibility,’ which issued agreeably to all the sportive manifestations of my divine nature, suppressing that celestial nature through my own power by remaining within the limits of humanity, with the view of displaying that character, I have associated with myself such allies as you, (Sugrīva), just as I went for my separation from Sitā. In reality I have no need for any other ally but myself. To show to men the limitations of worldly existence is the fruit of my so acting. Such is the purport.” The meaning of this passage is clear, though I may not have succeeded in accurately rendering all the phrases in it.
rather points to an inherent divine power. In Gorresio’s edition the expression is somewhat different. Rāma there says (Sundara K. 91, 3) that he could destroy all those beings “forthwith, and by the power of a divine weapon” (ṣaktō hām sahasā hantum divyenāstra-balena cha), which may be understood of a derived power. However this may be, it turned out upon trial that Rāma was unable to dispose of his enemies so summarily, as we have seen above in the case of his conflict with Indrajit (p. 383 ff.).

The termination of Rāma’s terrestrial career is thus told in sections 103 ff. of the Uttara Kāṇḍa.55 Time, in the form of an ascetic, comes to his palace-gate (103, 1 ff.), and asks, as the messenger of the great Rishi (Brahmā), to see Rāma. He is admitted and received with honour (v. 8), but says, when asked what he has to communicate, that his message must be delivered in private, and that any one who witnesses the interview is to be slain by Rāma (v. 11 f.). Rāma promises to abide by this, informs Lakshmana of it, and desires him to stand outside (v. 13 f.). Time then tells Rāma (104) that he has been sent by Brahmā to say that when he (Rāma, i.e. Vishṇu), after destroying the worlds, was sleeping on the ocean, he had formed him (Brahmā) from the lotus springing from his navel, and committed to him the work of creation (vv. 4–7); that he (Brahmā) had then entreated Rāma to assume the function of Preserver, and that the latter had in consequence become Vishṇu, being born as the son of Adi (v. 9 f.), and had determined to deliver mankind by destroying Rāvaṇa, and to live on earth ten thousand and ten hundred years (v. 11 f.); that period, adds Time, was now on the eve of expiration (v. 13), and Rāma could either, at his pleasure, prolong his stay on earth, or ascend to heaven and rule over the gods (v. 14 f.). Rāma replies (v. 18) that he had been born for the good of the three worlds, and would now return to the place whence he had come, as it was his function to fulfil the purposes of the gods. While they are speaking, the irritable rishi Durvāsas56 comes to visit Rāma, and when Lakshmana asks him to wait a little, insists on being introduced into the presence of the former immediately, under a threat, if refused, of cursing Rāma, his city, kingdom,

55 All the references to this Kāṇḍa apply to the Bombay edition. I have not seen Gorresio’s edition of this book.
56 Compare p. 196, above.
and all his family (105, 1 ff.). Lakshmana, preferring to save his kinsmen, though knowing that his own death must be the consequence of interrupting the interview of Râma with Time, enters the palace, and reports the rishi’s message to Râma (v. 9). Râma dismisses Time, comes out, and receives Durvâsas, and when the sage has got the food he wished, and departed, Râma reflects with great distress on the words of Time, which require that Lakshmana should die (vv. 10-16). Lakshmana, however (106, 2 ff.), exhorts Râma “not to grieve, but to slay him, and not break his own promise. The counsellors who are consulted concurring in this advice (vv. 5 ff.), Râma abandons Lakshmana, (v. 13) who goes to the river Sarayû, suppresses all his senses (nirghhya sarva-srotâmî), and after the gods had Showered down flowers upon him, is conveyed bodily by Indra to heaven (vv. 15 ff.). The gods are delighted by the arrival of the fourth part of Vishnu (v. 18). Râma then resolves to install Bharata as his successor, and retire to the forest and follow Lakshmana (107, 1 ff.). Bharata, however, refuses the succession, and determines to accompany his brother (v. 5 f.). Râma’s subjects are filled with grief, and say they also will follow him wherever he goes (vv. 9 ff.). Kuśa and Lava, Râma’s two sons, are then installed as kings of the Southern and Northern Kośalas (vv. 17 ff.). Messengers are sent to Satrughna, the other brother, at Madhurâ, and he also resolves to accompany Râma (108, 1-14); who at length sets out in procession from his capital with all the ceremonial appropriate to the “great departure” (mahâ-prasthâna, 109, 1 ff.), silent, indifferent to external objects, and to ease, with Śrî on his right, the goddess Earth on his left, Energy in front, attended by all his weapons in human shapes, by the Vedas in the form of Brahmans, by the all-protecting Gâyatâ, the Omkâra, the Vashaṭkâra, by rishis, by earthly divinities (i.e. Brahmans, mahāsurâḥ), by his women, female slaves, old and young, eunuchs (varshavarâḥ), and servants. Bharata with his wives, and Satrughna, follow, together with Brahmans bearing the sacred fire, and accompanied by their families, with the ministers of state, and the whole of the people of the country, and even with animals, and birds, etc., etc. Râma, with all these attendants, comes to the banks of the Sarayû (sect. 110). Brahmâ, and all the gods, in innumerable celestial cars, now appear.

57 See Wilson’s Vishnu Purâṇa, vol. iii. p. 318 (Dr. Hall’s ed.).
and all the sky is refulgent with the divine splendour of their apparition. Pure, fragrant, and delightful breezes blow, a shower of flowers falls, thrown by the gods. While hundreds of musical instruments sound, and the air is crowded with Gandharvas and Apsaras, Rāma enters the waters of the Sarayū; and Brahmā utters a voice from the sky, saying: "Approach, Vishnū; Rāghava, thou hast happily arrived, with thy god-like brothers. Enter whatever body thou pleasest, thine own body as Vishnū, or the eternal ether. For thou art the abode of the worlds (lokā-gatiḥ): no one comprehends thee, the inconceivable and imperishable, except the large-eyed Māyā, thy primeval spouse." Hearing these words, Rāma enters the glory of Vishnū (Vaishnavam tejas) with his body and his followers; and is worshipped by the gods, rishis, etc. He then asks Brahmā to find an abode for the people who had accompanied him from devotion to his person, and Brahmā appoints them a celestial residence accordingly (lokān santānakān).

Instead of describing any such resumption of his divine nature, the Mahābhārata, which in the Droṇa-parvan 2224–2248, refers to Rāma as one of the great kings of old, merely speaks in v. 2246 of his going to heaven with four kinds of creatures (chaturviddhaḥ prajāḥ Rāmāh svargaṁ nītvā divāṁ-gataḥ). He is, however, celebrated in the most hyperbolical language, as where he is said (v. 2235) to "have transcended all beings, rishis, gods, and men" (Ati sarvāṇi bhūtaṁ Rāma Dāśarathir babhau | rishīnāṁ devatānāṁ cha mānushānāṁ cha sarvasaḥ), but no reference is made to his being an incarnation of Vishnū. The word iśvara applied to him in v. 2242 may mean only "lord," and need not be employed in the sense of "god." (This passage is referred to in Professor M. Williams's Indian Epic Poetry, p. 104.) The Rāmopākhyāna (see further on) in the Mahābhārata does not describe the apotheosis of Rāma at all.

The probability that many of the verses in the preceding passages which I have above suspected to be spurious may really be such, is

58 These worlds are explained by the commentator as realms an abode in which gradually leads to final liberation by the attainment of Brahmā's heaven (Krameṇa Brahma-loka-prōpti-dvārā mukti-janakān).
greatly strengthened by the fact that the commentators on the poem themselves note various texts which they regard as interpolated. Thus

the commentator an Kishk. K., sect. 45 (Bombay ed.), remarks on 46 ff.: Itah utttaram kechit ślokāḥ “ramante, vātataṁ tatra nārībhīḥ hāsvaram- 

prabhāḥ” (v. 50) ity antāḥ ślokāḥ prakṣiptāḥ prāchīna-pustakesh 

anupalambhād iti Katakāḥ | “Katakā (a previous commentator) says 

that after this some verses ending with the words (in the fiftieth verse) 'They sport there resplendent, along with their women,’ are rejected,

because they are not found in the old copies.”

At the end of the twenty-third section of the Uttara Kāṇḍa the commentator remarks: Itah param pancha-sargāḥ prakṣiptāḥ bodhyāḥ | “After these five sections are to be regarded as rejected.” On these sections, to which he assigns separate numbers, he gives no commentary. In the first of these sections, v. 42, Kansa is mentioned by anachronism.

At the end of the thirty-seventh section of the same book the commentator furnishes the following piece of sensible criticism: Etad- 

tuttaram Bāli-Sugrīvotpatitāvāsā Rāvāṇasya Svētadvipa-gamāneti
dāsaḥ cha katipayaiḥ sargair Agastyoktitayā kvachit pustakeshu dṛiṣyante | te tu pūrva-sargante eva Agastyasya svāśrama-gamana-kathānād asangatāḥ 

Katakā-Ṭirthādy-anūḍpita
tvāc cha mayā 'pi na vyākhyātāḥ | “That which follows—viz. the tale of the birth of Bāli and Sugrīva, 

and the story of Rāvaṇa’s journey to Svēta-dvipa—is found in some copies, as being related by Agastya in several sections. But as these sections are inconsistent with the account [given] at the end of the previous section (36, vv. 51, 58 f.) of Agastya’s departure to his hermitage, and have not been received by Katakā, Tīrtha, and other [previous commentators], I also have left them uncommented.” These sections are accordingly without any commentary.

Again, at the close of section 59, he remarks: Etad utttaram śva- 
mātur akhyānam grīḍhrolākākhyānancha kvachid dṛiṣyate | Tīrtha-

Katakādy-asprishtatvānena prakṣiptam iti na vyākhyātām | “The story 

of the dog’s mother and that of the vulture and owl which follow, 

are found in some copies: but as they are left untouched by Tīrtha, 

Katakā, and others, they are rejected, and consequently have not been 

explained.”

From these extracts it is clear that various passages which are still 

preserved in the Rāmāyaṇa were regarded by the commentators as
spurious because they were not to be found in the oldest MSS. extant in their day, or because they contained something inconsistent with the context in which they occur. The judgment of these commentators is no doubt correct, especially as they must have been well acquainted with the habit which, we need not hesitate to assume, prevailed in their day, of interpolating legendary works such as the Purāṇas and Itihāsas, the style of which, from its simplicity, offers the greatest facilities for imitation. But if such interpolation be admitted by the commentators as practised in their time, it is natural to suppose that it must have been practised at an earlier period also. And the example of the Mahābhārata confirms this supposition.

After reviewing most of the passages, which I have cited above, in which Rāma's divine character is alluded to, as they are given in his own edition, and, in addition, the section which I have cited in p. 180 "ff., Signor Gorresio remarks as follows (vol. v., Preface, p. xlvi. f.): "What are we to conclude from all this? Notwithstanding the citations adduced, I would not yet venture to pronounce a definitive judgment on this question" (whether the idea of the incarnation of Vishnu in Rāma was an original part of the conception of the poem, or interpolated). "The passages quoted only prove that the interpolation, if it be such, has been made with great study and much art. But in order thoroughly to elucidate this question, we must have recourse to other documents, and seek for other proofs and indications than the poem itself supplies. Our sentence, therefore, remains suspended."

The Mahābhārata also contains a history of Rāma, (Rāmopākhyāna) which is told to Yudhishṭhīra by the sage Mārkaṇḍeya, in the Vana-parvan, vv. 15872–16602. In this episode it is briefly related (v. 15878 f.) that Daśaratha had four sons, born of his three queens.

On this passage he observes (p. xlvi.): "Among the names here assigned to Vishnu some of a sufficiently suspicious character are found, such as that of Krishna, which I do not recollect to have discovered in any other part of the poem. Besides, this chapter has no close bond to connect it with the context, and might be removed without the least injury to the poem."
The birth and history of Rāvaṇa and his brothers are described in much greater detail (vv. 15881–15928), and many particulars are given which do not occur in the earlier part of the Rāmāyaṇa, though the Uttara Kāṇḍa contains a similar account. According to the episode in the Mahābhārata, Brahmā had a mental son Pulastya, who again had a son Gaviputra Vaiśravana (v. 15883). The latter deserted his father and went to Brahmā, who as a reward made him immortal and appointed him to be the god of riches, with Lankā for his capital, and the car Pushpaka for his vehicle (vv. 15886 ff.). His father, Pulastya, however, being incensed at this desertion of himself, reproduced the half of himself in the form of Viśravas, vv. 15884 (tasya kopāt pitā rājan sasajātmānām ātmanā | sa jaye Viśravāḥ nāma tasyātmadhena vai dvijāḥ | and again, v. 15889: Pulastyasya tu yah krodhād ardhadeho 'bhavad muniḥ | Viśravāḥ nāma ityādi). This Viśravas looked upon Vaiśravana with indignation. The latter strove to pacify his father (v. 15890 ff.), and with this view gave him three elegant Rākshasīs to attend on him: Pushpotkaṭā, who had two sons, Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarṇa; Mālinī, who bore Vibhīṣaṇa; and Rākā, who bore Khara and Sūrpaṇakha. These sons were all valiant, skilled in the Vedas, and observers of religious rites; but perceiving the prosperity of Vaiśravana, they were filled with jealousy. They accordingly (except Khara and Sūrpaṇakha) began to practise austerities to propitiate Brahmā, and at the end of a thousand years Rāvaṇa cut off his own head and threw it as an oblation into the fire (v. 15908). Brahmā then appeared to stop their austerities and offer them boons (except that of immortality). He ordained that Rāvaṇa should have heads and shapes at will, and should be invincible, except by men; that Kumbhakarṇa, who was influenced by the quality of darkness (tamas), should, according to his request, enjoy long sleep (sa vavre

60 Viśravas is here meant, although according to v. 15883 ff. Pulastya reproduced himself as Viśravas after the birth of Vaiśravana, and in consequence of the latter having deserted his father in his original form as Pulastya. Vaiśṭ: vana means the son of Viśravas, and in v. 15923, Vaiśravana (Kuvera) is said to be the brother of Vibhīṣaṇa, who must have been the son of Viśravas, as his brother Rāvaṇa is called in v. 15930.

61 See above, p. 223 and p. 488, below.

62 This disagrees with the statement in the Rāmāyaṇa (quoted above, p. 462) that he was doomed to long sleep as a curse.
mahātiṁ nidrāṁ tamasā grasta-chetānāḥ, v. 15916). Vibhīṣaṇa asks that even in the greatest misfortunes he may never meditate any unrighteousness, and that the Brahmaṇ’s weapon may become manifest to him without being learned. 63 Brahman promises him immortality. Having obtained the power above described, Rāvaṇa expels Vaiśravaṇa (Kuvera) from Lanka (v. 15920). The righteous Vibhīṣaṇa follows his brother 64 (v. 15925); Kuvera, who had retired to Gandhamadana (v. 15921). Rāvaṇa having been installed as king, and begun to exercise his power tyrannically, the rishis resort for deliverance to Brahman (v. 15929 ff.), who promises that as Rāvaṇa could not be killed either by gods or Asuras, the four-armed Vishnu, the chief of

63 Aśikṣhitanche bhagavan Brahmāstram pratibhātū me | See the second volume of this work, 2nd ed., p. 416, where the sense of the line is not correctly rendered. See the note on a similar line from the Uṣṇā Kanda of the Rāmāyaṇa below in p. 489. In v. 15897 Vibhīṣaṇa is said to be the handsomest of Purana’s sons (rūpam sarvebhyaḥ ‘bhyaḥdhihπ), and a protector of righteousness, and practitioner of religious rites (dharma-gopāḥ kriyāraṁ).

64 In v. 16157 f. Vibhīṣaṇa is said to dwell, shaded by a white umbrella, and with white garlands, on the Śvetaparvata, or, “white mountain,” attended by his four counsellors, and apart from his disreputable brothers Kumbhakarna, etc., who, naked, with dishevelled hair, and red garlands, frequented the south. In v. 16314 f. he is said to join Rāma, and it is not mentioned whence he comes; but as his treachery is at first suspected by Śugriva, it might appear to be implied that he came from Lanka, as is expressly related in the Rām., vi. 17, 1, Bombay ed. In Gorr. ed. (Sundara Kanda, 89, 1–43) forty-two verses are introduced between the two lines which make up the first verse of the 17th section of book sixth in the Bombay ed. That verse states that after addressing some harsh words to Rāvaṇa, Vibhīṣaṇa came immediately to Rāma. Gorr.‘s text adds that after leaving his brother, Vibhīṣaṇa first tells his mother all that had happened, and then went through the air to Kailasa, the residence of Vaiśravaṇa (Kuvera, v. 4). Before his arrival, however, Mahādeva had gone with Umā and his attendants to the abode of Kuvera (vv. 6 ff.), had dismounted from his bull, and entered the assembly; when the two gods embraced each other, sat down, and began to play at dice. At this conjuncture Mahādeva sees Vibhīṣaṇa approaching; and tells Kuvera that he has come to seek his protection; but that he ought to go to Rāma, who would install him as monarch of the Rākešasas (vv. 11 ff.). Vibhīṣaṇa arrives, kneels and touches the ground with his forehead, when the two gods give him the advice which Mahādeva had proposed (vv. 21 ff.), Vibhīṣaṇa remains thoughtful (v. 36). Mahādeva again addresses him (v. 37), and tells him to “rise and resort to the ancient lord, the imperishable, the support of all beings, the eternal, the irresistible, the treasury of righteousness, the refuge of those who see him, the root of the whole world, Rāma” (v. 39) (Tasmad uttishtha gakhva tvam puruṇam prabhūn avayaṃ | adhāram sarva-bhitānām ādīvātām niraṇgraham | 40. Sa hi dharmā-nidhānam cha gatir gatimatām varāh | kṛśnasasya jagato mūlaṁ tumād gakhhasaṁ Rīkhevaṁ). Vibhīṣaṇa hereupon rises, makes obeisance to the two gods, and goes to Rāma through the sky (vv. 41 ff.).
warriors, should, by his (Brahmā's) appointment, descend to earth for his destruction (tad-artham avatirer sau man-ntyogāh chaturbhujah | Vishnuḥ praharatām śresṭhāk sa tat karma kariṣhyati). No account is, however, given of the way in which Vishnu was to become incarnate in one or more of the sons of Dāsaratha; or how this was accomplished. Brahmā also desired Indra and the other gods to be born on earth, and beget on the she-bears and she-monkeys sons who should assist Vishnu, which they accordingly did. He also gave injunctions and instructions to a Gandharvī called Dndrubhi, who was born on earth as the hunchbacked Mantharā, and stirred up enmity by urging Kaikeyī to claim the succession to Dāsaratha's throne for her own son Bharata (vv. 15934 ff., and 15960 ff.).

Whether the portion of the episode which relates the earlier history of Rāvana, and the means adopted by Brahmā for his destruction, formed an original part of the poem, I need not attempt to decide; but an allusion is afterwards made in a later part of it to the monkeys of Rāma's army having been begotten by the gods (v. 16309), where Sāgara, the Ocean, who had appeared to Rāma, is introduced as saying: Asti tatra Nalo nāmo vānaraḥ śilpi-sammataḥ | Tvashṭur devasya tanayo balvān Viśvakarmanah | "There is there a monkey called Nala, approved by artizans, the strong son of the god Tvashṭri Viśvakarman."

The main incidents in this episode agree, as far as I have examined them, with those of the Rāmāyana: though there are some minor points in which there is a difference between the two. Thus the larger poem appears (as far as I have looked into it) to say nothing of Mantharā being the incarnation of a Gandharvī, though this is alluded to by the commentator in ii. 7, 1 of the Bombay edition, in these words: Atha Sitāyāḥ Lankā-pura-praveśām vinā Rāvana-badhasyāśak hayatā tat-siddhayā devaś-preritīyāḥ kṛta-kubhā-veshayāḥ Mantharāyāḥ Rāmābhiseka-vighna-pravṛttīṃ . . . . . vaktum upakramate | "Now since Rāvana could not be killed unless Sitā, entered into Lankā,—with a view to the accomplishment of that, he (the poet) begins to relate how Mantharā, who had been sent by the gods, and had taken the disguise of a hunchback, threw obstacles in the way of Rāvana's inauguration, etc." Again, as we have already seen, long periods of sleep are said, in the larger poem, to have been inflicted by Brahmā on Kumbhakarṇa as a curse, but in the episode to have been granted as a
The account which will be given below from the Mahābhārata is a sort of reconciliation of these two statements. Another discrepancy noticed by the commentator has, been already cited above, p. 415, note 193.

In the sequel of the story, as given in the Mahābhārata, it is said that, after the destruction of Rāvana, and the appearance of the gods to persuade Rāma to take back his wife Sītā, Brahmā offered Rāma any boons he might choose, and that Rāma accordingly desired that he might continue steadfast in righteousness, and unconquered by his enemies; and solicited the resurrection of the monkeys who had been killed by the Rākshasas (vv. 16570 ff.). The poet, who represents Rāma as consenting to receive these boons from Brahmā, could scarcely have regarded him as the Supreme Spirit, as he is declared in some parts of the Rāmāyaṇa to have been (see above, p. 180 ff.). The last act of hīs which is described (vv. 16600 f.) is the celebration of ten aśvamedhas. No reference is made to his death.

As I have noticed above, the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa contains an account of the birth; and a sketch of the earlier history, of Rāvana and his brothers, which varies in some particulars from the narrative in the Mahābhārata. We are there told how after Rāma had returned to Ayodhyā, and taken possession of the throne, the rishis assembled from the east, west, north, and south, to greet him (1, 1 ff.), and Agastya, in answer to his questions, recounted many particulars regarding his old enemies. In the Kṛita Yuga (or Golden Age) the austere and pious Brahman-rishi Pulastya, a son of Brahmā, and who was like his father, being teased with the vicinity, sports, singing, and dancing of different damsels, who interrupted his austerities, proclaimed that any one of them whom he again saw near his hermitage, on the side of Mount Meru, should become pregnant. The others kept

65 The story of Rambhā, which is related in the passage referred to above (461 f.), is in this episode briefly sketched in these words (v. 16151 ff.): Naḷakūrava-śāpena rakṣitā hy āsi nanditi, ṣāpto hy eṣa pūrā pūpo badhāṁ Rambhāṁ parāṁrisān | na śaknoty avāśāṁ nārīṁ upaitum ajitendriyaḥ | "Thou art protected, charming one, (i.e. Sītā) by the curse of Naḷakūrava. For this wicked being of unrestrained passions (Rāvana), having formerly been cursed when insulting his (N.'s) wife Rambhā, is unable to approach a helpless woman." See also v. 16563 f.; and p. 461 f., above.

66 "Not intentionally," says the commentator on v. 8, "but like (dried) grass and fire" (trīṣāgni-nīyāyena na tu buddhi-pūrvam).
Appendix.

at a distance, but the threat had not been heard by the daughter of the royal-rishi Trinavindu, who one day came into Pulastya’s neighbourhood, and her pregnancy was the result (sect. 2, vv. 14 ff.). After her return home, her father, seeing her condition, took her to Pulastya, who accepted her as his wife, and she bore a son who received the name of Viśravas (v. 32). This son was, like his father, an austere and religious sage. He married the daughter of the rājīri Bharadvāja, who bore him a son, to whom Brahma gave the name of Vaiśravana—Kuvera (sect. 3, vv. 1 ff.). The latter performed austerity for thousands of years, when he obtained from Brahma as a boon, that he should be one of the guardians of the world [along with Indra, Varuṇa, and Yama] and the god of riches (vv. 11 ff.). He afterwards consulted his father Viśravas about an abode, and, at his suggestion, took possession of the city of Lankā, which had formerly been built by Viśvakarman for the Rākshasas, but had been abandoned by them through fear of Vishnū, and was at that time unoccupied (vv. 23 ff.). Rāma then (sect. 4) says he is surprised to hear that Lankā had formerly belonged to the Rākshasas, as he had always understood that they were the descendants of Pulastya, and now he learns that they had also another origin (v. 4. Pulastya-vaiṁśād udbhātāḥ rākshasāḥ iti naḥ śrutāḥ | idānīm anyataś cāpi sambhavaḥ kirtitas tvayā). He therefore asks who was their ancestor, and what fault they had committed that they were chased away by Vishnū. Hearing the polished (samśkarālankritam)67 words of Rāma, Agastya replies (vv. 9 ff.) that when Brahma created the waters, he formed certain beings—some of whom received the name of Rākshasas—to guard them.68 The first Rākshasa kings were Heti and Praheti (v. 14). Heti married Bhayā, the sister of Kāla (Time). She bore him a son Vidyutkeśa (v. 17), who in his turn took for his wife Sālankaṭankaṭa, the daughter of Sandhyā (v. 21). She bore him a son Sukeśa (v. 32), whom she abandoned (v. 24), but he was seen by Śīva, as he was passing by with his wife Pārvatī (v. 27 ff.), who made the child as mature as his mother, and immortal, and gave him a city which moved through the ether. Pārvatī, too, gave as a boon to the Rākshasa women the power of immediate conception and parturition, and to their children instant maturity equal

67 See the second volume of this work, pp. 157-159.
68 See Note A., p 439.
to that of their mothers (v. 30 f.). Sukeśa married a Gandharvä called Devavatī (sect. 5, v. 3), who bore three sons, Mälyavat, Sumäli, and Mäli (v. 6). These sons practised intense austerities (v. 9), when Brahmā appeared (v. 12), and conferred on them invincibility and long life (15). They then harassed the gods and Asuras (16). Viśvakarman, at their request, gave them a city, Lankā, on the mountain Trikūta, on the shore of the southern ocean, which he had built (vv. 18 ff.). They marry the three daughters of the Gandharvä Narmadā. Mälyavat’s wife, Sundarī, bears Vajramuṣṭi, Virūḍhaksha, Durmukha, Suptaghna, Yajnakopa, Matta, Unmatta, and one daughter Anala (v. 35 ff.). Sumāli’s wife, Ketumati, bears Praḥasta, Kampana, Viṣṇa, Kālikā-mukha, Dhūmrāksha, Daṇḍa, Supārśva, Sanhrādi, Praghasa, Bāhāṣakarṇa, and four daughters, Rākā, Pushpotkaṭā, Kaikaśi, and Kumbhīnasī (vv. 39 ff.). Māli’s wife, Vasudā, bore Anala, Nila, Hara, and Sampāti (v. 43). The three Rākshasas, Mälyavat and his two brothers, with their sons, continue to oppress the gods, rishis, etc. (v. 44), who (sect 6, v. 1 ff.) in consequence resort for aid to Mahādeva, “the creator and destroyer of the world, the unborn, imperceptible, the support of all worlds” (Jagat-srishtya-anta-kartāram ajam avyakta-rūpiṇam | adhāraṁ sarva-bhūtanām), who, having regard to his protegé Sukeśa (the father of Mälyavat, etc., see above), says that he cannot kill the Rākshasas (v. 10); but advises the suppliants to go to Viṣṇu, which they do (v. 12), and receive from him a promise that he will destroy their enemies (v. 21). One of the three Rākshasa kings, hearing of this, informs his brothers, and, after consultation (v. 23 ff.), they proceed to heaven to attack the gods (v. 46), unterrified by the portents which were manifested (vv. 53 ff.). Viṣṇu prepares to meet them (v. 63). The battle is described in the seventh section. The Rākshasas are defeated by Viṣṇu with great slaughter, and driven back to Lankā, one of their leaders, Māli, being slain (vv. 42 ff.). Mälyavat remonstrates with Viṣṇu, who was assaulting the rear of the fugitives, on his unwarriorlike conduct (na jānishekaśtraiṁ dharmam purātanaiṁ)⁶⁹ and wishes to renew the combat (sect. 8, v. 3 ff.).

⁶⁹ The next verse (4) adds: Purāṇmukha-vadham pāpam yaḥ karoti sureśvara | sa hanta na gataḥ svargam labhate punya-karnaṁ | “The slayer who wickedly slaughters foes who have turned their backs, after his death does not attain to the heaven of the meritorious.”
Vishnu replies that he must fulfil his promise to the gods by slaying the Rākshasas, and that he would destroy them even if they fled to Pātāla (v. 7 ff.). The battle is renewed, but Mālyavat and Sumali are driven into Lankā (v. 20), and being unable to withstand Vishnu, at length retire to Pātāla (v. 22). These Rākshasas, Agastya says, were more powerful than Rāvana, and could only be destroyed by Nārāyaṇa, i.e. by Rāma himself, the eternal indestructible god (v. 24 ff.). Sumali with his family lived for a long time in Pātāla, while Kuvera dwelt in Lankā (v. 29). In section 9 it is related that Sumali once happened to visit the earth, when he observed Kuvera going in his chariot to see his father Viśravas. This leads him to consider how he might restore his own fortunes. He consequently desires his daughter Kaikasi to go and woo Viśravas (v. 12), who receives her graciously (vv. 18 ff.). She becomes the mother of the dreadful Rāvana (v. 29) whose birth was succeeded by portents, of the huge Kumbhakarna (v. 34), of Sürpaṇakhā, and of the righteous Vibhishana, who was the last son (v. 35), and whose nativity was followed by a shower of celestial flowers, by the sound of celestial drums, and exclamations of delight in the air (v. 36). These children grow up in the forest. Kumbhakarna goes about eating rishis (v. 38). Vibhishana lives in the practice of duty, the study of the Veda, and temperance, and controls his senses (v. 39). Kuvera comes to visit his father (v. 40), when Kaikasī takes occasion to urge her son Rāvana to strive to become like his brother (Kuvera) in splendour. This Rāvana promises to do (v. 45). He then goes to the hermitage of Gokarna with his brothers to perform austerity (v. 47). In section 10 their austere observances are described. After a thousand years' penance, Rāvana throws one of his heads as an offering into the fire (v. 10). He performs this oblation nine times at equal intervals, and is about to do it the tenth time, when Brahmā appears (v. 12 ff.), and offers a boon. Rāvana asks immortality, but is refused (17). He then asks that he may be indestructible by all creatures more powerful than men, etc.; which boon is accorded by Brahmā (v. 22), together with the recovery of all the heads he had sacrificed, and the power of assuming any shape he pleased. Vibh-

70 This account varies from that of the Mahābhārata (above, p. 482), according to which the mothers are different, and Khara (who is not named here) is also a son of Viśravas.
shaṇa (nearly as in the Mahābhārata, see above, p. 483) asks as his boon (v. 30 ff.) that “even amid the greatest calamities he may think only of righteousness, and that the Brahman’s weapon may become manifest to him without being learned; and that in every stage of life his aims may be righteous” (paramāpad-gotasyāpi dharme mama matir bhavet | āsikṣhitas-ca brahmāstram bhagavan pratibhātu me |
yā yā me jñayate buddhir yeshu yeshv āśrāmehu cha | sā sā bhavatu dharmishṭhā tām tām dharmāṁ cha pālaye).

The god grants his request, and adds the gift of immortality. When Brahmā is about to offer a boon to Kumbhakarna, the gods interpose (v. 35 ff.), as, they say; he had eaten seven Apsarases and ten followers of Indra, besides rishis and men; if he has done this without receiving any boon from Brahmā, he would, if he should obtain such a favour, devour the three worlds; and they end by suggesting that under the guise of a boon stupefaction should be inflicted on him (v. 39). Brahmā thinks on Sarasvatī, who arrives (v. 40), and by Brahmā’s command (v. 42. Vāṇi tvāṁ Rākṣha-sendrasya bhava vāg-devatepsitā) enters into Kumbhakarna, that she may speak for him. Under this influence he asks, when desired to choose a favour, that he may receive the boon of sleeping for many years, which is granted (v. 45). 72 When, however, Sarasvatī has left him, and he recovers his own consciousness, he perceives that he has

71 The commentator explains these last words thus: Aśīkṣhitam sad-gurūpadeśaṁ vināpīty arthāḥ | brahmāstram brahma-vidyāḥ | etad varāyaṁ aśeṣa-brahma-vidyāḥ-siddhi-pratibandhaka-nirvittaye | “Unlearned, that is, [may it appear to me] even without the instruction of a good teacher. The Brahman’s weapon is the science of Brahma (or of the veda). This chide of a boon seeks the removal of all obstacles to the attainment of divine knowledge.” The commentator also says that by dharme (“righteousness”) in the first line is meant Nārāyaṇa (Vishnu), according to the saying, ‘Rāma is the incarnate righteousness’; as looking to what follows, the passage would otherwise be tautological (“Dharme” Nārāyaṇe matir bhavet | “Rāmo vigra-havān dharmāḥ” ity ukter atra dharmā-padena Nārāyaṇaḥ) anyathā “sā sā bhavatu dharmishthā” ity aṇeṇa paunaraktyaṁ syat |

72 The commentator remarks here: Evam iti | atra shan-māśād arvāk jāgarāyaṁ na iti vibhāṣyate | tad-ahikāḥ ‘pī niḍā tu bhavaty eva iti vara-svaṁ pary upam bodhyam | ataḥ eva shan-māśā-suvapitī iti purvaṁ Vibhīṣhāṇoktyā varṣhāy anekānī iti Kumbhakarnoktyā cha pūrvo-kāyāya na virdhayā | “In these words of Brahmā (v. 45) there is no condition that Kumbhakarna should wake after six months, but it is understood as the nature of the boon that he might sleep for even a longer time. Wherefore, although it was formerly said by Vibhīṣaṇa that ‘he sleeps six months,’ and Kumbhakarna here speaks of sleeping many years, there is no discrepancy between the latter and the former.”
been deluded (v. 47). Kuvera, on the demand of Rāvana, and by his father's advice, gives up the city of Lankā to Rāvana (sect. 11, v. 39 ff.).

The Uttara Kānda, sect. 36, vv. 44 ff., contains in its description of the monkey Hanumat's history the following testimony to his literary merits: 44. Asau punar vyākaranam gṛiḥṣhyan sūryoṁukhah prasāy-
manāḥ kapindaṅaḥ | udyād-gīriṁ asta-gīriṁ jagāma gvantham mahād dhārayan aprameyāḥ | 45. Sa-sūtra-vṛtti-artha-padaṁ mahārthaṁ sa-
sangrahāṁ sidhyati vai kapindaṅaḥ | na hy asya kaśchit sadriśo 'sti sāstro vaśārada ehaṁa-gatau tathaiva | sarvāsu vidyāsu tapo-viḍāhāne praspar-
dhate 'yaṁ hi guruṁ surāṅgām | 44. "Again the chief of monkeys (Hanumat)," measureless, seeking to acquire grammar, looking up to the sun, bent on inquiry, went from the mountain where the sun rises to that where he sets, apprehending the mighty collection—(45) viz. the aphorisms (sūtra), the commentary (vṛtti), the vārttikā (artha-
pada), the Mahārtha, and the Sangraha [of Vyādi]. The chief of monkeys is perfect, no one equals him in the sāstras, in learning, and in ascertaining the sense of the Scripture, [or in moving at will]. In all sciences, in the rules of austerity, he rivals the preceptor of the gods."

The following is the commentary on the above passage: Udyād-gīriṁ udaya-gīriṁ mahād granthāṁ dhārayan arthathā pāthathaṁ cha grihnam | dhārayan aprameyāḥ iti nuḥ-ahāva ārshaḥ | sūrya-sāmmukhyārtham ταύτα ὑπάρχοντα 45. Kā sa 'sa granthas tatraṁ "sa-sūtra" iti | sūtram aṣṭādaṁ ṣūrya-pātham ṣūrya-sāmmukhyārtham tāvad ὑπάρχοντα | 44. Ko 'sa āhāva ārthaṁ "sa-sūtra" iti | "sa-sangrahāṁ" Vyādi-kṛita-sangrahakārya-granthasaḥītam | "sidhyati vai" "siddho bhavati śāstrāntaresv apīty arthāḥ | tad evāha | na hy asya sadriśaḥ śāstra kaśchit "eḥaṁa-gatau" pūr-
vo-ttmāṁ saṁmaṁśa-mukhena vedārtha-nīrṇaye "vaiśārada" vāiśūṣyate | viśīṣṭha navama-vyākaraṇa-kartā Hanumāṁ iti cha prasiddhir iti Katakāḥ | "From the mountain where, the sun rises, 'holding,' apprehending in sense and in text 'the great collection.' The absence of the reduplicated n in dhārayan aprameyāḥ is vēdic (ārsha). He went to face the sun. 45. In the words 'with the sūtras,' etc., he describes what the book was. The sūtras mean the eight books of Pāṇini (aṣṭādaṁ sūrya-pātham). The vṛtti is the contem-
poraneous gloss on the sutras (sutra-vṛtti). The artha-pada is the viśeṣika, containing sentences explaining the sense of the sutras; the Mahārtha is the Mahābhāṣya composed by Patanjali. ‘With the saṅgroha’ means with the book called Saṅgroha, composed by Vyādi. ‘He is, perfect’ means he excels in other śāstras also, as the author goes on to say: ‘for no one is like him in the śāstras, in ascertaining the sense,’ in determining the meaning of the Veda by the mouth of the Pūrva and Uttarā Mīmāṁsā. ‘In skill,’ i.e. in learning. When specifying, it is well known that Hanumāt was the ninth author of Grammar; such is Kātaka’s explanation.’

The other eight grammarians are mentioned by Colebrooke—Essays, ii., pp. 39, 48 (ed. 1837).

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NOTE E.—Page 261, note 259, line 3 from bottom.

With this compare the Tāṇḍya Mahābhāranaṇa xiv. 11, 28, where it is said: *Indro Yatīn sālāvīrīkebhyah prāyachhat | tam aśīlā vāg abhyavadat | so ‘suddho ’manyata | sa etat śuddhāsuddhyam apāsyat | tena aśuddhyat | “Indra gave up the Yatis to the jackals. An evil voice addressed him” [charging him with the murder of Brāhmans, according to the Commentator]. “He recognized himself as unclean. He beheld this ‘Suddhāsuddhiya,’ [a particular śāman text] and became purified.” The story is repeated further on in the same Bṛāhmaṇa xviii. 1, 9, where it is said that instead of beholding the “Suddhāsuddhiya,” Indra went to Prajāpati, who gave him the “Upahavya” (Prajāpatim upādāvat | tasmai etam upahavyam prā- yachhat). This story of Indra and the Yatis is alluded to in Ait. Br. vii. 28, which is quoted in the first volume of this work, pp. 437 f. It is also referred to in the Tāṇḍya Br. viii. 1, 4, and xiii. 8, 17. The latter passage is as follows: *Indro Yatīn sālāvīrīkebhyah prāyachhat | teshāṁ tryaḥ udāsīshyanta Prīthuraśmir Brihadvīrī Rāyavājau | te ‘brucan “ko nāḥ inān putrān bharishyati” iti | “aham” iti *I śro’bravīt | tān adhīnādhāya parīcchārya charaḥ vardhayaṁ tān vardhayitvā |”bravīt “kumārākāḥ varān vṛniśdhiṁ” iti | “kshatram māhyam” ity abravīt Prīthuraśmir | tasmai etena pārtharaśmena kṣhatram prāyachhat | kṣhatrakāmāḥ etena stūvita | kṣhatrasya ikā asya prakāśo bhavati | “Brahmavarchasam māhyam” ity abravīd Brihadgīrī | tasmai etena bārhadgirenā brahmavarchasam prāyachhat | brahmavarchasā-śāmāḥ etena stūvita | brahmavarchaśī bhavati | “pāsūn māhyam” ity abravīd
Rāyovājaḥ | tasmā etena rāyovājiyena paśuṁ prāyachhat | paśukāmah etena stuvēta | paśumān bhavati | 18. Pārtharasmaṁ rājanyāya brahma-sāma kuryāt bārhadgirām brahma-sāya rāyovājiyā-violāya | svena eva enāṁ tad-rūpena samardhayati stomah | “Indrā gave up the Yatis to the jackals. Three of them were left,” Prithūrasāmi, Bṛihadgirī, and Rāyovāja. They said, ‘Who will cherish these persons, us, as sons?’ ‘I,’ said Indra. Having placed them [on his car, according to the comm.], he went on tending and rearing them.” When he had reared them, he said, ‘Youths, choose boons.’ Prithūrasāmi said, ‘May regal power be mine!’ He accordingly gave him regal power by means of this ‘pārtharasma’ sāman. Let the man who desires regal power offer praise with this sāman; and he obtains distinction like that of regal power. Bṛihadgirī said, ‘May Brahmanic lustre be mine!’ He gave him Brahmanic lustre by means of this ‘bārhadgirā’ sāman. Let him who desires this characteristic offer praise with this sāman; and he obtains it. Rāyovāja said, ‘Let me have cattle!’ He gave him cattle by means of this ‘rāyovājiya‘ sāman. Let him who desires cattle offer praise with this sāman; and he obtains them. 18. Let a ‘pārtharasma’ be the ‘brahma-sāman’ performed for a Rājanya, a ‘bārhadgirā’ that for a Brahman, and a ‘rāyovājiya’ for a Vaiśya. The ‘stoma’ thus brings prosperity to each of them after his own fashion.” The Yatis are declared by the commentator on Tāṇḍya Br. viii. 1, 4, to be persons “who practised observances contrary to the Veda” (vedaviruddha-ṇiyamopetān); on xiii. 4, 17, to be “the persons so called who were hostile to sacrifices” (etat-sanjnakānaṁ yajna-vidroḍhi-janān); on xiv. 11, 28, to be “persons hostile to rites” (karma-vidroḍhi-janān); and on xviii. 1, 9, to be “Brahmans who did not celebrate the jyotisthōma and other sacrifices, but lived in another way” (jyotisthōmaṁ akṛtiva prakārāntaṁ vartamānam brahmaṇān). The Yatis are also mentioned in the Taitt. Sanhitā ii. 4, 9, 2, in these words: Yatīnāṁ adya- mānānāṁ śirṣhāṁ parāpatan | te kharjūrāḥ abhavan | “The heads of the Yatis who were being eaten fell off. They (the Yatis) became date-trees.” In the same Sanhitā, vi. 2, 7, 5, they are again referred to thus: Indro Yatīṁ sālāvṛikebhhyah prāyachhat | tān dakṣiṅhatāḥ uttarav-vedyāḥ āden | “Indra gave up the Yatis to the jackals: they devoured them on the south side of the northern altar.” On the former of these texts the commentator remarks as follows: Pārāmahāṁya-rūpaṁ cha-
Accordingly, Kaushitaki breathed a word, "Arumukhan Yatin sālāvrikaiś bhakṣaṇaṁ bhavati, eva"; on which Indra, as usual, declared: "Indra gave up to the wild dogs those Yatis in whose mouth (although they had attained the fourth stage of life [āśrama], that of Paramahamsas) the word of the Vedānta [or Upanishads] which sets forth that the soul is Brahma, was not found. Accordingly Indra's declaration that he 'gave up the Arumukha Yatis to the jackals is recorded in the Kaushitaki Brāhmaṇa Upanishad' (iii. 1; see p. 161 of Prof. Cowell's translation in the Bibliotheca Indica). "In consequence of their fallen condition, it was fit that this should have been done: according to the text of the Smṛiti, 'A Sannyāsin who lives in the neglect of the fixed observances, and without hearing the Vedānta [or Upanishads], sinks without doubt into a fallen condition.' And the fact of the Yatis being eaten by jackals is recorded in the sixth book (of this Sanhitā, as quoted above). The circumstance of their being devoured near the altar is intended to show that the same fate awaits you gentlemen also, who live without desiring to hear the Upanishads, and in the neglect of the fixed ceremonies.' From Prof. Cowell's note in the Kaushitaki Br. Up. transl., p. 161, it appears that Sāyaṇa, the commentator on the Ait. Br. vii. 28, regarded the Yatis there mentioned as being Asuras in the disguise of devotees, and the Arurmaghas, referred to there as being Asuras in the form of Brahmans. Prof. Cowell adds in a second note that the commentator (in the Kaush. Br. Up.) "explains the Arumukhas" (there mentioned), "as those in whose mouths the reading of the Vedas is not;" and observes that "they and the Arurmaghas of the Ait. Br. are equally obscure." See the remainder of the note, and Prof. Haug's note on the latter passage in his translation of the Ait. Br., p. 483 f. He thinks the Arurmaghas "were no doubt a kind of degraded Aryas, very likely a tribe of the ancient Iranians," etc.
In regard to this note I have been favoured with a communication from Prof. Roth, who is of opinion that there are two substantives śravos, as there are two roots śru. There is not only, he considers, a root śru, "to hear," but a second śru=śru; and there are, he adds, a number of passages where the sense "renown," traditionally ascribed to śravas, however wide this idea is, and in however forced a manner it may be applied, does not suffice. The forthcoming fasciculus of his Lexicon will, Prof. Roth informs me, supply details on this subject.

Wilson, Westergaard, and Williams, in their Dictionaries, give a second śru as equivalent to śru, "to move," "to flow," etc. Prof. Aufrecht is of opinion that in addition to śru, "to hear," there is another root śru, with the meaning "to quake," "to shake," "to tremble." This root, he states, occurs only twice in the whole Vedic literature which we have before us. The passages in which it is found are R.V. i. 127, 3: "Even the strong quakes at his attack, and even the firm shakes like trees;" and R.V. i. 39, 6: "Even the earth trembled before your rush." From this root is derived śróna, "lame." Prof. Aufrecht does not think that in any Vedic passage the root śru has the meaning of śravati, "to flow." In his note on the former of these two passages, Sāyana explains śravat by gacchhet, śrýeta, i.e. "will move," "will crumble."

In her lamentation for Rāvaṇa (Rām., Bombay ed. vi. 113) his queen Mandodarī, among other attributes which she ascribes to him, speaks of him (v. 49) as "conqueror of the guardians of the world, and caster down (or, contemner) of Sāṅkarā." Sāṅkara could not therefore have been looked on by the writer of this as the Supreme Deity. From the story of Nandīśvara, quoted in the Appendix, above, p. 460 f., it will have been seen, however, that Rāvaṇa was really no match for Sāṅkara.

The following is a summary of the story of Indra and Indrajit, as
The gods, being afraid, resort to Vishnu (sect. 27, 6), whom he glorifies as the Creator and the Being into whom all things are absorbed at the end of the world, and asks his advice (v. 13). Vishnu reassures him; but says that he could not interfere without killing Rāvana,—which he is unable to do on account of the boon conceded to the Rākshasa chief by Brahmā (v. 18); but he would slay him at the proper time (v. 20). Meanwhile he tells Indra to fight with Rāvana (v. 21). A battle takes place between them and Rākshasas (v. 26 ff.). The eighth Vasu Sāvitra comes on the field (vv. 34 and 43), fights with Sumāli, one of the Rākshasas, and grandfather of Rāvana, who had routed the gods, kills him, reducing to ashes his bones and all the rest of him (v. 50), and puts the Rākshasas to flight. They are, however, rallied by Indrajit (sect. 28, 1 ff.), and the gods repulsed. Indra's son, Jayanta, enters the fray (vv. 6 ff.). The gods are furiously assailed by Indrajit. Both sides, in the confusion, smite their own warriors (vv. 17 f.). Jayanta is carried off by his grandfather, his mother Sachi's father, Puloman, the Daitya, who enters with him into the sea (vv. 19 f.). The gods, thinking that Jayanta had been killed, take to flight (v. 21), and are pursued by Indrajit. Indra himself now comes upon the scene (v. 23), and is opposed by Rāvana (vv. 29 ff.), whom he eventually captures (sect. 29, v. 18 f.). Meghanāda (son of Rāvana), afterwards called Indrajit, becoming invisible by his magical power, which he had obtained from Mahādeva, binds Indra and carries him off (v. 27). The gods, headed by Brahmā, follow them to Lankā (sect. 30). Brahmā praises Meghanāda's valour, and declares that he shall be called Indrajit ("the conqueror of Indra," v. 5). Brahmā then asks that Indra shall be released (v. 7). Indrajit, as a condition, requires the boon of immortality (v. 8). This Brahmā refuses (v. 9). Indrajit then says, v. 11: "Srīyātāṁ vā bhavet siddhiḥ setakratu-vimokshane | 12. Mameshtāṁ nityāśo halfway mantraṁ sampūrya Pāvakam | sangrāmam avālartum cha satru- nirjaya-kāṅkṣinaḥ | 13. Āśva-yukto ratho mahyam uttishthet tu Vibhāvasoḥ | tāl-śasyāmaratā śyād me esha me niśchito varaḥ | 14. Tasaṁ yady asamāpte cha japyahome Vibhāvasau | yudhyeyāṁ deva-sangrāme

[See similar cases above, pp. 223 and 482.]
15. Sarva hi tapasā deva vriñoty amaratān
 pumān | viκramena mayā tu etad amaratvam pravartitam |
 16. Evam astv iti taṁ śahā vākyāṁ devaḥ Prajāpatiḥ |
 11. Listena: or let me attain perfection
 by releasing Satakraτu (Indra). 12. My wish is,—desirous as I am
 of conquering my enemies,—to enter into battle after constantly
 worshipping Agni with texts and oblations: (13) and the boon I have
 fixed to ask for is that (whenever I shall do so) a chariot with horses
 may rise up for me out of the Fire, and that while I stand in it I may
 remain immortal: (14) and if I fight in it against the gods before I
 have finished my prayers and oblations to Agni, let me perish. 15.
 For, O god, every man desires by austerities to attain immortality.

And by my valor I have sought for this immortality. 16. 'So be it,'
 said Brahmā. Then Indra was released by Indrajit, and the gods went
to heaven." Brahmā then tells Indra (vv. 17-48), who was standing
humiliated and thoughtful, that he had incurred this misfortune be-
cause he had corrupted Ahalyā (v. 46), the first woman, whom Brahmā
had made and had given to the sage Gautama (v. 27), as a reward for
his austere virtue. For this he had been cursed by the sage (vv. 31 ff.).
Ahalyā, too, was reproached by the sage, expelled from her hermitage,
and condemned to lose her prerogative of being the only beautiful
woman in the world (vv. 36 ff.). She excuses herself by saying that
Indra had assumed the form of her husband, and thus deceived her,
and that she had not yielded to illicit passion (vv. 40 f.). She is then
assured that she would be restored to purity by the vision of Vishnu
incarnate in Rāma, and received again by her husband (vv. 41 ff.); and
Indra himself was enjoined to offer a Vaishyāva sacrifice by which he
would be purified (v. 47 f.).

The commentator remarks on verse 49, where the performance of this sacrifice
is mentioned: Devaṇām na yajneshu adhikāraḥ iti Jaimin-ukaṁ tu pramādād iti
nirūpitām prabh | "The saying of Jaimini that the gods have not the prerogative of
sacrificing has been before determined to be founded on inadvertence." The end
of the remarks on Rāmāyaṇa i. 29, 7, quoted above, p. 131, note 151, may be here
referred to by the commentator. Besides the text cited in p. 262, note, mention is else-
where found of sacrifice being offered by Indra. See the story of Nāhubuśa adduced
in the first volume of this work, pp. 367 ff., where such a sacrifice is referred to
(p. 310). The lines of the Udyoga-parvan (414 f.) in which this is mentioned are as
follows: Mām eva yajtāṁ S'akrah pāvavishyāmi vajrīνam | punyena hayamedhena
mām ishvā Pākasāsanaḥ | punar eshyati śevānām indratvam akutobhayāḥ | Vishnu
APPENDIX.

ninth sections of the first book of the Rāmāyaṇa, Bombay ed., the
note in p. 49, above; and a similar, purification of Indra for another
sin, above, p. 262, note, and the beginning of Note E., p. 491.) I
quote the verses in which Brahmā here describes the creation of the
first woman Ahalyā:

Sect. 30, 19 ff.—Amarendra mayā buddhya prajāḥ srishtās tathā
prabho | eka-vaṟḷaḥ samābhāṣāḥ eka-rūpāḥ, cha sarvaṣaḥ | 20. Tāsāṁ
nasti viṣesho hi darṣanāḥ lakṣhaye 'pi vā | tato 'ham ekāgra-manuśās tāh
prajāḥ samachintayām | 21. So 'ham tāśūṁ viśēṣhārthaṁ striyām ekāṁ
vinirmame | yad yat prajānāṁ pratyangaṁ viṣishtāṁ tat tad uddhītām |
22. Tato mayā rūpa-guṇair Ahalyā strī vinirmittā | Halaṁ nāmeḥ
vairāpyaṁ halyāṁ tat-prabhavam bhavet | 23. Yasyāḥ na vidyate halyaṁ
tenāhalyeti viṣruta | Ahalyety eva cha mayaḥ, tasyāḥ nāma prakīrtītam |
19. “O chief of immortals (Indra), all creatures were by my under-
standing formed by me of one caste, of the same speech, and of one
form in every respect. 20. There was no distinction of them in ap-
ppearance or characteristic (sexual) mark. I then, with intent mind,
reflected on these creatures. 21. In order to distinguish them, I formed
one woman. Whatever there was most distinguished (excellent) in
the several members of [different] creatures was taken [to compose
her]. 22. A woman faultless (ahalyā) in form was then fash-
ioned by me. Hala means ugliness, and halya that which springs from
ugliness. 23. She who has nothing sprung from ugliness (halya) is
known as ‘Ahalyā.’ And I have made her known by this name.”

NOTE I.—Page 427, line 7 from the foot.

Professors Aufrecht and Müller have been good enough to furnish
me with the text of this Durgā-stava, or Rāṭri-sūkta, which, in the
Sanhitā MSS. of the R.V., follows a hymn addressed to Night (the
127th of the Tenth Manḍala—Aṣṭaka, viii. 7, 14). I will first give
the text, with a translation, of the genuine hymn to Night (R.V. x.
127); and then quote the Pariśīṣṭa:

R.V. x. 127.—1. Ratṛi vi akhyād āyati prurtrā devī akshabhiḥ | viś-
vāḥ adhi śriyo 'dhiita | 2. Ā uru aprāḥ amartyā nivato devī udevataḥ |

speaks: “Let S’akra (Indra) worship me: I will purify the thunderer. Having
sacrificed to me with a pure horse sacrifice, he shall again obtain the headship of the
gods, and be delivered from fear.”
APPENDIX.

jyotishā bādhate tamaḥ | 3. Nir ā svasāram askrita ushāsam devī āyati | apa ā āu hāsate tamaḥ | 4. Saḥ no adya yaṣyāḥ vayaṁ ni te yāmann avikṣha- 
mahi | vrikshe na vaṣatiṁ vyayāḥ | 5. Ni grāmāsā avikṣhata ni padvanto ni 
pakshinaḥ | ni śyenāsā chīd arthinaḥ | 6. Yavaya vrikyāṁ vrikaṁ yavaya 
stenam ārmye | atha naḥ sutarā bhava | 7. Upa mā pepiṣat tamaḥ krish- 
naṁ vyaktam asthita | ushāḥ rinda īva yataya, | 8. Upa te gāh iva a 
akaraṁ vrīnīśva duhitār āvah | rātri stomaṁ na jigyusle | "The divine 
Night arriving, hath shone in many places with her eyes; she has 
assumed all her splendours. z. The immortal goddess has widely filled 
the lower and the upper regions: by light she destroys the darkness.
3. Arriving, the goddess has driven away her sister the Twilight: the 
darkness departs. 4. Be to-day [favourable] to us who have gone to 
rest at thy coming, as birds to their nests in a tree. 5. Men, cattle, 
and even suppliant hawks, have gone to rest. 6. Drive away, O 
Night, the she-wolf and the wolf: drive away the thief; and carry 
us safely across [thyself]. 7. Darkness adorned [with stars], black, 
and yet illuminated, has approached me: do thou, Ushas, drive it 
away like one who is bound [to do so]. 8. I have brought for thee 
a hymn, as it were an offering of cows, like [an encomium] for a 
conqueror. Receive it, O Night, daughter of the Day."

1. (=Nir. iv. 29; A.V. 19, 47, 1; and Vāj. S. 34, 32)—Ā rātri pār- 
thivāṁ rajah pitur uprāyī dhāmabhīḥ | divāḥ sadāmsī bhihaṁ vi tiṣṭhase 
ā. vreshaṁ vartate tamaḥ | 2. (A.V. 19, 47, 3) Ye te rātri nričakhsho 
yuktāsā 75 navatir nava | aṣṭiṁ, santv ashtā uto te sapta sapṭatiḥ | 3. 
Rātrim prapadye jananīṁ sarva-bhūta-nivesānīm | bhadṛāṁ bhaga- 
vatīṁ krishṇāṁ viśvasya jāgata niśāṁ | 4. Saṁveṣaṇāṁ saṁyamanīṁ 
graha-nakṣatrā-nāminīm | prapanno 'ham śivāṁ rātrim bhadre pāram 
asimahi bhadre pāram asimahi oṁ namah | 5. Stoshyāṁ prayato 
devīṁ saranyāṁ bāhṛicha-priyām | sahasra-saṁritāṁ Durgāṁ Jatā- 
vedaṁ suvaṇāma somām 77 | 6. Śānty-arthaṁ deivyātmāṁ īśībhīṁ 
semapāśritāḥ (samupāśritāḥ?) | ṛg-vede tvam samutpāṇṇa 'rātiyaṁ nida- 
hāti vedāḥ | 7. Ye tvāṁ devī prapadyante, urāḥmanaṁ havya-vikṣhānīm |

75 For yuktāsah, the A. V. reads draṣṭāraḥ, "seers."
76 This, Professor Aufrecht remarks, is imitated from R.V. i. 35, 1: Rātrim jāhate 
nivesānīm. 77 The final pādas of this and the three following verses are, as Prof. Aufrecht 
observes, borrowed from R.V. i. 99.

I am indebted to Professor Aufrecht for assistance in correcting the corrupt text and in explaining parts of this composition.

1. "O Night, the terrestrial atmosphere was filled with thy father's might. Thou, the mighty one, pervadest the celestial mansions, and awful darkness returns. 2. Night, may the man-beholders which are united with thee be 99, 88, or 77. 3. I attain to Night, the mother, who brings rest to all creatures, kind, divine, dark, the night of the whole world. 4. I have attained the auspicious Night, who causes men to rest, who composes [them], who is invested with a garland of planets and stars. May we reach the other side in safety! may ye reach the other side in safety! 5. Intent, I will praise the divine Durgā, who affords a refuge, who is beloved by the Bahvrichas (priests of the Rig-veda ceremonial), who is equal to a thousand. Let us pour forth soma to Jātavedas (Fire). 6. For the tranquillization of the twice-born, thou art resorted to by rishis, and hast thy origin in the Rig-veda. May [Agni] burn up the wealth of him who seeks to hurt us! 7. The Brahmans, learned or ignorant, who resort, O goddess, to thee, the carrier of oblations,—may he transport us over all difficulties. 8. Agni transports over all evils [though] hard to be traversed,—as in a boat across the ocean,—those twice-born men who shall celebrate the fire-coloured, auspicious, beautiful goddess. 9. In difficulties, in dire perplexity, in battle, in trouble from enemies, in

78 Or, according to the reading of the A.V., "May thy man-beholders, lookers be," etc.
visitations of fire, and thieves, for the prevention of inauspicious planets, (10) in difficulties, perplexities, battles, and forests, men, bewildered, resort to thee. Give us security from these things, give us security from these things! 11. [I praise] her the long-haired, and whose name among all creatures is Panchami. May this goddess every night preserve me in every way. 12. The same as the verse already quoted in the text, p. 427, line 26.) 13. May the divine Durga be propitious for our good in difficulties. He who always every night reads this holy Durga-stava, (the night, Kusika, Saubhara, the ratri-stava, gayatri),—he who continually mutters the ratri-sūkta, arrives at that time."

It will be seen that the sense of some parts of this production is not very clear, but to ascertain it is of little consequence.

NOTE J.—Page 429, lines 13 f.

These same tongues of fire are also mentioned in a hymn to Agni, in the Markandeya Purāṇa, sect. 99, vv. 52 ff.: Yā jihvā bhavataḥ Kālī kālā-nishthā-kari prabho | bhayān naḥ pāhi pāpebhyaḥ aikhākeche haṁbhayāt | 53. Karāti nāma ya jihvā mahā-pralaγa-kāraṇaṁ | tayā na pāhi ityādi | 54. Manojava cha ya jihvā laghimā guṇa-lakshanā | tayā ityādi | 55. Karoti kāmam bhūtebhya ya te jihvā Sulohitā | tayā ityādi | 56. Sudhumra-varṇaṁ ya jihvā prāṁināṁ roga-dāyika | tayā ityādi | 57. Sphulingini cha ya jihvā yataḥ [ya te?] sakala-pudgalā | tayā ityādi | 58. Ya te Viśvā sadā jihvā prāṁināṁ śarma-dāyini | tayā ityādi | 52. "By thy tongue Kālī, the final destroyer [of the world], preserve us from sins and from great present alarm. 53. By thy tongue Karāli, the cause of the great mundane dissolution, preserve us, etc. 54. By thy tongue Manojava, which is distinguished by the quality of lightness, preserve us, etc. 55. By thy tongue Sulohitā, which accomplishes the desires of creatures, preserve us, etc. 56. By thy tongue Sudhumrarvarṇa, which inflicts diseases on living beings, preserve us, etc. 57. By thy tongue Sphulingini, the loveliest of all, preserve us, etc. 58. By thy tongue Viśvā, which always bestows blessings on living beings, preserve us, etc."
“Having formed thee in eight ways, they performed the earliest sacrifice.” This seems to refer to the legend from the Brähmaṇas given in pp. 339-347. Again, we are reminded of some characteristics which are ascribed to Rudra in the Satarudriya vv. 2 and 11 (above, pp. 322 f.) by the expressions which are applied to Agni in the seventy first verse of this hymn: Yat te Vahne śiṣvam rūpaṁ ye cha te sapta hetayah | taliḥ pāhi νaḥḥ stuto deva pīṭa putram īvātmajam | “When thou art lauded, Agni, preserve us by thine auspicious form, and by thy seven shafts, as a father preserves his own son.”

In v. 63 Agni is said to have “stretched out the whole universe, and, though one, to exist in manifold shapes” (tvayā tataṁ viśvam īdam charāeharam Hūtāśanaiko bahudhā īvam atra).
ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

i. Page 6, note 13.
See further R.V. ii. 33, 1; and Dr. Bollensen's remarks on the word sandrīś in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. xxii., p. 588.

ii. Page 9, line 11.
See Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa, viii. 2, 1 f.

iii. Page 19, line 3 from the top and line 11 from the foot.
I learn by a communication, dated some months ago, from Professor Aufrecht, that anvāsaye is not a substantive, as I had understood it, but the third person singular present, from the root śi+anu+ā. He would translate the whole verse thus: "With which body has Skambha entered the past, and which body of his rests over the future? When he divided his one body into a thousand bodies, with which of them did he enter there?" And he thinks that the second half of verse 8 has exactly the same sense. Saye is, he adds, a very common Vedic form for sete. See also the fasciculus of Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon (recently received), s.v. śi, where also saye is stated to be the 3rd pers. sing.; and the scholiast on Pāṇini vii. 1, 41, is referred to in proof. In the same work the root śi+anu+ā is explained as, in this passage, signifying "to stretch over."

I find from Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, s.v. śataēchu, that the words here referred to occur in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka x. 1, 8. I quote in full the verse in which they occur, as well as that which precedes it: Āśvakrānte rathakrānte Vishnukrānte vasundhara | śirasā dharāyishyāmi rakshasva mām pade pade | bhūmir dhenuṛ dharaṇī loka-dhāraṇī | uddhrītā 'si varāhena krishnena sataēchumā |
See Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa, xx. 14, 2 ff.; the commencement of which corresponds with the text from the Pañchavimśa Brāhmaṇa, quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 392.

See Tāṇḍya Br. iv. 1, 4.

For “vi. 2, 42,” read “vi. 2, 4, 2.”

viii. Page 39, line 23.
Ahaṁ durgād āhartā. Compare R.V. i. 61, 7, and viii. 66, 10, in pp. 67 and 91, and the quotation from Sāyana’s commentary given in p. 92 f., above.

ix. Page 44, line 22.
For “5, 32,” read “5, 34.”

x. Page 45, line 5.
See Tāṇḍya Br. viii. 2, 10.

xi. Page 56, line 11.
Compare Tāṇḍya Br. vii. 4, 2; where it is told that the gods failed to gain heaven by either the Gāyatrī, the Trishtubh, the Jagati, or the Anushṭubh metres, but gained it by the Brihati.

xii. Page 58, last line of the text.
Compare Tāṇḍya Br. vii. 5, 11; 6, 5; xii. 5, 23; 9, 21; 13, 27 f.

xiii. Page 61, line 5.
See the discussion among the gods about a formula in Tāṇḍya Br. vii. 8, 1 f.

On the word mātri, “measurer,” Böhtlingk and Roth have the following explanation: “Sāyana brings under this head the verse 1, 61, 7, making the word equivalent to ‘the world-creating (-sustaining) sacrifice.’ Benfey translates ‘carpenter.’ But Vṛitra’s mother may be here spoken of.”
ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

xv. Page 78, line 11 from the foot.
See also Tāndya Br., xx. 15, 6, ff.

xvi. Page 80, line 5 from the foot.
Vishṇu is also mentioned in R.V. v. 49, 3: 
_Indro Vishṇur Varuṇo Mitro Agnir ahāni bhadrā janayanta dasmāḥ_

xvii. Page 81, line 27.
In R.V. viii. 12, 8, Indra is said to have eaten a thousand buffaloes and to have in consequence gained in vigour (yadi pravriddha satpate sahasram mahishān aghaḥ | ād it te indriyam mahi pra varidhe).

"The Āśvins," etc. Read "Ye, Āśvins, have come by a path which yields enjoyment."

For "yan na" read "yan nah: and in line 22, for "tellest not" read "tellest to us."

The passage of the Taitt. San. referred to in p. 88, line 28, viz. ii. 5, 5, 2 (p. 585 of Bibl. Ind., vol. ii.), gives the following explanation of the words Vishṇave S'ipvishṭāya: 
_Yajno vai Vishṇuḥ | paśavah śipih | yajnah eva paśushu pratisṭhāti _
"Vishṇu" means sacrifice, and "Śipī" means victims; for sacrifice depends upon victims." See also the Tāndya Brāhmaṇa ix. 7, 9 ff. R.V. vii. 100, 6, is translated by Prof. Roth in his Illustrations of the Nīruktā, p. 59. I am indebted to Prof. Aufrecht for the following remarks on "S'ipvishṭa: " "This attribute of Vishṇu occurs only in R.V. vii. 99, 6 (a verse which ought to have stood only at the end of hymn 100, as hymn 99 is devoted to the celebration of Indra and Vishṇu), and in the only important verses vii. 100, 5 and 6: The A.V. does not know the word, and in the other Śanhitās and Brāhmaṇas it has been, as in other cases, adopted from the R.V. It is perfectly clear that something opprobrious was expressed by the epithet, for vii. 100, 6, means: "Wly should any one, O Vishṇu, have found a subject for reproof when thou didst say, ‘I am S'ipvishṭa’? Do not conceal even that shape of thine from us, as thou wearest another form in public.' Now Aupa- manyava says clearly that 'Sivipishta’ is ‘kutsitārthiya’ (has a bad,
The commentator on the Taittirīya Sanhītā ii. 2, 12, 5 (vol. ii., p. 390) says that it is used for atyanta-rogīn.

The complete words of Aupamanyava are as follows: S'ipivishta Vishnu iti Vishnur iti Vishno deva namāni bhavataḥ | kutṣṭhārthīyam pūrvam ity Aupamanyavah | "Aupamanyava says that there are two names of Vishnu, S'ipivishta and Vishnu: of which the former has a bad sense."

I quote the commentator's remarks on the verse (vii. 100, 6, of the R.V.) at length: He "Vishno" tuṁ "yad" yasmāt kāraṇat "S'ipivishta asmi" iti prakarṣṣeyā "vavakṣe" puṇaḥ puṇar vakṣḥi tasmāt "te" tava manasi "kim iti pari
chakṣhyyam bhūt" kim idaṁ garhaṇīyam abhūḥ | na etad garhaṇīyam vṛthā eva tava lajāḥ ity abhiṣprāyayāḥ | yadāpy eton nāma loke atyantaragonya | udiṣṭātava-gukytvatavimūdhaḥ prayujyate "S'ipivishta 'yam" iti tathāpy avayavārthasya brāhmaṇe vyākhyātatvād nāsty atra tava lajāḥ-kāraṇam | tasmād "etad varpo" varishtēatānām amsad mā apagūḥah asnākam agra guḍham mā kurū "yad" yasmāt tvai
ghūṇāṇyā eva samitē huvvade kavaca-ūrṣhāṇyābhūn guḍho "anyārūpo habhūthah" babhūvahāḥ | tad anyāthā yathātathā vā bhavatē tathāpy asmad-vriddhaḥ (quere buddhu?) prāstastam idam mā gopāya ity arthaḥ | "O Vishnu, since thou repeatedly sayest ṣaṁ a S'ipivishta, how, then, is this, in thy mind, matter of reproach? It is not matter of reproach; thou art needlessly ashamed: such is the purport. Although this word is in common language applied to diseased persons, to those whose nakedness is uncovered, and to fools, by those who say 'so and so is S'ipivishta,' yet as the sense of its component parts is expounded in this Brāhmaṇa (ii. 5, 5, 2, see above), thou hast no occasion for shame. Do not therefore conceal from us thy most excellent name (so the commentator understands varpas). Inasmuch as in the battle thou hast for the sake of concealment been covered by a coat of mail and a helmet,—whether the fact be so or otherwise, do not conceal that which in our estimation reserves praise."

The word "S'ipivishta" also occurs in the Satarudriya (Vājas. Sanhītā 16, 29); and is thus commented on by Mahidhara on the verse: S'ipivishta Yāya Vishnu-rūpyāya "Vishnuḥ S'ipivishtaḥ" iti śrutē | yadvā śipīsu paśuḥu vishṭā pravishṭaḥ | "paśavo vair śipī" iti śrutē | sarva-prāṇishho antaryāmītāyah sthītah ity arthaḥ | yadvā "yaśno vair śipī" | yaśno 'dheva-dvātātva pravishṭaḥ | śipīr ādityo vā māṇḍalādhishtātā ity arthaḥ | tasmāi nāmaḥ | "śipīyāt-tra raśmayah ucyante tair āvishho bhavatē" iti Yāsokte (Nirukta, 5, 8). "To S'ipivishta, i.e. to him who is in the form of Vishnu: for the Veda says S'ipivishta is Vishnu. Or, according to the Vedic text, that 'śipī' means cattle, S'ipivishta will mean, he who enters into cattle, i.e. who is present in all creatures, pervading them. Or 'śipī' means sacrifice; and so S'ipivishta may signify him who has entered into sacrifice as its presiding deity. Or, 'śipī' is the sun who presides over the circle of the sky—to him be reverence; according to what Yāska says (Nirukta 5, 8) 'śipī' means rays; by them he is pervaded."

Professor Weber has the following notice of 'S'ipivishta' in his Indische Studien (iii. 37 f., no. 15): This is one of those words which already gave trouble to Yāska (Nirukta 5, 9). Bhāṭṭa Bhāskara Miśa has the following: Nirveshṭīta-śeshāyā (ṣeṣāyā) | sāveda devadāru-vana-pradeśadāva vā yathā ādityātmene | yathā Skanda-pūrane S'aytāyuḥmahatayopād (?) vā śipī vair prachakshate | tatpānūr vakhṣāḥ | 'v’ śipīya raṣmayo mātāḥ | teshu pravishṭāh savitā S'ipivishta śhochyate | yadvā paśavaḥ śipayah "yaśno vair Vishnuḥ paśavaḥ śipīr" iti śrutē sarva-prāṇādy-anantāyāmītāvah pravishṭaḥ ity arthaḥ [Prof. W. then quotes the passage of the Mahābhārata, 13229]. "'Śipī' is akin to 'ṣepa,' 'śipra,' Kiefer, ḫi, Hüfte, cippus."
This piece of information is taken from the Amarakosha, where it is said, *Sipivishṭās tu khalatu duscharṃaṇi mahēśvare.* Halayudha and Hemachandra have the same. Amara must have taken the two first meanings ('bald-headed' and 'leprous') from actual use; and there is no reason to doubt that even in the Vedic passages 'Sipivishṭa' means either bald-headed, or one who has a skin disease. So long as the sense of 'śipi' is undetermined, it will be difficult to choose between the two. The word 'śipi' is not found used separately. For what the Taïtiriya Sanhitā ii. 5, 5, 2 (quoted above) says, *yajno vai Viṣṇuḥ paśavah śipiḥ* (Taṁdyā Br. xviii. 6, 26), and all that the modern Hindu commentators say, about 'śipi,' is worthless. A glimmer of light is cast upon 'śipi' by 'śipita,' 'defective,' in the *Satap. Br.* xi. 1, 4, 4.82

See also R.V. viii. 22, 1.

xxi. Page 95, line 1.
For "ix. 166," read "ix. 100."

xxii. Page 95, line 10.
Another verse in which Viṣṇu is mentioned is one in the funeral hymn, R.V. x. 15, 3: Ahaṇ pitṛṁ suvidatān avāsti napaṭān ca vikṛdmanāṇaḥ ca Viṣṇuḥ | "I have found the beneficent Fathers, and the path and the stride of Viṣṇu." Napāt is explained by Mahīdhara in Vij. S. 19, 56, thus: Nāṣṭi pāto yatra sa napāto deva-yāna-patho yatra gatānām pāto nāsti. "Napāta means that on which there is no

81 This passage is as follows: Eshā vai Prajāpatēḥ paṣuṣṭāḥ tanur yat S'ipivishtāḥ | prāṇo bhīhat | prāṇaḥ eva paṣuṣṭaḥ pratitiṣṭhāti | "This S'ipivishtā is that body of Prajāpati which abides in victims (or beasts), The Bhīhaḥ is breath: and it is breath which abides in victims." On which the commentator remarks: "Yajno Viṣṇuḥ | paśavah śipir" iti śruti-antātāḥ | Viṣṇoḥ Prajāpatīvāt S'ipivishtāḥ iti | "For another Vedic text says that Viṣṇu is sacrifice, and śipi denotes victims. Since Viṣṇu has the character of Prajāpati, he is S'ipivishtā," etc.

82 The Commentator's note on this passage is as follows: Akāle nirūptaṁ havih śipitam | tad-ūśrīto dosha-viśeṣah | tad-yuktaṁ eva yajnasya varīram bhavati; Prof. Aufrecht proposes to correct this as follows: Akāle—śipitam | śipitām tadv-ūśrīto dosha-viśeṣah, etc. According to this corrected reading the sense will be: "An oblation offered at a wrong time is 'śipita.' Now 'śipita' means a particular defect residing in the body. With it the body of the sacrifice becomes affected, as it were."
ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

fall, the path leading to the gods, on which those who go along it do not fall.” Sāyaṇa on R.V. x. 15, 3 makes the word = vināśābhāva, “the absence of destruction.”

xxiii. Page 114, line 14.

For “verse” read “sense.”

xxiv. Page 119, note 119.

As regards the question whether or not ether (ākāṣa) is eternal, see the first volume of this work, pp. 130 and 506, and the third vol., pp. 70, 106, and 164.

xxv. Page 127, line 4 from the foot.

For “praviṇakti” read “pravṛiṇakti.”

xxvi. Page 128, line 5.

The Commentator on the Taitt. Ār. (Bibl. Ind.), p. 372, explains utkara thus: Veder uttara-bhāge pāṃśu-trīṇādayo yatra prakshipyante so ‘yam utkaraḥ | “The utkara is the place on the north side of the Vedi (altar) where dust, grass, etc., is thrown.”


This passage is identical with Tandya Br. vii. 5, 6, vol. i., p. 433.

xxviii. Page 262, line 6 from the foot.

The Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa xii. 6, 8, also relates that Indra, after thus treacherously slaying Namuchi, was followed by the head or something else which cried, “Slayer of a hero, thou hast injured me, thou hast injured me.” This he could not destroy, either by rich, or sāman, but by a Hārvāṇa” (tad enam pāpiyāṁ vāchaṁ vaddad anvavartata “vira-ḥann adruho ‘druhaḥ” iti | tad na ‘riḥa na sāṃnā apahantum aśaknot | tad hārvāṇasya eva niḍhanena apahāta)

xxix. Page 297, line 18.

To the word “Jarāsandha” at the beginning of the line, prefix “582.”

xxx. Page 300, line 6.

For “x. 70,” read “v. 70.”
ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

xxx. Page 302, line 15.
Prof. Whitney has since given up this interpretation. See p. 399.

For “ii. 2, 29,” read “xi. 2, 29.”

xxxiii. Page 303, line 22.
For “commentorial,” read “commentatorial.”

See Wilson’s Vishnu Purana, Dr. Hall’s ed., vol. ii., pp. 77 f.

xxxv. Page 319, line 2.
For “x. 26,” read “xii. 26.”

xxxvi. Page 400, line 11.
For “ii. 23,” read “ii. 33.”

For “x. 99,” read “x. 90.”

xxxviii. Page 471, line 12.
For “Devavati,” read “Vedavati.”

xxxix. Page 491, line 27.
For “xii. 8, 17,” read “xii. 4, 17.”
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