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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,

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

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.*

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, Vishnū, 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-carman, Hiranyagarbha, and Prajāpati, and appears to correspond with the Brahmā of the more modern legendary books.

Though this god was originally unconnected with Vishnū 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 ix, 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.]
Brahma was from the beginning considered as the Creator, and he continued to be regarded as such in the same function even after he had sunk into a subordinate position, and had come to be represented by the votaries of Vishnu and Mahadeva 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 Brahma 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 Pālma 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 Pūncharattra, published in the Bibliotheca Indica, in 1866, p. 4, the Rev. K. M. Banerjea refers to this subject: "Of the three select divinities," (Brahma, 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 Brahma had exhorted his son Nārada to take a wife and so people the world (ārśtiṃ kuru mahābhāga kriṣṭā dāra-parigraham, v. 5). Hereupon Nārada, who was a votary of Kṛishṇa, 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). Brahma 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: Tātasya vachanaṁ śrutvā chukopa Nārado muniḥ | sādāpa pītarāmin śighrama dāriṇāma cha yathochitaṁ | 31. Apūtyo bhava dushṭa tevaṁ tevan-mantrapāsakāḥ kulāḥ | apanyā-gamanachā te bhavishyati na saṁśayāḥ | 32. Nāradasya te śāpam so pūtyo jagatāṁ v.tiḥiḥ | drishtāḥ eva-kanyā-rūpaṁ cha paśchād dāvāvan purā | 33. Punaḥ evadekah! tatyāya bhārītaḥ Sanakūdībhīkiḥ | lajitāḥ kūma-yuktaḥ cha punar Brahmā bābhūva saḥ | 34. Nāradas tu namaskrītya pītarāmin kanaloḍhavāma | evpar-deham parityājaṁ ganḍharvaś ca bābhūva saḥ | 30. "Hearing the words of his father, the muni Nārada became incensed, and straightway 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. Brahma afterwards became ashamed, being a slave to lust. 34. And Nārada, having made obeisance to his 'dotus-born father, forsook his Brahmanical body, and became a Gandharva." His loves are then related.
him, or to Uśā, the assumption of the forms of a tortoise, Ścor*, and a fish, are in later works transferred 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 designating 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 originally considered as of no higher rank than the other beings who bear the same name of Ādityas. The Fourth

* Compare the passage from the Tattvya Sankītā, vii. 1, 5, 1, quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 52.
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 Rāmāyana, the Mahābhārata, and in the Vishṇu 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 Śūrya, who seem to have been regarded by the author as the triad of deities in whom the Supreme Spirit was especially revealed, while Vishṇu and Rudra are merely mentioned as gods who were worshipped conjointly with Indra and Soma, respectively. The later triad of Brahmā, Vishṇu 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 Rāmāyana 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 Vishṇu; 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, Vishnu and Rudra (Mahadeva) 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 Vajasaneyi Sanhitā (321-331), in the Atharva-veda (332-339), in the Brähmanaśas 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 Mahadeva'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 Mandaka Upanishads, in the Taittiriya Āranyaka, in the Rāmāyaṇa, Harivaṇīśa, and Mahābhārata, and in the Markandeya 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 Brahmā, Vishnu, Rāma, Krishṇa, Umā, etc.

It will be apparent to all Sanskrit scholars that the
main results at which I have arrived in regard to Vishṇu, 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. xxi.), 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 Yāska and to the Commentary of Durga, by which it is shown that the three steps of Vishṇu 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 Vishṇu of the Vedas is in no way the Vishṇu of the mythologists. A commentator of a certain authority, Durgīchārya, explaining the Nirukta of Yāska, when he arrives at the text of Medhātithi published by Rosen," (i.e. R.V. i. 22, 17 ff.) "yis positively that Vishṇu is the sun, either because he enters into the heaven, or because he entirely occupies it. This interpretation, which he derives from Yāska himself, leaves no doubt on the question what we are to understand by the Vishṇu 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 Yāska 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 sense, is a sufficiently sure guide; and the ideas, though originally simple, are clothed in form 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 Aufrechte, 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 Purāṇa, 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.
Contents.

Pages.

v.—xii. Prefaces.

1, 2. Plan of the Work.

3—62. Chapter I. Texts from the Vedic Hymns, Brāhmaṇas, and Purāṇas, etc., relating to the creation of the universe, and to the deities Viśakarman, Daksha, Aditi, Hiṃṣayōgarbha, Skambha, Prajāpati, Purusha, Nirāya, and Prahmā.

3—20. Sect. I. Texts from the Rig and Atharva-vedas regarding the creation and some of the deities just named.

20—62. Sect. II. Creation; primeval waters; mundane egg; Brahmā or Prajāpati; morality of the Indian gods; creation of the gods, etc.; according to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Manu, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas, and the Harivaṃśa.

63—298. Chapter II. Viṣṇu, as represented in the Vedic Hymns, the Brāhmaṇas, the Itihāsas, and the Purāṇas.


97—114. Sect. II. Subordinate position occupied by Viṣṇu in the Hymns of the Rig-veda, as compared with other deities, Indra, Varuṇa, etc.

114—121. Sect. III. Viṣṇu as one of the twelve Adityas, according to the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas.

121—156. Sect. IV. Stories regarding Viṣṇu from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, the Panchavīṃśa Brāhmaṇa, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas.
CONTENTS.

PAGES.
156—298. Sect. V. Vishṇu, as represented in the Nirukta, and his character and incarnations as described in the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, and Purāṇas; with Notices of Mahādeva.

299—437. CHAPTER III. Rudra or Mahādeva, and Ambikā or Umā, as represented in the Vedic Hymns, Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads, and in the Itiḥāsas and Purāṇas.

299—320. Sect. I. Rudra, as represented in the Hymns of the Rig-veda.
321—331. Sect. II. Passages relating to Rudra, and to Ambikā, from the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā of the white Yajur-veda.
332—339. Sect. III. Passages relating to Rudra, Bhava, Sarva, etc., from the Atharva-veda.
339—355. Sect. IV. Passages relating to Rudra from the Sātapatha and Sānkhyāyaṇa Brāhmaṇas; and from the Mahābhārata.
355—363. Sect. V. Passages relating to Rudra from the Upanishads.
363—393. Sect. VI. Some further texts from the Itiḥāsas and Purāṇas relative to Rudra.
393—420. Sect. VII. Conclusions deducible from the preceding sections in regard to the mythological history of Rudra: inquiry in regard to the origin of the Linga worship, and the question whether in the epic era Rudra was especially worshipped in the South of India.

420—437. Sect. VIII. Earlier and later representations of Ambikā, Umā, Kāli, Karāli, Pārvatī, or Dīrgā, according to the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, the Kena and Muṇḍaka Upanishads, the Taittirīya Āranyaka, the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas.

439—501. APPENDIX, CONTAINING CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONAL TEXTS.
439. Note A. Passage from the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa regarding the creation by Prajāpati.
439—441. Note B. Passage from the Rāmāyaṇa regarding Vishṇu’s three steps.
441. Note C. Reference to some variations in the text of Schlegel’s and the Bombay Rāmāyaṇa.
CONTENTS.

441—491. Note D. Passages from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata relating to the legendary history of Rāma, and the question whether in the oldest text of the former poem he was represented as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

491—493. Note E. Quotations from the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa regarding the Yātis.

494. Note F. Opinions of Professors Roth and Aufrecht regarding the meanings of the root śru.

494. Note G. Quotation from the Rāmāyaṇa regarding Rāvana.

494—497. Note H. Story of Indra and Indrajit.

497—500. Note I. Hymn x. 127 of the Rigveda; and Durgā-stava, or Rātrasukta.

500—501. Note J. Quotation from the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa regarding the tongues of Agni.

502—508. Additional Notes and Corrections, including further remarks and quotations regarding the word Sipivishta.

509—524. Index.
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

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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, Hiraṇyagarbha, 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, BRAHMANAS, AND PURANAS, ETC., RELATING TO THE CREATION OF THE UNIVERSE, AND TO THE DEITIES VIŚVAKARMAN, BRAHMANASPATI, DAKSHA, ADITI, HIRANYAGARBHA, SKAMBHA, PRAJAPATI, PURUSA 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 (= TAITTIRIYA BRAHMANA, ii. 8, 9, 3).

R. V. x. 129, 1 ff.—Na asad āsīd no sad āsīt tadānīṁ na āsīd rajo no vyoma paro yat | kim āvarīvaḥ kuha kasya śarmann ambhaḥ kim āsīd gahanaṁ gabhiram  2. Na mṛityur āsīd amritaṁ na tarhi na rātryāḥ ahnaḥ āsīt praketaḥ | ānīd avātaṁ svadhayā tad ekaṁ tasmād ha anyad na paraṁ kinchanāsa  3. Tamāḥ āsīt tamasā gātham agre apraketaṁ salilaṁ sarvam āḥ ēdam | tuchhyena ābhv apihitam ēad āsīt tapasas tad

1 The Vishnu Purana, i. 21 f., 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 Sānkhya doctrine of Pradhāna: Veda-vāda-vīdo vīprāh niyatāḥ Brahma-vādināḥ | paṭhaṁ tvaṁ evārtham Pradhāna-pratipādakaṁ | 22. Nāho na rātrir na nabhō na bhūmīṁ nāsīt tamo jyotir ābhūd na vā 'nyat | śrotrād-buddhyānupalabhyaṁ ekaṃ prādhāyaṁ Brahmo pumāṁs taddāsīt | "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. 21 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 S'atapatha Brahmaṇa, x. 6, 5, 1 (=Bṛhad Āraṇyaka 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,4 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

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 'kāmaya, 4 he desired," etc. In <verse> 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 RV. x. 82, 5 ff., x. 72, 6; the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, etc.

5 See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon under the words Āhu and tuchhya.
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 ff. The hymn is also translated and illustrated in the fifth volume of this work, pp. 356 ff., to which I refer.

**Visvakarmānam,—Rig-veda, x. 81 and 82 (=Vāj. Sanh. xvii. 17–23; 25–31; and Taítt. Sanh. iv, 6, 2, 1 ff.).**


R. V. x. 82, 1 ff.—Chakshusahs pitā manasaḥ hi dhīro ghrītam11 ene

6 Ob Einer sie schuf oder nicht. Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, under the root dhā (p. 903).
7 Paramachchado varā T.S.
8 The A. V. reads yo viśvāucharṣhaṁgir uta viśvatomukho yo viśvataspāṇigir uta viśvataśprithāḥ | sam bāhubhyāṁ bharati, etc.
9 Instead of prithivīm uta dyām the S. V. reads tāvāṁ svā hi te.
10 Instead of Janāsahā the Vāj. S. reads sapatiḥāḥ.
11 Compare R. V. v. 83, 8. See the fifth volume of this work, pp. 140 ff.
Our Visvakarman 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 with his arms and with his wings.

4. What was the wood, what was the tree, out of which they fashioned the heaven and earth?

12 Manasa yad | T.S.

13 See R.V. iv. 1, 6, and iv. 6, 6, and Roth's Illustrations of Nirukta, x. 26, p. 141.

14 Instead of yo vidhati the A.V. has sa uta bandhu.

15 Yo nah sato abhi a sajajana | T. S.

16 Asuriita siriti rajajo vimane | T. S.

17 Gah a yat | T. S.

18 After this verse the Taitt. Sanh. has the following [=Vaj. S. xvii. 32]: Visvakarman hy ajanisha devah ad gandharvo abhavaad devitiyah | tritiyah pita janita oshadbhuma apama gandham eyadadhah purudra | "The god Visvakarman 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 Bhaviti | T.S.

20 Compare R.V. x. 72, 2, below, p. 61; and R.V. iv. 2-17 (=A.V. xviii. 3, 22): Ayo na devah janinam dhamaptah | "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, Viṣva-
karman, 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, Viṣva-
karman, 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, Viṣvakarman, 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. Viṣvakarman 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 23 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; vi. 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; vii. 66, 9; viii. 26, 12. This sense is perhaps also recommended by the parallel in R. V. i. 181, 4, between sujakhasya sūriḥ and divaḥ putroḥ.
24 Nāma cha pitā eva karoti | Mahiddhāra.
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 Sanhitā (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 Taittirīya Sanhitā, 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. vii. 15; and R. V. x. 82, 7 in Nir. Pariśiṣṭa, 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 Sanhitā, 12, 61, 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 Bhuśana, 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 Brāhmaṇa, iv. 22, and Professor Haug’s translation, p. 299.

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

Tatretihāsan āchakshaṁ | Viśvakarman Bhuvanaṁ sarvamedhe sarvāṁ bhūtāṁ jūhavānchakara sa atmānām api antato jūhavānchakara | tad-ahbhivādiny esā rig bhavati ‘yaṁ ima viśvā bhuvanāni jūhavā’ 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 ‘yayāḥ ritubhir deva devān evā yajasva tanvaṁ sujāta | ‘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; svayam yajasva tanvaṁ vridhānaḥ | ‘sacrifice to thyself for thine own glorification’: the idea of self-immolation has arisen from a misunderstanding of the word tanū27 and of the construction of the root yaj. The 1st verse of the same hymn (R. V. x. 81, 4) 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: 'Viṣṇukarman, 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 Sūkta. 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 sacrificing 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 Sūkta. 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:

21. Yadā  √yā nābhyaṁ nalinād aham āsam mahātmanāḥ | nāvindāṁ yajna-sambhārāṇ Purushāvayavān rite | 22. Teshu yajnasya paśavāh sa-vanaspatayah kuśāh | idanachā deva-yajanaṁ kālaś choru-guṇāṅvitaṁ | 23. Vastūny oshadayāh snehāḥ rasa-loha-mrido jalam | richo yajūṁshi sāmāṇi chaturhotrangha sattama | 24. Nāmāhveyāṁ mantraś cha dakshiṇās cha  vratāni cha | āvṛtānukramaḥ kalpaḥ sankalpas tantram eva cha | 25. Gatayo matayaḥ chaiva prāyaśchittam samarpanam | Purushāvayavair ete sambhārāḥ sambhiritaṁ mayā | 26. Ite sambhirita-sambhārāḥ Purushāvayavair aham | tam eva Purushaṁ yajnaṁ tenaiyāyajam īsvaram | "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 Kuśa 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 YaJuś, and the Śāmaṇ, 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, q, 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: Viśvakarmā mahābhāgo jajne śilpa-prayāpate | kartā śilpa-sahasrāṇāṁ tridāsanāṁ cha vardhakāḥ | bhūshaṇāṇāṁcha sarveshāṁ kartā śilpavatāṁ varaḥ | yo divyāṁ vimāṇāṁ tridāsaṇāṁ chakra ha | maunshyās chopājivanti tasya śilpam mahātmanaḥ | pūjayanti cha yaṁ nityām Viśvakarmāṇam 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.”

BRAHMĀNASPATI, DAKSHA, AND ADITI,—RIG-VEDA, X. 72.28

R. V. x. 72, 1 ff.—Devānāṁ nu vayaṁ jānā pravochāma vipanyayā | uktheshu śaśyamāneshu yaḥ paśyād uttare yuge29 | 2. Brahmānaspatir etā saṁ karmāraḥ30 ivādhanāś | devānaṁ pūrve yuge asataḥ sad ajāyata31 |

28 This hymn is also translated and illustrated in the fifth volume of this work, pp. 48 ff.
29 See Benfe's Glossary to the Śāma-veda, under the word yuga; and the first volume of this work, p. 456.
30 Karmāraḥ | sa yathā bhastraya 'gnim upadhamaty evam uḍapādayat | (Sāyana) “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.—Brihantu nāma te devāḥ ye'sataḥ pari jajire | kāṁ tad angaṁ Skambhasya asad āluḥ paro janāḥ | “Great are those gods who
3. Devānāṁ yuge prathamān asataḥ sad ajāyata| tad āsāḥ anv ajāyanta
tad Uttānapadās pari | 4. Bhūr jagne Uttānapado bhuvah āsāḥ ajāyanta |
Aditer Daksho ajāyata Dakshād u Aditiḥ pari | (comp. R. V. x. 90, 5.)
5. Aditir hi ajonishṭa Daksha yā duhitā tava| Tām devāḥ anv ajāyanta
bhadrāḥ amrita-bāndhavah | 6. Yad devāḥ oḍaḥ salile32 susaṁrabdhāḥ
atishṭhata | atra vo nṛityatām icā tīvṛo reṇur apāyata | 7. Yad devāḥ33
yatayo yathā bhuvanāni apinvata | atra samudre āgūḥam ā śuryam ajau-
harttana | 8. Ashtau putrāso Aditer ye jātās tanvas pari | devān upa
prait saptabhīḥ pari Mārttāndam āsay34 | 2. Saptabhīḥ putrāir Aditer
upa prait pūrvayām yugam | prajāyai mrityave tvat punar Mārttāndam
ābharat35 |

“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 āhur “asad
evedam agre āsīd evam evādviṣṭiyāṃ tasmād asataḥ saj jīyeta” | Kutas tu ṭhānu saunyā
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 Sāyāna makes yatayaḥ meghāḥ, “clouds.” See the fifth volume of this
work, p. 49, note 92.
34 Pārīṣyat = upari prākshipat, “fossed aloft” (Sāyāṇa).
35 Abharat = āharat = dyuloke adhārayat, “placed in the sky” (Sāyāṇa).
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] Mārttāṇḍa [the sun]. 9. With seven sons [only] Aditi approached the former generation of gods. Again, for birth as well as for death she disclosed Mārttāṇḍa.”

In R. V. vi. 50, 2, mention is made of certain luminous gods (sujyotishaḥ) 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. Uttānapāda is said in the Vīṣṇu and other Purāṇas to have been a son of Māṇa 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: Ādityo Dakshaḥ ity āhur Āditya-madhya cha stutah | Āditir Dākshāyaṇi | “Aditer Dasko ajayata Dakshād u Aditiḥ pari” iti cha | tat katham upapadyeta | samāna-janmānu syātām ity api vā deva-dharmena itaretara-janmānu syātām itaretara-prakṛiti | “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. 141), translates the 4th and 5th verses of the hymn before us: “Bhū (the world) was born, and from her opened womb (Uttānapad) sprang the Spaces: from Aditi was born Daksha (spiritual force), and from Daksha again Aditi. Yes,

36 The word Mārttāṇḍa is compounded of two words māṛṭta, apparently derived from mṛtyu, death, and auḍa, an egg, or place of production. The last line seems to contain an allusion to this derivation of the word. The Harivaṃśa v. 549, thus interprets the word: Na ḍhāv ayaṃ mṛto ‘ndakṣah āḥ iti snehā abhāṣhata [a]jānāt Kasyapsas tas’ṣād Mārttāṇḍaḥ iti cchyoate | “Kasyapa, from affection, but in ignorance, said, ‘he is not dead, abiding in the egg;’ hence he is called Mārttāṇḍa.” See the fifth volume of this work, p. 49, note 94. Bühlungk 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."

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

"Ashtau putrāsah" putrāḥ Mitraṇa-'diter bhavanti | "Ye Adites tawas pari" sariraj "jātāh" utpannāḥ | Aditer ashta-putrāḥ Ādhvarvaya-brāhmaṇe parigāṇitāḥ | tathā hi | "tān anukramisyāno Mitraḥ cha Varuṇaḥ cha Dhātā cha Aryāmā cha Āṃśa śa cha Bhagaḥ ā Varvasvēn Ādityaḥ cheti" | tathā tatra va pra desāntare Aditim prastutya āmnātām "tasyāḥ uchchheshanāṁ adadhus tat prāśnāt | sā reto 'dhatta tasyai chatvāraḥ Ādityāḥ afāyanta sā devīyam apibad" ityādinā astānām Ādityānām utpattir varnītā |

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

Ashtau ha vai putrāḥ Aditeh | Yānā te etad "devāḥ Ādityāḥ" ity āchakshate sapta ha eva te | avikritan38 ha āshaman javayānchakāra Mārttāndam | sandegho39 ha evāsa | yāvāḥ evordhvas tāvāṁs tiryān purusha-sammitaḥ ity u ha eke ākum | 4. "Te u ha eke uchur devāḥ Ādityāḥ "yad asmān anv ajanimā tad amuṣyeva bhūd | hanta imaṁ vikaravāna" iti | tām vichakrur yathā yam purusho vikritis tatsya yāni māṁsāni saṅkriyā sanvyaṁs tato hasti samabhdtat | tasmād āhur "na hastinam

38 Avikritam kara-chaṛanādi-vikārōḥ iti tat-rāhitam | Comm.
39 Samyag upachitaḥ samah evāsit | Comm.
parigrihiṇyāt purushājōṇo hi hastī  
iti | yam u ha tad vichakrakaṃ sa Vivasvān Adityas 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 she produced the eighth, Mārtāṇḍa, 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."

Hiranya-garbha,—Rig-veda, x. 121.


40 Purushājōnaḥ purusha-prakritikāḥ | Comm.
41 Hiranya hiranya-purusha-rūpe brāhmaṇe garba-rūpena avasthitah Prajāpati Hiranya-garbhaḥ bhūtasya prāṇijātasya agrā samavarttata prāṇijātotpateḥ purū svayaṃ śarīра-dhāri bhūṣṇaḥ | Prajāpati Hiranya-garbha, 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 hiranmayāḥ sākunir Brahma nāma | “The golden bird, namely Brahma,” in Taitt. Br. 3, 12, 9, 7.)

42 Jātaḥ. Compare R. V. ii. 12, 1; R. V. x. 133, 2; asatru Indra janīnіshē—“Indra, thou hast been born without a rival;” and R. V. viii. 21, 13. . . . . . . . . tam anāpir Indra janāḥ sa nād āsi | “Indra of old art thou by nature without a fellow.”
43 Kasmai devāya | Kashāī 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 tasmai havīśhā vidhema | “Ka is Prajāpati: to him let us offer our oblations.” S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, 7, 4, 2, 19.
(Vāj. S. 23, 3: A. V. 4, 2, 2.) Yaḥ prāṇato nimishato mahītvā ekaḥ id raja jagato babhūva | ya īśa asya dvipadaś chatushpadāḥ kasmai ityādi |
4. (Vāj. S. 25, 12: A. V. 4, 2, 5.) Yasye me himavanto mahītvā yasya samudraṁ rasayā" sahāhub | yasyemāḥ pradiśo yasya bāhuḥ kasmai ityādi |
5. (Vāj. S. 32, 6, 7: A. V. 4, 2, 3, 4.) Yena āyaur ugra prithivi cha dṛilī yena svah stabhitaṁ yena nākāh | yo anta:ikṣe rajaso vimūnaḥ kasmai ityādi |
6. Yaṁ krandasī" avasā tāstabhāne abhy aikṣhetām manaṁ rejamāne | yatradhi sūraḥ udito vibhāti kasmai ityādi |
7. (Vāj. S. 27, 25: A. V. 4, 2, 6, 8.) Āpo ha yad brihatir viśvam āyam garbhāṁ" dadhānāḥ janayantar angrim | tato devānām samavattatāsur ekaḥ kasmai ityādi |
8. (=Vāj. S. 27, 26.) Yaś ehi āpo mahīnā paryapaśyad dakshaṁ dadhānāḥ janayantar yajnam | yo devesha adhi devāḥ ekaḥ āśit kasmai ityādi |
9. (=Vāj. S. 12, 102.) Mā no himsij janītā yaḥ prithivyāḥ yo eā divāṁ sātyadharmā jajānā | yaś cāpaś chandraḥ brihatir jajāna kasmai" ityādi |
10. (=Vāj. S. 10, 20: A. V. 7, 79, 4; 7, 80, 3; Nir. x. 48.) Prajāpate na tvad etāñy anyo viśvā jātanī pari tā babhūva | yathāmās te juhumā tan no āstu vayaṁ syāma patayo rayiṁām |

"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 Krandasi ["This word is explained in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon as meaning (not heaven and earth, as Mahābhārata 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 kasmai the 168th hymn has tasmai. I quote this verse with the last words of the 3rd. . . . . kva svij jatāh kutāḥ ababhūva | 4. ātmā devānām bhuvānasya garlic yathāvajam charati devah ekaḥ | ghoshaṁ id asya śrubore na rupadā tasmai Vātaya havyāhā 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 but [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 (asū) 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-vedā. In making my translation, I have had the assistance of Mahīdhara'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 Mahīdhara refers to the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 1, 3, 1: Āpo ā vai idam agre salilam evīsa | "This [universe] was in the beginning waters, only water;" 48 and explains the words garbhāṇi dadhānāḥ, "containing a germ," thus: tatha garbhāṃ Hiranyagarbha-kṣaṇām dadhānāḥ dharayantyāḥ atāḥ eva agnim janayantih agni-rūpaṃ Hiranyagarbhaṃ janayantyāḥ upādayishvantyāḥ | "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 S'atapatha 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, thus (A.V. 4, 2, 6): Āpo agre viśvam āvah garbham dadhānāḥ amrītāḥ ritājnāḥ | yūsu devishv adhi devaḥ asīt kasmai ētyādi | "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 vatsayaṁ janayantir garbham agre samairayan ātyuta jāyamāṇasya uḥbhaḥ āsīt hiranyayaḥ | kasmai devāya ētyādi—"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 (asu) 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 anatyudyam janāḥ viduḥ | Skambhās tadagrē prūsinchad hiranyāṁ loke antara | "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 stādrohā Prajāpatir lokān sarvān adhārayat | Skambham tam brāki̯ katamāḥ eved eva saḥ | Ā. Yat paramam avamāṁ

Veda x. 7 and 8; Skambha.

A. V. x. 8, 2.—Skambhenemōv-visēṣṭhite dyauṣ cha bhūmiś cha tīṣṭhataḥ | Skambhaḥ idaṁ sārvarvam ātmanvad yat práṇad nīmishachaḥ yat | . . . . 11. Yad ejati patati yachcha tīṣṭhiḥ prāṇad aprāṇan nīmishachḥ cha yaḍ bhuvat | tad dādāra pritīvāṁ visvārūpaṁ tat sambhūya bhavat | ekam eva | . . . . 44. Akūmo dhīro anṛțaḥ swayambhūḥ rasena trīpto na kutaścānanaḥ | tam eva vidvān na bhīyāḥ mrityor ātmānaṁ dhīram ājaṛam yuṟuṇam |

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 (Paramesṛthin): he who knows Paramesṛthin, and who knows Prajāpati,—they who know the highest

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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 Skāmbha. . . . 24. In the place where the gods, the knowers of sacred science (brahma) reverence the highest Brahma,—that priest (brahma) 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. Skambḥa 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 omniform [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, Viṣṇu, and Savitṛī.

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, Manus, the Rāma-yāṇa, 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 āsīt | tad āhuḥ 'kiṁ tad asad āśid' iti | rishayo vāva te 'agre asad āsīt' tad āhuḥ | 'ke te rishayaḥ' iti | prānaḥ vai rishayas te yat puraḥ 'smāt sarvamād idam ichhantah śramaṇa tapasā 'rishāṁs tas-

mād rishayaḥ | 2. Sa yo 'yam madhye prānaḥ esha evendraḥ | tān esha prānān madhyataḥ indriyenaīndha | yad aindha tashnād Indhāḥ | Indho hai tavam Indrāḥ ity āchakshale paroksham | paroksha-kāmāḥ hi devās te iddhaḥ sapta nāṇā purushān āsrījanta | 3. Te 'bracan “na vai itthāṁ sāntāḥ sakṣhayāṁ prajanaīyum imān sapta purushān ēkam purushāṁ ċaravāma” iti te etān sapta purushān ēkam purusham akurcan | yad uṛddhvaṁ nābhēs tau dvau sāmanubjān | yad avān nābhēs tau dvau | pakṣāḥ purushaḥ | pakṣāḥ purushaḥ | pratishṭhā ekāḥ āsīt | . . . . 5. Sa eva purushaḥ Prajapātir ābhavat sa yaḥ sa purushāḥ Prajāpatir ābhavat ayam eva sa yo 'yam Agniś 50 chīyate | 6. Sa vai sapta-purusho bhavati | sapta-purusho hy āyam purusho yach chatvāraḥ ātmān trayāḥ pakṣa-pučhāṇī | chatvāro hi tasya puruṣāsya ātmā trayāḥ pakṣa-pučhāṇī 51 | atha yad ekena puruṣēṇa ātmānaṁ vardhayati tena viryena āyam ātmā pakṣa-pučhāṇī udyachhati | . . . . 8. So 'yam purushaḥ Prajapātir akāmāyata 'bhūyāṁ syām prajāyeya' iti | so 'śrāmyat sa tapo 'tapāyata' | sa śrāntas tepāno brahma eva prathamam āsrījata trayāṁ eva vidyāṁ | eva eva āsmā pratiśthā 'bhavat tasmād āhur 'brahma asya sarvasya pratiśthā' iti | tasmād anūchchāya pratitishṭhāti pratiśthāḥ hy ēkā yad brahma | tasyāṁ pratiśthāyāṁ pratiśthātī 'tapāyata' | 9. So 'po 'srījata vācaḥ eva lokād vāg evāsya sā 'srījyata sā idāṁ sarvam āpnoḥ yad idāṁ kinccha | yad āpnot tasmād āpāḥ 52 | yad avrīnot tasmād vāḥ | 10. So 'kāmāyata 'abhyo 'dbhīyo 'dhi prajāyeya' iti so 'nayā trayāṁ vidyāya saha apāḥ prāvīśat tataḥ āṇḍāṁ samavarttāna tad abhyamīśad 'ustv ity āstu bhūyo 'stv ity eva tad abhrāt | tato brahma eva prathamam āsrījata trayā eva vidyāḥ | tasmād āhur 'brahma asya sarvasya prathamajām' ity | api hi tasmād purusāḥ brahma eva pūrṇam āsrījata tad asya tad mukham eva āsrījyata | tasmād anūchchānam āhur 'Agni-
kālpah' iti | mukham hy etad Agner yad 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: inasmuch 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 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 Prajāpati. The male who became Prajāpati 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) Prajāpati 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 foundation, 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.54 Speech belonged to him. It was

54 This is illustrated by a passage in the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, viii. 5, 2, 21 (p. 617), which says: vāg vai ajo vičho vai praśah Visvākarmā jayaiha ! ‘Speech is the mover [or, the unborn]. It was from speech that Vīśvakarman produced creatures.’ And in the Brāhmanā Arānyaka (p. 290 of Bibl. Ind.) it is said | trayo lokāh ete eva | vāg evāyam loko mano 'antariksha-lokah prāna 'sau lokah | ‘It is they which are the three
created. It pervaded all this. Because it pervadad (āpnot) all this which exists, it (speech) was called waters (āpaḥ); 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 saptā purushān ekam purusham akurcan sa Prajāpatir abhayat | sa prajāḥ asrijata | sa prajāḥ rishītvā ūrdhveḥ udakramat | sa etām lokam agachhad yatra esha etat tapati | no ha tarhy anyāḥ etasmāḥ atra yajniyāḥ āsa tam devāḥ yajnenaiva yashtum adhriyanta | tasmād etad rishināḥ 'bhyanuktaḥ 'yajnena yajnam ayajanta devāḥ 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 scorchs 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 worlds. Speech is this world, mind is the atmospheric world, and breath is that world (the sky).” Regarding the action of Vāch in the creation, compare Weber’s Ind. Stud. ix. 477 f., and the passages quoted from him in the fifth volume of this work, p. 391 f.

53 Compare A.V. x. 2, 7 | sa ā varjvarti bhūjanah av antar aṣo vasaṇah kah ute tach ekiketa | “He (Purusha) moves actively in the worlds, clothed with the waters: who has known this?”

54 It had, however, been created before. See a few lines above.

57 Compare Satap. Br. x. 2, 3, 18.—Saptavidho vai agrē Prajāpatir asrijyata. These words are repeated in x. 2, 4, 8.
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.—Āpo ha vai idam agre salilam evāsa 58 | tāh akāmayanta ‘kathāṁ nu praṇāyamaḥ’ iti tāh aśrāmyāṁs tās tapo ‘tapyaṇta | tāsu tapas tapyaṃnāsu hiśnaṃmayam āṇḍāṁ sambabhūva | ājāto ha tarhi saṁvatsaraḥ āśa | tad ēmāṃ hiśnaṃmayam āṇḍāṁ yāvat saṁvatsarasasya vēlā tāvat paryāpāvata 2. Tatāḥ saṁvatsare purushāḥ samabhavat sa Prajāpatiḥ | ṭasmād u saṁvatsare eva stri vā gaur vā vaḍābā vā vijāyate saṁvatsare hi Prajāpatir ājāyata | sa ēmāṃ hiśnaṃmayam āṇḍāṁ vyarujat | na āho tarhi kācchāna pratisṭhītaḥ āśa | tad enam idam eva hiśnaṃmayam āṇḍāṁ yāvat saṁvatsarasasya vēlā āsīt tāvad bibhṛat paryāpāvata 59 | 3. Sa saṁvatsare vyājīhirshat | sa ‘bhūr’ iti vyāharat sā iyam prithivy abhavat 60 ‘bhuvah’ iti tad ēmāṃ antarikṣam abhavat ‘svar’ iti sā asav dyaur abhavat tasmād u saṁvatsare eva kumāro vyājīhirshati saṁvatsare hi Prajāpatir vyāharat | . . . 6. Sa sahasrāyur jajñe | sa yathā nādiyai pāram parāpaśyed evam svasyāyuṣah pāram parāchaḥkyau | 7. So ‘rchan śrāmyāṁs cachaḥra praṇākāmaḥ |

58 Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 7, 1, 17.—Tasya āpaḥ eva pratisthāḥ | āpsu hi ime lohāḥ pratisthātiḥ | “Waters are its support: for these worlds are based upon the waters.” S’atapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 8, 6, 1 (= Brhad Arānyaka Upanishad, p. 974). —Āpaḥ eredam agre āṣuḥ | tāh āpaḥ satyaṃ asṛjanta satyaṃ Brāhma Brāhma Prajāpatina Prajāpatir devin | “In the beginning waters alone formed this universe. These waters created Truth, Truth created Brāhma, Brāhma created Prajāpati, and Prajāpati the gods.” Compare Taitt. Sanh. vii. 1, 5, 1 ff.; Taitt. Br. i. 1, 3, 5 ff.; and Taitt. Arany. 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, Āpo vai idam agre salilam āsīt. The A. V. xii. 1, 8, also says: yā ‘ṛṇace ‘dhi salilam agre āsīt yām maṣṭābhār anvachāraṁ maniśiṁah | “That earth which formerly was water on the ocean, which the sages followed after by their divine powers,” etc. R. V. x. 109, 1, speaks of the “divine first-born waters” (ōpo deviḥ prathamaḥ). The S’atap. Br. xiv. 2, 2, 2, represents the wind as the ocean, which was the source from which the gods and all creatures issued (ayaṁ vai samudro yo ‘ṛṣām pavate | etasmād vai samudrāte sarve devōḥ sarvaṁ bhūtinī samuddrāvanti | 59 Tasya Prajāpatir āparate āṇḍam kimāpi na babhūva sa cha nirādāh-avatūt sthūtam aśaknumma ēmam eva bhūnām hiśnaṃmayāṃdām ēmāṃ satār-paryantam bibhṛad dārayan ēm ēvāpuḥ paryāsavaḥ | “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.” Commentary.

60 Compare vol. iii. of this work, 2nd ed. pp. 101, 104, and S’atapatha Brāhmaṇa ii. 1, 4, 11, p. 141.
sā ātmany eva prajectim 'adhatta sa āsyyenaiva devān asrijata | te devāḥ
dicam abhipadya asrijyanta tad devānāṁ devatvaṁ yad dicam abhipadya
asrijyanta | tasmai sasrijānāya dīva īva āsa 61 | tad eva devānāṁ devatvaṁ
yad asmai sasrijānāya dīva īva āsa | 8. Atha yo 'yam avāṅ praṅas tena
asurān asrijata | te imāṁ eva prithivim abhipadya asrijyanta | tasmai
sasrijānāya tamah īva āsa | 9. So 'vēt "pāpāyāṁ vai asrjkṣi yaśmaś
me sasrijānāya tamah īva abhūd" iti | tāṁs tataḥ īva pāpmanā 'vidhyat |
te tataḥ īva paraṁbhavan | . . . 14. Tāḥ vai etāḥ Prajāpater adhi
devatāḥ asrijyanta Agnir Indraḥ 62 Somah Parameshthī prajāpātyah |
. . . 18. Sa Prajāpatir Indram putram abarvad 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; 'bhuvāḥ,' which became this firmament; and 'svar,' 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 (devāḥ) that they were created on, reaching heaven (divām). 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

61 Dīvā īva āsa | ākāśāḥ īva babhūva | Comm. Comp. Taitt. Br. ii. 2, 9, 9, translated
in the first volume of this work, p. 30.

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 conse-
quence were overcome. . . . . 14. These [following] gods were created
from Prajāpati,—Agni, Indra, Soma, and Parameshṭhin, son of Prajā-
pati. . . . . 18. Prajāpati said to his son Indra," etc.

The mundane egg is also mentioned in the Chhandogya Upanishad
(p. 228 ff.): Adityo Brahma ity ādesāḥ | tasyopavyākhyānaṃ | asad
eva idam agre āsit | tat sad āsit | tat samabharat | tad anḍām niravarttata |
tat saṁvatsarasasya mātrām asyatā | taḥ nirabhidyata | te anḍa-kapāle
rajataṁ cha swarnaṁ cha abhavatām | tad yad rajataṁ sā iyam prithivi
yat swarnaṁ sā dyaur yaj, jārāyu63 te parvataḥ yad ucām64 sa megho
nīhāro65 yāḥ dhamanayasya66 taḥ nadyo yaḥ viṣṭeyam67 udakam sa samudraḥ |
atha yat tad ajāyate so 'sāv Adityas taṁ jayamānām ghoshāh ulūlavo68
'nudatishthan [nudatishthan?] sarvāṇi cha bhūtani sarve cha kāmāḥ
tasmāt taṇyodayam prati pratyāyanaṃ69 prati ghoshāḥ ulūlavo 'nuti-
skṣhānti sarvāṇi cha bhūtāni sarve chaiva kāmāḥ | which is thus
translated by Babu Rajendralal 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 mem-
brane [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, Aditya. 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-veshtanaṁ sthūlām | Comm.
64 Sukhamāṁ garbha-pariveshtaham | Comm.
65 Avaśīyāḥ (frost) | Comm.
66 S'irāḥ | Comm.
68 Ururavo viśīrtra-ravaḥ udatishtham utthita-vantah |
69 Pratyasta-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, Prajapati is said to have taken the form of a tortoise:

Satapatha Bråhmaṇa, vii. 4, 3, 5.—Sa yat kúrmo náma etad vai rúpaṁ kriticā Prajapatih prañāh asrjata | yad asrjata akarot tad yad akarot tasmāt kårmaḥ | Kasyapo vai kármas tasmād áhuḥ 'sarvāh prañāḥ Kasyapayāḥ iti | ya yah sa kúrmo'sau sa Ádityah | "Having assumed the form of a tortoise, Prajapati created offspring. That which he created, he made (akarot); hence the word kārma. Kasyapa means tortoise; hence men say, 'all creatures are descendants of Kasyapa.'

This tortoise is the same as Áditya."

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

Thus in the chapter of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa descriptive of Vishvù's incarnations it is said (i. 3, 16): Suräsuränäm udadhim mathnatäm mathanächalam | dadhre kamañha-rúpeña prishthe ekādaśe vibhuh | "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 Bråhmaṇa, 14, 1, 2, 11, makes the following allusion to the elevation of the earth by a boar: "Ityaty agre aśid" (Vāj. S. 37, 5) iti | iyatā ha vai iyam agre prithivy āsa prudesa-mātri | täm Emūshaḥ iti va-rāhah 11 ujjaghaṇa | so 'syāḥ patiḥ Prajapatis tenaiva enam etamithunaṇa priyena dhāmā | samardhayati kritena karoti ityādi | "'She (the earth) was formerly so large,' etc.; for formerly this

70 Kasyapa 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 dharmāṇā yat savriibhiḥ sahākhutaḥ | pitā yat Kasyapasyogyaḥ S'raddhā mātā Manuḥ kaviḥ | "Since with thy companions, thou hast been produced through an excellent rite; since Agni is the father, Faith (S'radha) the mother, and Manu the bard, of Kasyapa." The second is i. 361: Kasyapatya svarvito yāv āhūḥ sayujitvā iti | gayor visvam api vratän ājanam dhāhrāh nichāyya | "Whom twain the wise, revering, declare to be the companions of the heavenly Kasyapa; 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 Bråhmaṇa, 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 Taittirīyā 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 Arāṇyaka also, the earth is said to have been "raised by a black boar with a hundred arms" (varāheṇa krishṇena sata-bāhunā uddhṛitā).

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).

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii., 2, 4, 1.—Prajāpatir ha vai idam agre ekaḥ evāsa | sa aikṣhatā 'kathāṁ nu prajāyeya' iti | so 'śrāmyat sa tapo 'tapyata so 'gnim eva mukhāj janayāṇchakre, 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

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 4, 4, 1.—Prajāpatir ha vai etenāgre yajnenejo praṇakāmo 'bahuḥ prajāyā paśuḥbhī vyāṁ śrīyāṁ gachheyāṁ yasiaḥ syāṁ annudāḥ syāṁ ' iti | sa vai Dakṣo 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 Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 8, 1, 14, Prajāpati is said to be the supporter of the universe (a function afterwards assigned to Viṣṇu): Prajāpatir vai bharataḥ sa hi idāṁ sarvam bibharti | "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 bhūtā praṇāḥ bibharti 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:

Sātāpatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 2, 4, 1.—Prajāpatir ākāmayata 'ubhau lokāv abhijdeyam deva-lokancha manushya-lokaṇchā' ityādi | "Prajāpati desired, ‘may I conquer both worlds,’ that of the gods, and that of men,” etc. Comp. Sātāpat. Br., x. 2, 1, 1.

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

"Purusha Nārāyaṇo 'kāmayata 'atitishṭheyaṁ sarvāni bhūtāny aham eva idāṁ sarvaṁ syām' iti | sa etam purusha-medham pancha-rātraṁ yajnakratum apāṣyat tam āharat tena 'āyujjata tena ishtva 'tyatitishṭhat sarvāni bhūtāni idāṁ sarvam abhavat | 'atitishṭhati sarvāni bhūtāni idāṁ sarvam 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-sūkta is shortly afterwards quoted. Comp. Sātāpat. Br. xii. 3, 41, quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 377.

In Sātāpat. Br., xi. 2, 3, 1, Brahma (in the neuter) is introduced as being the original source of all things: Brahma vai idam agre āsīt | tad devān asriyata | tad devān sṛṣṭvā eshu lokeśhu vyārohayad usminn eva loke'gniṁ Vāyum antarikshe divy eva Sūryam | “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 Sūrya 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 Sātāpatha Brāhmaṇa xiv. 4, 2, 21, and 23 (=Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad in Bibliotheca Indica, pp. 198 ff., and 335).

In Sātāpatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 7, 1, 1, Brahma is described as sacrificing himself: Brahma vai svayambhu tapo 'tapyata | tad aikshata
CREATION AS DESCRIBED BY MANU.

"na vai tapasy anantyam asti hanta aham bhuteshv atmanam juhavani bhutani cha atmani" iti | tat sarveshu bhuteshv atmansm hute bhutani cha atmani sarvesham bhutan Sm sraishthyam svarajayam adhipatyam paryayit | tathaiva etad yajamana sarvamedhe sarvan medham hutva sarvani bhutani sraishthyam svarajayam adhipatyam 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."75 See also Satap. Br. xi. 1, 8, 2 f., quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 372, note 554.

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 Brähmana, given above (pp. 20 ff.), or some other ancient sources of the same character, with an intermixture of more modern doctrines:


5. "This universe was enveloped in darkness, unperceived, undis-

75 See the discussion on the sense of R. V. x. 81, 1, 5, 6 (above, pp. 9 f.).
tinguishable, undiscoverable, unknowable, as it were entirely sunk in sleep. 6. Then the irresistible self-existent Lord, indiscerned, 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, subtle, indiscernible, 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 Nara; and since they were formerly the place of his movement (ayana), he is therefore called Nārāyaṇa. 11. Being formed by that First Cause, indiscernible, 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 Nārāyaṇa is applied to Brahmā, and that no mention is made of Vishṇu.

On verse 8 Kullūka annotates thus: 'Tad andam abhavad haimam' iti | tad vijan Paramēśvarechhaya haiman andam abhavad haimam iva haimāṁ suddhi-guṇa-yogad na tu haiman eva | tadiyaika-śakalena bhāmi-nirmāṇasya vakshyaṁāṇatvād bhāmeschāhaimatvasya pratyakṣhatvād upachārāśrayam ... ... . tasmimm ande Hiranyagarbhā jātavān | yena pūrva-janmani 'Hiranyagarbhō 'ham asmi' iti bhedabheda-bhāvanaya Paramēśvaropāsanā kṛtā tadiyaṁ linga-śariravachhinna-jīvan anupra-viśya svayam Paramātmā eva Hiranyagarbhā-rāpatayaḥ prādurbhūtaḥ | '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 introduction of any metaphysical elements, in the Harivaṃśa, vv. 35 ff.: Tatasvayambhūr bhagavān sīrīkṣhur vividhāḥ praṣāḥ | āpāḥ eva sasarjyādau tāsau vijam avāśijat | āpo nārāḥ iti proktāḥ āpo vai nara-sūnavaḥ | ayanaṁ tasya tāḥ pūrāṇi tena nārāyanaḥ smārtiḥ | hiranyavāraṇam abhavat tad andam udakeśayaṃ | tatra jayne svyam Brahmatvā svayambhūr iti naḥ śrutam | Hiranyagarbho bhagavān uṣhitvā parivatsaṃ | tad andam akarod dvādhaṃ divam bhuvam athāpi cha | tayoḥ śakalayor madhye ākāsam asrijat prabhuh | apsu pūrīplavāṃ prītheiṃ disāscha dasadāḥa 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 Nāra. They were formerly the place of his movement; hence he is called ‘Nārāyaṇa.’ 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 Hiranyagarbha 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 aether, 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 Hiranyagarbha:

Harivaṃśa, vv. 12, 425 ff.—Jagat-srāṣṭu-manāḥ devaḥ chintayāṃśa pūrvataḥ | tasya chintayato vaktrād nisṛṣṭaḥ purusah kila | tataḥ sa purusah devaṁ kiṁ karomīty upasūktaḥ | āpo bhuvanaḥ smītoḥ kriyā deva-devo jagat-patih | ‘vibhajātmanām,’ ity uktaḥ gato 'ntardhānam iṣvāraḥ | antarkitasya devasya sasanirasya bhāsvataḥ | pradipasyeva ūnty tasya na vidyate | tatas tenēritān evaṁ so 'nvachintayata prabhuh | “Hiranyagarbho bhagavān yath eva āhandaśa śrutah | ekāḥ prajāpatiḥ pūram abhavat bhuvanādhipah | tadā-prabhiriti tasyādyo yajna-bhūgo vidihiyate | ‘vibhajātmanām’ ity uktaḥ tenāsām smaḥkātmanā | katham ātaṃ vibhajyaḥ syat samśaya hy atra me evahān’"
PRIMEVAL WATERS; BRAHMĀ AS A BOAR. 33

“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 Hiranyagarbha, 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 Rāmaṇya, 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:


Vaśiṣṭha 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 ether; from him was descended Marīchi, the son of Marīchi 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 Viṣṇu; 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.—Imām loka-samutpattīṁ loka-nātha nibodha me | 3. Sarvaṁ suṣilaṁ evaśīt vasudhā yena nirmitā | tataḥ samabhavad Brahmā svayambhū Viṣṇur avyayāḥ | 4. Sa varāho 'tha bhūttemāṁ ujjahāra vasundharam | asrijachcha jagat sarvam sacharācharam avyayam | 5. Akāśa-prabhavo Brahmā sāśvato nityam avyayāḥ | tasmād Mariciḥ sanjajne Marīcchē Kaśyapaḥ suthā | 6. Tataḥ paryāya-sargena Vivasvān asrijad 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 Viṣṇu. 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 Marīchī; the son of Marīchī 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 svayambhū Viṣṇur avyayāḥ, "Brahmā, the self-existent, the imperishable Viṣṇu," whereby Brahmā becomes a mere manifestation of Viṣṇu,—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 putraīṁ kṛitāṃbhiḥ, "with the saints, his sons," are in the other recension altered into sacharācharam 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 Viṣṇu, the mention of sons became inapplicable; as Viṣṇu 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 Mahabharata xii. 6805 f.

Bhrigu uvàcha | Prajá-visargaù vidhám Mánaso manasà āryajat | saumaraksharùrtham bhútánàm śrishtam prathamato jalam | yaḥ práraḥ sarva-bhútánàm vardhante yena cha prajáḥ | parityaktás cha nasýanti tenedàm sarvam árvitam | prithivi parvatàh megháḥ murtimantaś cha ye 'pare | sarvàm tad várutàm jñeyam āpaḥ tastambhiré yatah | . . . .

Brahmakalpe purà brahman brahmashripànu samágame | loka-sambhava-sandehàh samutpanno mahátmanàm | Te tishthan dhyánam álambya maunam ástháya niśchálah | tyaktáháràh pavana-páh divyàm varsha-sàvatram dvijàh | teshám Brahmanáyà vâñi sarveshánum ártham ágamat | divyà Sarasvatì totra sambabhava nabhasdlàt | purà stimitam ákàśam anantam achalopanam | nashta-chandraríka-pavana prasupìtam iva sambabhau | tatah salilam utpannam tamsiváparàm tamaḥ | tasmácha cha salilopàd utatishhata márutauh |

"Bhrigu says: Mánasa78 (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." Bharadvája asks how water, fire, air [or wind], and earth were created, and Bhrigu replies: "Formerly, in an assemblage of Brähman rishis, in the Brahmakalpa, a doubt arose in their minds as to the production of the worlds. These Brähmans 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 Sarasvatì

78 This word is defined in V. 6775: Mánaso náma yaḥ púrvo viśruto vai maharshhipàh | anádi-nidháno devas tathà 'bhedyo järjharàh |^. The primeval god, without beginning or dissolution, indivisible, undecaying and immortal, who is known and called by great rishis Mánasa, 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 Brahmā, 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 Brahmā, is in works of a later date represented as the act of Vishṇu. The first passage forms a part of the rapid enumeration of the twenty-two incarnations of Vishṇu, in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, i. 3, 7: Dvitiyāṃ tu bhavāyasya rasā-tala-gatām mahim | uddharishyann upādattā yajñesāh saukaraṁ vapuḥ | “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 Vishṇu 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 | Brahmā Nārāyaṇākhyo ‘sau kalpādau bhagavān yathā | sasajja sarva-bhūtāni tad āchakhsya mahāmune79 | Parāśaraḥ uvācha | prajāḥ sasajja bhagavān Brahmā Nārāyaṇātmakah | prajāpati-patir devo yathā tan me niśāmayā | atita-kalpāvasāne niśā-suptotthitaḥ prabhuh | sattvodritchā dos tato Brahма śunyāḥ lokam avaikṣhata | Nārāyaṇaḥ paro ’chintyaḥ pareshām api sa prabhuh | Brahma-svarūpi bhag-

79 I take the opportunity of quoting here an answer given in the Vishṇu 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 Brahmā 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 | nirguṇasyāprameyasya sūdhasyopy amalātmanah | kathām sargūḍikarītvam Brāhmaṇo bhupapadyate | Parāśaraḥ uvācha | saktayaḥ sarva-bhūvānām, achintya-jnānā-goccharāḥ | yato ’to Brahmayaḥ tās tu sarvādyāḥ bhāva-saktayaḥ | bhavanti tapasāṁ ēreshkarāḥ pāvākṣeṣyā yathoshhutā | “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 stain? Parāśara answers: Since powers which could not be imagined [?] 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?
Maitreya said: Tell me, great Muni, how, at the beginning of the Kalpa, that divine Brahmā called Nārāyaṇa created all beings. Parasara replied: Hear from me how the divine Brahmā, lord of the Prajāpatīs, who had the nature of Nārāyaṇa, created living beings. At the close of the past (or Pādma) Kalpa, Brahmā, the lord, endowed predominantly with the quality of goodness, awoke from his night-sleep, and beheld the universe void. He [was] the supreme lord Nārāyaṇa, who cannot even be conceived by others, existing in the form of Brahmā, the deity without beginning, the source of all things. [The verse given in Manu i. 10, and the Harivāna, v. 36, regarding the derivation of the word Nārāyaṇa, is here quoted.] This lord Prajāpati, discovering by inference,—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 vāshaṭkāra (a sacrificial formula), thou art the omkāra, 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 Vishnū in the later Purāṇas, may be found in the story of the deluge in the Mbh., Vanarāya, 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: Athābravatād animishas tān pishin sa hitas tada | aham Prajāpatir Brahmā yat-parāṁ nādhigamyate | matsya-rīṣeya yūryanca mayā śnād mokṣhitāḥ bhayat | "Then the god (lit. 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 Śaiva class, and has not, as such, any interest in glorifying Viṣṇu, describes Brahmā as the deity who took the form of a boar: Part i. 4, 59 ff.: Rātrau chaikārnave Brahmā nashṭe sthāvara-jāngame | suskrāpāmbhasi yas tasmaud Nārāyaṇaḥ iti śrīrītaḥ | sarvavy-ante prabuddho vai dīśtvā śūnyam ācharharam | śrasṭuṁ tadā matiṁ chakre Brahmā brahma-vidāṁ varah' | udakair āplutāṁ kshmāṁ tām samādāya sanātanaḥ | pūrva-vat sthāpayāmāsa varāhaṁ rūpam āśhitaḥ | "In the night, when all things movable and immovable had been destroyed in the universal ocean, Brahmā slept upon the waters, and is hence called Nārāyaṇa. At the close of the night, awaking, and beholding the universe void, Brahmā, 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 decchyo nilāyata Viṣṇurūpam kṛtvā | sa prthivim praviśat | taṁ devaḥ hastāṁ saṁrabhya aichhan | tam Indraḥ upary upary aty akrāmat | so 'bravīt "ko mā 'yam upary upary aty akrāmīd" iti | "aham durge hantā" iti | "atha 'kas tvam" iti | "aham durgād aḥartā" iti | so 'braśid "durge vai hantā avochatāḥ | varāho 'yam vāmanoshāḥ saptānāṁ giriṇām parastād vittāṁ 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 Viṣṇurāteno bhagavān Vādāryāṇaḥ | uścita charitāṁ Viṣṇor matsya-rūpeṇa yat kṛtim | S'ukaḥ uścita | . . . . . 7. aśid aśīta-kalpante Brahmno naimittiko layah | samudrapaplūtas tatra lokāḥ bhūrādyoṇiṇa | 8. Klumāgata-nidrasya dhātuḥ śiśayishor bali | mukkato niḥśrīlan vedōn Hayagriva 'ntike 'harat | 9. Jhītvā tad dānendrasasya Hayagrivasya cheshtityam | dadhāra sapharīrūpam bhagavān Hariṁ śivarāḥ etyīpi | "Being thus addressed by Viṣṇurāta, the divine Vādāryaṇa related the deed of Viṣṇu done by him under the form of a fish. S'uka said . . . . 7. At the end of the past Kalpa there was a Brahmā, or partial, dissolution of the universe (see Wilson's Viṣṇ. 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 Hayagriva [coming] near, snatched away the Vedas which had issued from the mouth of the creator, who from drowsiness, which had supervened through time, was disposed to sleep. Having discovered this deed of Hayagriva, chief of the Danavas, the divine lord, Hari, took the form of a saphari fish," etc.
STORIES FROM THE TAITTIRIYA SANHITA.

Asurāṇām bibharti tāṁ jahī yadi ṣūrge hāntā 'si' iti | sa darbhā-
punjilam udvīrya sapta girīn bhitteva tāṁ ahan | so 'bhrāvid "durgād
vai āhārtā avacchathāḥ | etam āhara" iti | tāṁ ebhyo yajnāḥ eva yajnam
āhārat | yat tad vittam vedyam asurāṇām avindanta tad ekaṁ vedyai
veditva iti. Asurāṇām vai iyaṁ agrē āśit | yāvad āśinaḥ parāpayati
tāvad devānām | te śevāḥ abruvann "astv eva no 'syām upi'" iti |
"Kiyad vo dāsyāmaḥ" iti | yāvad iyaṁ salākāriṃ triṁ parikramati
tāvam no datta" iti | sa Indraḥ salākāriṁ-rūpaṁ kriyā imāṁ triṁ sarva-
taḥ paryakramat | tad imāṁ avindanta | yad imāṁ avindanta tad vedyai
veditva iti. "Sā vai iyaṁ sarvā eva vediḥ |

"The sacrifice, assuming the form of Vishṇu, disappeared from
among the gods, and entered into the earth. The gods joined hands,
and searched for him. Indra passed over above him. He (Vishṇu)
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?' (Vishṇu
said:) 'I am he who carries off from a castle.' He (Vishṇu) 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.' (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.'

"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 intermixture 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 Vishnū in the form of Brahmā. There, undiscernible in his essence, Vishnū, 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 Vishnū Purāṇa 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 Vishnū, 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 Pradhana. 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 Brahmas, Haris, and Bhavas (Sivas) were created by Pradhana, which had attained to proximity with Sambhu (Siva).

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


"Maitreya said:

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 (gunas), 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 (Brahma) 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.: Elāny asaṁhatya yadā mahad-ādīni 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. Then out of these principles penetrated by him; and combined, there arose a lifeless egg, from which sprang Purusha, viz. that Virāt. 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. Having arisen out of the envelopment of this golden egg reposing upon the water, the great god, pervading it, opened up many apertures.

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. Varṣha-pūga-sahasraṁ tad āṇḍam udakēśayam | kāla-karma-svabhāva-stho jīva jīvam ajīvayat | 35. Sa eva puruṣas tasmād āṇḍam nirbhidyā nirgataḥ | sahasraṁ-anghri-bāhav-akṣaṁ sahasrānmā-sirshavāṁ

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. : Puruṣo 'ṇḍāṁ vinirbhidyā yadā ṣau sa vinirgataḥ | ātmano 'yanam anvichhanā apo 'srākṣēḥ chhuchiḥ svāčāḥ | tāsv avāśīt svaspīśītāv sahasra-paraṁśartarāṇ | tena Nārāyaṇo nāma yad āpāḥ purushodbhavāḥ |

10. "When, splitting the egg, Purusha first issued from it, seeking
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 Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, 1, 7, 4,1 ff. 82—Prajāpatir ha vai svām duhitaram abhidadhya vā rūhasaṁ vā 'mithuṇy enayā syām' iti taṁ sambabhūva| 2. Tad vai devānām āgaḥ āsa 'yaḥ itthaṁ svām duhitaram āsmākaṁ svasārām karotī' iti| 3. Te ṣa devāḥ uchur 'yo' yāṁ devaḥ paśūnām ishte 'tisandhaṁ vai ayaṁ charati yaḥ itthaṁ svām duhitaram āsmākaṁ svasārām karotī vidhya īnām' iti| 4. Taṁ Rudro 'bhīyāyatya, vīvā-dha tasya sāṁ retaḥ prachakṣanda tathā id nūnaṁ tad āsa| 4. Tasmaā etad rishiṁ 'bhīyanuktam 'pitā yat svām duhitaram adhisḳkan kshmayā retaḥ sanjagmāno nishinchad' iti tad āgni-mārutam ity ukthaṁ tasmiṁs tad vyākhyaṭye yathā tad devāḥ retaḥ prajāpanayān | teshāṁ yada devānāṁ krodho vyad atha Prajāpatim abhishajyaṁ tasya taṁ sāyaṁ nirakrīntan| sa vai yajña eva Prajāpatib | "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

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 Sāyaṇa's comment, for a copy of which I am indebted to Professor Müller. The 4th verse is addressed to the Asvins. The commentator regards verses 5–7 as intended to show how "Rudra Prajāpati created Rudra Vāstosha paṇi with a portion of himself:" (Yathā svāṁśena bhagavān Rudraḥ prajāpatir Vāstosha paṇi Rudram asrijat tad etad-ādhīhir tīṣṭhīnī vaddati.)

R. V. x. 61, 4: Krishṇa yad gosha arunishu sidad divo napatā Asvinā hve vām | etam me yajnam āgatam me annaṁ vavavāṁśa na isham asmrita-dhru | 5. Prathishta yasya vīrakarmam iskhand anushīthitāṁ nu naryyo apauhat | punas tad āvīrhiati yat kanāyāḥ duḥhitu āḥ anubhrītam anarvā | 6. Madhyā yat kartvam abhaDat abhīke kāmaṁ krīṇāṁ piṭarī yuvatyāṁ | manānaṁ reto jahatur viyantā sānaṁ nishktaṁ sukṛitasya yonau | 7. Pita yat svāṁ duḥhitaram adhishekan kshmayāṁ retaṁ sanjāmāno nishinchat | svādhya ajanayan brahma devāḥ vāstosha paṇi vrata pāṁ nira-takshan |

"When the dark female (night) stands among the tawny cows (rays of the dawn?), I invoke you twain, Asvins, 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 Śatapatha 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 ṣeṇīnaḥ prithivim mithyaṁ samabhavat); from which union sprang an egg, and thence Vāyu; next, through Vāyu he united himself with the Air (antarīṣha, neuter), and again an egg was produced, and thence Āditya (the Sun); thirdly, through Āditya he connected himself with Dyaus (the Sky); fourthly, fifthly sixthly, and seventhly, through his mind (maṇas) with Vāch; the result of which, in each of the last four cases, was his own pregnancy (garbhaḥ abhaDat).

84 The same phrase occurs in R. V. iii. 29, 8.

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

86 Such is the meaning given by Professor Roth to asmrita-dhru from a + smṛta + dhru, "not suffering what I have desired to fall." See s. v. 2, dhru. Sāyaṇa renders it, asmrita-drohaḥ mayi droham asmarantaun "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 damsels,—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 Vāstosphati, 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: Vāchaṁ duhitaraṁ taneṁ Śvayambhūṁ haratīṁ manah | akāmāṁ chakame kshattam sakāmāṁ iti ṛtha śrutam | 29. Tam adharme kṛita-matim vilokyā pitararaṁ sūlaḥ | Marīchi-mukhyāṁ munayo viśrambhāt prayabodhayam | 30. Naitat pūrvāṁ kṛitaṁ tvad ye na karishyanti chāpare | yas tvāṁ duhitaraṁ gachher anigrihyāṁgajam prabhuh | 31. Tejīyasāṁ api hy etad na sūlōyāṁ jagadguro | yad vṛttam anutishthan vai lokāḥ kshemāya kalpate, | 32. Tasmai nāmo bhagavate ya idāṁ svena rockishā ātmaṁ vyanajayāṁsa sa dharmam pātum arhati | 33. Sa itthāṁ griñataḥ putrāṁ puro dīshtrā prajāpatiṁ | prajāpati-patis tanvāṁ tatyāja vṛdītas tadā | tāṁ diśo jagrhur ghorāṁ nihāraṁ yad vidus tamah |

“We have heard, O Kshatriya, that Śvayambhū (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 Prajāpatis, thus speaking before him, the lord of the Prajāpatis (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
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 conjunction 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): *dvīdhā kṛitrā 'tmano deham ardhhena puruʃho 'bhavat | ardhhena nārī tasyāṁ sa Virājam asrijat prabhuh |* "Dividing his own body into two, [Brahma] became with the half a man, and with the half a woman; and in her he created (i.e. according to the commentator, begot)\textsuperscript{57} Virāj.' Compare also the passage from the Vishnu 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.\textsuperscript{88} 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 Itihāsas and Purāṇas, in which various adulterous amours, of the Aśvins, Indra, Varuṇa, and Kṛishṇa, 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.\textsuperscript{89}

\textsuperscript{57} Maithuna-dharmena Virāj-sanjnan puruʃham nirmitarvān |

\textsuperscript{88} "The Matsya P. has a little allegory of its own on the subject of Brahmā’s intercourse with Śatarūpā; 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-viro’ih amīto Brahmin Sāvitrī tad-ahihṣṭhitā | tas-man na kaṣeḥd doshuḥ syāt Sāvitrī-gamanam vibhoh |* "—Wilson’s Vishnu Pur., 2nd ed., vol. i., p. 108, note. See the first vol. of this work, p. 112.

\textsuperscript{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.


Lit., pp. 529 ff. In the Rāmāyana 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-dhurandharasya śakrasya adhyāme pravṛtte vijaye 'parṣayetum 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 Māta-parkshā, published in Calcutta in 1852, p. 87; and in Prof. Banerjea's Dialogues, p. 383 ff.
The king said: 27. The divine lord of the world became partially \textsuperscript{91} 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 (Krishna) perpetrate what was blameable? Resolve, devout saint, this our doubt. Suka 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.\textsuperscript{92} 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 gopis (milkmens' 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 Vraja harboured no ill-will to Krishna, since, deluded

\textsuperscript{91} Comp. Mbh. i. 2785. \underline{\textit{Yas tu}} \textit{Narayana nāma deva-devah sañcānāh | toṣyūṃśo mānusheshv āsīd Vāsudevah pratōpaṇān | \textit{See further passages to be quoted in chapter ii., sect. v., below.}}

\textsuperscript{92} This refers to the poison drunk by Śiva at the churning of the ocean. See Rāmāyana i. 45, 26, ed. Schlegel, and Wilson's \textit{Vishnu Purāṇa}, npte p. 78 (1st ed.). The passage of the Rāmāyana 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 gopīs, beloved and gladdened by Krīsna, departed unwillingly to their own homes."

This passage is followed (v. 40) by an assurance on the part of the author of the Purāṇa, that the person who listens with faith to the narrative of Krīsna'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 (vīrāditaṁ vṛaja-vadhūbhīr ādān ca Vīśnoḥ śraddhānvito 'nuśrīnuyād aṭhā varṇayeś yaḥ | bhaktīm parām bhagavati pratilabhya kāmāṁ hṛid-rogam āśe apahinoty acharīṇa dhīrāḥ). A remarkable instance of homoeopathic cure, certainly!

I quote the remarks of the commentator, Śrīdhara Śvāmin, on verses 30 ff. of this passage: 30. Paramēśvare kaimittika-nyāyena parihratun, sāmānyato mahatūṁ vṛittam aha 'dharma-vyatikramaḥ' iti | 'sāhāsānca drīṣṭam' Prajāpatindra-Soma-Vīśvamitrādīnāṁ | tacheha teshāṁ tejasvināṁ doshāya na bhavatīti | 31. Tarhi 'yad yad ācharati śreshthaḥ' iti nyāyena anyo 'pi kuryādyāt āśākya aha 'waitād' iti | 'anīśvaro' devādī-para-tantro yathā Rudra-vyatirikto visham ācharan bhakhshayān | 32. Ka-ṭhaṁ tarhi sadāchārasya prāmānyam atāḥ aha 'iśvarānāṁ' iti | teshāṁ vachaḥ satyam atas tad-uktam āchared eva | ācharitāṁ kvaḥiit satyam atāḥ 'sva-vačeho yuktaṁ' teshāṁ vachasā yad uktam aviruddhāтя tad eva ācharet | 33. Nanu tarhi te 'pi kim evaṁ sāhasam āchāranti tatra aha 'kusale' iti | prārādhasa-karma-kṣhapana-mātram eva teshāṁ kṛiyāṁ na anyad ity arthaḥ | 34. Prastutam aha 'kimuta' iti | 'kuśalakkuśalāṅvayo' na vidyate iti kim punar vaktavyam ity arthaḥ | 35. Etad eva sputi̍karoti | yaṣya pāda-paṅkaja-parāgasya nishevanena triptaḥ yadvā yasya pāda-paṅkaja-parāgo vishvē yeshāṁ te tathā te cha te tripiṭāsca iti bhaktāḥ ity arthaḥ | tathā jñānaṁ cha na nāhāmanāḥ bandhanam aprāpnuvantah | para-dārataṁ gopinām angkṛitya parihrītam | 36. Idānīṁ bhagavataḥ sarvāṇa-yāmināḥ para-dāra-sevā nāma na kācid ity aha 'gopinām' iti | 'yo 'ntaḥ charaty adhyaksho' buddhy-ādi-sākhā sa eva kriṇunena dehabhāk na tv asmad-ādi-tulyo yena doshāḥ syād iti | 37. Nanv evaṁ cheda āptakāmasya ninditē kutaḥ pravṛtīr ity aha 'anugrahaḥ' iti | śrīnāra-rasākṛishṭa-chetaso 'ti-bahir-mukhān api sva-parān kartum iti śhāvah | 38. Nanv anye 'pi bhinnāchārāḥ sva-cheshtāṁ evam eva iti vadroḥa 'nāṣūyann' iti | evambhā-taśvīryābhāve tathā kuruṇtaḥ pāpaṁ jneyaḥ iti bhāvah |
"In order to refute [the charge of immorality] in regard to the Supreme Deity, by the d fortiori argument, the author states generally the conduct of great persons in the words 'the transgression,' etc. The 'daring acts witnessed' are those of Prajāpati, 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. 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 Kṛṣṇa, 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 Pṛthā, which I have

54 I find this sense of the word bahirmukha in Molesworth’s Marathi Dictionary.
55 Compare Raghuvamśa iii. 46. . . . pathaḥ sucer darsayitārāh ṛvarāḥ małkmān uddadate yā padhātin | "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 Prithā, 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 Brāhmaṇa regarding Prajāpati, 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 Prajāpati himself became immortal, and what difficulties he encountered in the work of creation.

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 1, 3, 1 (p. 761 ff.)—Prajāpatiḥ praṇāḥ asrijata | sa ārddhvebhyaḥ eva prāṇebhyo devān96 asrijata ye 'vāncaḥ prāṇās tebhyo martyaḥ praṇāḥ | atha ārdhram eva mṛityum praṇāhhyo 'ttāram asrijata | 2. Tasya ha Prajāpatiḥ ardham eva mṛityum āśīd ardham amṛitanā | tad yad asya martyam āsīt tena mṛityor abibhet | sa vibhyad imām praṇisad devayam bhūtvā mṛichchā āpaścha | 3. Sa mṛityur devān abravit 'kṣa nu so 'bhūd yo no 'srīśta' iti | 'tvad bibhyad imām praṇ-vikshad' iti | so 'bravid 'taṁ vai anvichhāma taṁ sambharāma na vai aham , taṁ hiṁsishyami' iti | taṁ devāḥ asyāḥ adhi samabharam | yad asya apsv āsīt taḥ apaḥ samabharam atha yad asyāṁ bīm mṛīdam | tad ubhayāṁ sambhṛitya mṛidandha āpaścha 'iṣṭakāṁ akurvaṁ tasmād etad ubhayam

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 Brāhmaṇa, iv. 5, 7, 2: Aṣṭau Vāsuvah ekādeśa Rudrāḥ dvādaśa Ādityāḥ ima eva dyāvā-prithivī trayastriṁśayau | trayastriṁśad vai devāḥ Prajāpatiḥ chaturāstiṁśaḥ | "There are eight Vasus, eleven Rudras, twelve Adityas, and these two, heaven and earth are the [thirty-second and] thirty-third. There are thirty-three gods, and Prajāpati is the thirty-fourth."
TELLING HOW Prajāpati Became Immortal.

They feared, "The gods were afraid of Death: they hastened to Prajāpati," etc. See also Sʿatap. 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 Brähmana, iv. 6, 3, 1: Prajäpater ha vai prajāḥ sasrijanasya parvānī visasraṁsuh: "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 Brähmana, x. 4, 3, 1 ff. (p. 787): Esha vai mṛityur yat sāmvatsaraḥ I Esha hi martyānām aho-rātrābhyaṁ āyuh kshinoty atha mriyante tasmād esha eva mṛityuḥ | sa yo ha etam mṛityum saṁvatsarāṁ veda na ha asya esha purā, jaṁso 'ho-rātrābhyaṁ āyuh kshinoti sarvām ha eva āyur eti | 2. Es̄ha eva antakāḥ | esha hi martyānām aho-rātrābhyaṁ āyuso 'ntaṁ gachhaty99 atha mriyante | tasmād esha eva antakāḥ | sa yo ha etam antakāṁ mṛityum saṁvatsarāṁ,veda na ha asya esha purā jaṁso 'ho-rātrābhyaṁ āyuso 'ntaṁ gachhati sarvāṁ ha eva āyur eti | 3. Te devāḥ etasmād antakād mṛityoh saṁvatsarāt Prajāpater bībhayān-chakrur 'yad vai no 'yam aho-rātrābhyaṁ āyus'ntaṁ na gachhed 'iti | 4. Te etān yajnakratūṁ tenire 'gniḥotram darśa-pūrṇamāsau chāturmāsyaṁi paśubonḍham saumyam adhivaram | te etair yajna-kratubhir yajamānāḥ na anumātate ānasāre | 5. Te ha apya Agnim chikyire | te 'pari-mitāḥ eva pariśritāḥ upadadhur aparimātāḥ yajushmati aparimātāḥ lokamprināḥ yathā idam apy etarhy eke upadadhiti iti devāḥ akurvann iti te ha na eva anumātatem ānasāre | 6. Te 'rchantāḥ śramyantaś cherur anumātavam avarurutsamānāḥ | tān ha Prajāpatiḥ uvācha 'na vai me sarvāṇi rūpāṇy upadhatthā ati eva recha-yatha na va 'bhya-payatha tasmād na anumātāḥ bhavatha 'iti | 7. Te ha uchāḥ | 'tebhāy vai nas tvaṁ eva tad brūhi yathā te sarvāṇi rūpāṇy upadīdhāma 'iti | 8. Sa ha uvācha shashtiṁ cha trīṇi cha śatāni pariśrītaḥ upadhatta shashtiṁ cha trīṇi cha śatāni yajushmati adhi śat-trīṃśatam atha lokamprināḥ daśā

98 Comp. S'atap. Br. ix. 5, 1, 1 ff., quoted iv the first volume of this work, p. 14, note; and the same Brähmana 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 eva sarve devāḥ).

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

cha sahasranya ashtau cha satany upadhatta atha me sarvani rupany upadhasyatha atha amritah bhavishyatha iti | te ha tathah devah upaddhau tato devah amritah utsah | 9. Sa mrituryo devan abravid ittham eva sarve manushyauh amritah bhavishyanty atha ko mahyam bhugo bhavishyati iti | te ha uchur 'na ato 'parah kauchana saha sarirena amrito 'sad, yada eva tvam etam bhagam harasaI | atha vyavriyata sarirena [sariram vibhya, Comm.] amrito 'sad yo 'mrito 'sad vidyayay va karmana va' iti | yad vai tad abruvan 'vidyayay va karmana va' ity esha ha eva sa vidyay yad Agnir etad u ha eva tat karma yad Agnih | 10. Te ye evam etad vidur ye va etat karma kuruva mritva punah sambhavanti | te sambhavantah eva amritatvam abhi sambhavanti | atha ye evamna vidur ye va etat karma na kuruva mritva punah sambhavanti te etasya eva annam punah punah bhavanti |

Satapatha Brähmana, 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 agnihotra, the darśa and pūraṇamāsa, the chāturmāsyaś (oblations offered at intervals of four months), the paśubandha, 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-prinās, 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 toilin, 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 Brähmana 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 parisirots, 63 hundred and 36 yajushmatis, and 10 thousand 8 hundred lokamprinās: 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.—Martyāh ha vai agre devāh āsuḥ | sā yadā eva te saṁvatsaram āpur atha amṛitāh āsuḥ | survāṁ vai saṁvatsāraḥ | sarvāṁ vai akshayam | etena u ha asya akshayaṁ sukṛitam bhavaty akshayyo lokāḥ | “The gods were originally mortal. 101 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.—Martyāh ha vai agre devāh āsuḥ | sa yadā eva te Brahmaṇā ”pur (vyāptāh, Comm.) atha amṛitāh 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. 71r.

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 ubhayāḥ prajāpatyāḥ Prajāpateḥ pitur

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 ubhaye eva satyāṁrīte satyanḍhaiva anrītarcha | te ubhaye eva satyam avadant evahye 'nritam | te ha sadriśay vadantaḥ sadriśaḥ eva āsuḥ | 13. Te devāḥ utsṛjjya anrītam satyam anvālebhire | asurāḥ u ha utsṛjjya satyam anrītam anvālebhire | 14. Tad ha idam satyam ikśhānchakre yad asuresh eva 'devāḥ vai utsṛjjya anrītam satyam anvālapsa hanta tad ayāni' iti tad devāν ājāgāma | 15. Anrītam u ha ikśhānchakre yad deshes eva 'asurāḥ vai utsṛjjya satyam anrītam anvālapsa hanta tad ayāni' iti tad asurāṇ ājāgāma | 16. Te devāḥ sarvāṁ satyam avadant sarvam satyāḥ anrītam | te devāḥ āsakti satyam vadantaḥ aishāvīratarāḥ iva āśūr anādhyatarāḥ iva | tasmad u ha etad yaḥ āsakti satyāṁ vadaty aishāvīratarāḥ iva eva bhavaty anādhyatarāḥ iva | sa ha tv eva antato bhavati devāḥ hy evāntato 'bhavan | 17. Ṭhāha asurāḥ āsakti anrītam vadantaḥ uśah iva pipisur | 105 ādhyāḥ iva āsuh | tasmaḥ u ha etad yaḥ āsakti anrītam vadaty uśah iva eva pipaty ādhyāḥ iva bhavati parā ha tv eva antato bhavati parā hy asurāḥ abhavan | tad yat tat satyaṁ trayāt sa vidyā | te devaḥ abruvan 'yajnam kritva idam satyaṁ tanavāmahai' | . . . 27. Teshu preteshu tritiya-savanam atancata | tat samasthāpayan | yat samasthāpayaṁs tat sarvāṁ satyam āpnuvāṁs tato 'surāḥ apapupruvire | tato devāḥ abhavan parā "surāḥ | bhavaty atmanā parā 'syā divishan bhātrīvyo bhavati yaḥ evaṁ veda |

"The gods and Asuras, both descendants of Prajāpati, obtained their father Prajāpati's inheritance, speech, true and false, both truth

102 Compare S'atap. Br., i. 7, 2, 22.
103 Āsakti satyam | kevalaṁ 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 Brāhmaṇa where the word piṣyati occurs, and which throws light on the one before us. The passage in question occurs in pp. 71, 72, of the Brāhmaṇa, i. 7, 3, 18: Pesukam vai vāstu piṣyati ha prajāyā pasūbhīr yasya evaṁ viduṣho 'nush-tubhau bhavataḥ | "His house becomes flourishing, he increases in progeny and cattle,—that man who, when he knows this, has the two anushtubhs." The commentator explains the word pesukam as equal to akhivardhana-śilam, "whose nature is to increase," and piṣyati as meaning atieriddho bhavati, "he becomes exceedingly augmented."
106 Comp. Taitt. Br. i. 4, 1, 1. Udbhaye vai ete Prajāpater adhy āṣṛjjyanta devāḥ cha asurāḥ cha | tān na vyajyāṇā "ime anye ime anye" iti | "Gods and Asuras were both created from Prajāpati. 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, Satapatha Brähmana, v. i. 1, 1 (=xi. 1, 8, 1 f.): Devās cha vai Asurās cha ubhayā prājāpatyāḥ paspridhīre | tato 'surāḥ atimānena eva "tasmād na atimāneta | parābhavasya hy etad mukhaṁ yad abhimānaṁ". 2. Atha devāḥ anyo 'yasmin juhvataḥ cheruḥ | tebhyaḥ Prajāpatir ātmānām pradaddau | yajno ha esām, āsa yajño hi devānām annam | "The gods and Asuras, both of them the offspring of Prajāpati, strove together. Then the Asuras, 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.: *Asvānaṁ vai iyam agrē āsit | yāvad āsinaḥ parāpaśya tāvād devānām | te devāh abruvan "astv eva no ‘yam api’ iti ‘kyām no dasyatha’ iti | “yāvat svayam parigṛihṇītha” iti | “This [earth] formerly belonged to the Asuras. The gods had only as much as any one can see while sitting. The gods said to them, ‘Let us also have a share in it. What will you give us?’ ‘As much as you yourselves can encompass.’” The different classes of gods then encompassed it on four sides.

The next legend explains how inequality was introduced among the gods. Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, iv. 5, 4, 1 (p. 397 f.).—“Sarve ha vai devāh agrē sadriśaḥ āsuḥ sarve punyāḥ | teshāṁ sarveshāṁ sadrīśānaṁ sarveshāṁ punyānaṁ trayo ‘kāmayaṭa ‘atishṭhāvāṇaḥ syāma’ ity Agnir Indraḥ Sūryaḥ | 2. Tē ‘rchantāḥ śṛmyantaś cheruḥ | te etāṁ atigrāhyāṁ daśriśās tēn atyagṛihnāta | tad yad evān atyagṛihnāta tasmād atigrāhyāṁ nāma | te ‘tisṭhāvāno bhavan | yathā te etād atisṭhā īva atisṭhā īva ha vai bhavati yasya evāṁ vidūshāḥ etān grahāṁ gṛihṇāti | 3. No ha vai idam agrē ‘gnau varcaḥ āsa yad idam asmin varcaḥ | so ‘kāmayaṭa ‘idam mayi varcaḥ syād’ iti | so etāṁ graham apāsyat tam agṛihṇāta tato ‘sminn etad varcaḥ āsa | 4. No ha vai idam agrē Indre ojaḥ āsa yad idam asmin ojaḥ | so ‘kāmayaṭa ‘idam mayy ojaḥ syād’ iti | so etāṁ graham apāsyat tam agṛihṇāta tato ‘sminn etad ojaḥ āsa | 5. No ha vai idam agrē sūrye bhṛajaḥ āsa yad idam asmin bhṛajaḥ | so ‘kāmayaṭa ‘idam mayi bhṛajaḥ syād’ iti | so etāṁ graham apāsyat tam agṛihṇāta tato ‘sminn etad bhṛajaḥ āsa | etāni ha vai tejāṁsy etāni viryāṇy ātman dhatte yasya evāṁ vidūshāḥ etān grahāṁ gṛihṇāti |

“Originally the gods were all alike, all pure. Of them, being all alike, all pure, three desired: ‘May we become superior,’ viz. Agni, Indra, and Sūrya (the sun). 2. They went on worshipping and toiling.

107 Comp. the words ye aḍhi sūptāv ajuhvata, R. V. i. 51, 5; and Sayana’s comment thereon.
108 Comp. S’atap. Br. xi. 3, 2, 1: Sarveshāṁ vai esā bhūtānāṁ sarveshāṁ devānām ātmā yad yaśaḥ | “Sacrifice is the soul of all beings, of all the gods.”
109 Comp. Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 6, 2, 11; vi. 6, 3, 2; xi. 2, 7, 26.
They saw these atigrāhyas;[110] they offered them over and above. Because they did so, these draughts (or cups) were called atigrāhyas. 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 Jyotishṭoma sacrifice to Agni, Indra, and Sūrya." Prof. Goldstücker's Dict. The word is explained by Böhtlingk and Roth, as meaning "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.

VISHNU, AS REPRESENTED IN THE VEDIC HYMNS, THE
BRAHMANAS, THE ITIHASAS, AND THE PURANAS.

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 devāh avantu no yato
Vishnur vichakrame | prithivyāḥ sapta dhāmabhīḥ | 17 (=S. V. i. 222;
Vāj. S. 5, 15; A. V. 7, 26, 4). Īdāṁ Vishnur vichakrame tṛdhā
nidadhe padam | samūlham asya pāṁsura [pāṁsule | S. V.] 18 (=S. V.
2, 1020; Vāj. S. 34, 43; A. V. 7, 26, 5). Tṛṇī padā vichakrame Vishnur
gopāḥ adābhyaḥ | ato dharmāṇi dhārayan | 19 (=S. V. 2, 1021;
Vāj. S. 6, 4; A. V. 7, 26, 6). Vishnoḥ karmāṇi paśyata yato vratāṇi paspaśe |
Indrasya yuṣyāḥ 1 sakha | 20 (=S. V. 2, 1022; Vāj. S. 6, 5; A. V.
7, 26, 7). Tād Vishnoḥ paramam padāṁ sadā paśyanti sirayāḥ | divīvī
dakshur ātataṁ | 21 (=S. V. 2, 1023; Vāj. S. 34, 44). Tād viprāso
vipanyavo jāgrīvāṁsah samindhate | Vishnoḥ yat paramam padam |

16. "May the gods preserve us from the place from which Vishnu
strode 2 over the seven regions of the earth. 3 17. Vishnu strode over
this [universe]; in three places he planted his step: [the world, or

1 Yujyo vā sakha vā, R. V. ii. 28, 10; yuj, i. 10, 9; yujyāya, ix. 66, 18.
2 Mbh. Sānti-Parva, v. 13171: Kramayāḥ chāpy aham Pārtha Vishnur ity
abhishājyitah | "And from striding, O son of Prithū, I am called Vishnu." The
A. V. ix. 6, 29, speaks of the steps of Prajāpati being imitated by his worshipper
(Prajāpater vai isha vikramaṁ anuvikramate yah upaharati).
3 Instead of the words prithivyāḥ sopta dhāmabhīḥ, the Sāma-veda reads, prithi-
vivyāḥ adhi sānavi, "over the surface of the earth." This verse, as well as the follow-
ing 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
Vishnu strides to be the sun, referring to verse 20. For the sense given by Śāyaṇa
to this and the following verses, see Wilson's translation of the Rig-veda and notes
in loco. Compare also Rosen's Latin version.
his step, was] enveloped in his dust. 18. 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 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; where we have the following explanations of its purport, derived by Yaska from two older writers:—

**Yad idam kinccha tad vikramate Vishnuḥ | tridha nidhatte padam |**

‘tredhā-nāvāya prithivyām untarikshe divī’ iti Sākapāṇiḥ | ‘samārohāne vishnupade gayāsirasī’ ity Aurnavābhāḥ | ‘samudham asya pāṁsure’ | **pyāylene ’ntarikshe pālaṁ na dṛṣyate** | api vā upamārthe syāt | samudham asya pāṁsuleiva padam na dṛṣyate 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 Sākapāṇi; or, ‘on the hill where he rises, on the meridian, and on the hill where he sets,’ according to Aurnavābha. ‘Samudham asya pāṁsure,’ i.e. his step is

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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 Sāyaṇa gives to the root spas the sense of "hithering," 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 spas occur in the R. V.

7 Benfey renders samindhathe "glorify." The commentator on the Vaj. S. 34, 44, makes it dīpayante =upāsat. 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 yatah āha 'tredhā nidadhe padam' ni-
dhatte padaṁ nidhānam padaṁ | kva tat tāvat | 'prithivyām antarikshe
divī' iti S'akapūṇiḥ | pārthivo 'gnir bhūtvā prithivyām yat kinchīd asti
 tad vikramate tad adhitishṭhati | antarikshe vaidyūṭalmanā | divi suryā-
manā | yad uktam 'tam ā akrīṇan tredhā bhuce kam' (R. V. x. 88, 10)
iti | 'samārohana' udaya-girāv udyan padam ekaṁ nidhatte | 'vishnu-
pude' madhyandine 'antarikshe' | 'gayaśiras' āstamgiśray ity Āurnavābhaḥ
ācāryo manyate |

"Vishnū 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 S'akapūṇi. 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 Ācārya thinks [the meaning
is] this, 'He plants one foot on the 'samārohana' (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 set-
ting.'

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

First: S'akapūṇi 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 dis-
tribution of divine agency is thus referred to in another interesting
passage of the Nirukta, vii. 5:

10 The Atharvaveda, v. 26, 7 has the following reference to Vishnū: Vishnur
yunukta bahudhā tapāṁsi asmin yajne suṣrījaḥ stūhā |
S'AKAPUṆI AND AURṆĀVĀBHA ON VISHNU'S STRIDES.

Tisrāḥ eva devatāḥ iti Nairuktāḥ Agniḥ prithivī-sthāno Vāyur vā Indro vā 'ntariksha-sthānaḥ Śūryo dyu-sthānaḥ | tāsām mahābhāgyād ekākasyāḥ api bahāni nāmadheyāni bhavanti | api vā karma-prithaktvād yathā hotā 'dhvaryaḥ brahma udgātā ity api ekasya satāḥ | api vā prithag eva synāḥ | prithag hi stutayo bhavanti tatha 'bhidhānāni ityādi |

"There are only three deities, according to the Nairuktaś (etymologists), Agni, whose place is on earth, Vāyu, or Indra, whose place is in the atmosphere, and Śūrya, 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 udgātri 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'akapuṇi, therefore, Vishṇu would be the god who is manifested in a three-fold form on earth, in the atmosphere, and in the sky.

Secondly: Aurṇāvābha interprets the passage differently. He understands the three steps of Vishṇu, 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, Vishṇu is simply the sun.

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

Vishṇus trivikramāvatāraṁ kṛitvā idaṁ viśvaṁ vichakrame vibhajya kramate sva | tad eva āha | tredhā padaṁ nidadhe bhumāv ekam padaṁ

13 In a previous part of this passage, vii. 4, it is said, Mahābhāgyād devatāyāḥ ekāḥ ātma bahudhā stūyate | ekasya atmano 'nye devāḥ pratyāgāni 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 f.; or p. 12 f. of W. and N.'s ed. It appears from an advertisement in No. 75 of Tübner's American and Oriental Literary Record, that these Essays are being reprinted under the editorship of Prof. E. B. Cowell. (August, 1872.)
14 This is the view taken by Prof. Max Müller: "This stepping of Vishṇu 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 arthah |

"Vishnu, becoming incarnate as Trivikrama (the god who stepped thrice), strôde over,—i.e. stepped by separate strides over,—this whole [universe]. It is this that [the rishi] 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 Sākapūṇi, as explained by Durga. There is no trace in the words either of Sākapūṇi, or of Aūrva-vābha, as handed down by Yāska, of any allusion to such a Trivikrama incarnation of Vishnu.15

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

R. V. i. 61, 7: Asyed u mātuh savaneshu sad yo mahaṁ pitum papivān chāru annā | mushāyad Vishnuḥ pachataṁ sahiyaṁ vidhyad varāhāṁ tiro adrim 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 Śaivaṇa'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 S'atap. Br. vi. 7, 4, 7 ff.; Taīt. 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 udgāṭi priests. Vāj. Sanh., xxiii. 49: Priśhāṁi tvā chitaye devasakha yadi tavam ātra manasā jagantha | yeshu Vishnuḥ treshu padesu esītas teshu viśvam bhavanam avivesa | 50 | Agī teshu trishun padesu asmi yeshu viśvam bhavanam aviveṣa | sadyaḥ paryēmi priśhīṁ u du dhvam ekenāsena divo asya priśhtham | "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 seva-tavaso mahitvanā ā nākaṁ vasthur uru chakrire sadaḥ | Vishnur yad ha avad vrishanam mada-chyutaṁ vayo na sidann adhi barihishī 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 sat down like birds on the sacrificial grass which they love.”

R. V. i. 90, 5, 9.—Uta no dhiyo go-āgrāḥ Pūshan Vishno eva-āvah | karta naḥ svastimataḥ | 9. śaṁ no Mitrah śaṁ Varunah śaṁ no bhavatu Aryamā | śaṁ naḥ Indro Brihaspatis śaṁ no Vishnur urukramāḥ |

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 Brihaspati, 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 nu kaṁ

16 Though the commentator in loco renders mada-chyutam by madasya harshasya āśektāram, “dispenser of exhilaration” he interprets it in his note on R. V. i. 51, 2—where it is an epithet of Indra—by śatruṇām madasya garvasya chyāvayitāram, “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. Anzeichen regarding the relation of Vishnu to Soma. In Böhtlingk’ 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 desired the enrapturing 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 Asvins, or to horses in general, he would translate it by “furiously or wildly moving about.”]
vīryāṇi pravocham\textsuperscript{17} yah pārthivāṇi vimame rajāmsi | yo askabhāyad uttaraṁ sadhasthaṁ vihakramānās tredhā urugayāḥ | 2. (=A. V. 7, 26, 2, 3; Nir. 1, 20): Pra tad Vishṇuḥ stavate vīryena mrīgo na bhīmaḥ kucharo girishṭhāḥ\textsuperscript{18} | yasyorushu trishu vikramānesu adhikshiyanti bhuvanāni viśvā | 3. Pra Vishṇave śūṣham etu maunma girishkhte urugayaya\textsuperscript{19} vrishne | yah idāṁ dirgham prayataṁ sadhastham eko vimame trībhir it padebbih | 4. Yasya tri pūrṇā madhunā padāṇi akshiyamāṇa svadhaya madanti | yah u tridhātu prithivim uta dyām eko dādhāra bhuvanāni viśvā | 5. Tad asya priyam abhi pātho (R. V. iii. 55, 10) aśyāṁ naro yatra devayavo madanti | urukramaṁya sa hi bandhur ilthā Vishṇoḥ pude parame madhvaṁ utsaḥ | 6. (Vāj. S. 6, 3; Nir. 2, 7): Tā vāṁ vāstūni uṁsāi gamadhyai yatras gāvō bhūri-śringāḥ ayāsaḥ | atrahā tad urugayasya vrishnaḥ paramam padam ava bhāti bhūri |

“I declare the heroic deeds of Vishṇu, who traversed the mundane regions, who established the upper sphere, striding thrice, the wide-stepping. 2. Therefore is Vishṇu 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 inspiring hymn proceed to Vishṇu, 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

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

\textsuperscript{18} On this verse the Nirukta remarks: “Kucharaḥ iti charati karma kuttantam| atha cheḥ devatābhidhānāṁ kva ayaṁ na charati iti | girishṭhāḥ girishṭhāyi girih parvataḥ . . . tat-prakṛti itarata śaṅkha-sāmānyād megha-sthāyī megho 'pi giriv etusmā day 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?’ ‘Girishṭhāḥ’ 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 Illusions of the Nirukta, p. 17. The same comparison, mrīgo na bhīmaḥ kucharo girishṭhāḥ, 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 mrīga is applied to Vṛuṇa in R. V., vii. 87, 6.

\textsuperscript{19} Urugayasya = prithu-gamanasya adhikṣutet vā.—Śayana on R. V. iii. 6, 4. Urugayasya = mahāgathē.—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.”

I shall quote a portion of the explanation Sāyaṇa gives of the words pārthivāni rajāsī, in the first verse of the preceding hymn: Yo Viṣṇuḥ pārthivāni prithivi-sambandhīni rajāsī rajanātma-kāṇi kṣhity-ādi-lokārayābhimmāṇī Āgni-Vāyu-Āditya-rūpāṇi rajāsī vinam eva visēṣena nirmanē | atra trayo lokāḥ api prithivi-sabda-vāchyaḥ | tathā cha mastrātaram (R. V. i. 108, 9), yad Indrāṇi acamasīyām prithivyyām ma-dhyamasyāṁ paramasyāṁ uta sthā iti | Taittirīya 'pi 'yo 'syām prithivyyāṁ asy āyushā' ity upakramya 'yo dvitiyayaṁ tṛitiyayaṁ prithivyāṁ' iti | tasmāl lokārayasya pravīthi-sabda-vāchyaṁ | . . . yadvā yo Viṣṇuḥ pārthivāni prithivi-sambandhīni rajāsī adhastana-sapta-lokān vināma | . . . rajah-sabdo lokah-vāchā lokaḥ rajāsya ucyante iti Yāskenoktatvāt | . . . athavā pārthivāni prithivi-nimittakāni rajāsī lokān vināma | bhūr-ādi-loka-trayam ity arthāḥ | bhūmyām upāįjita-kārma-bhogārthatvād itara-lokāṇāṁ tat-kāranaṁ |

“[The meaning is], Viṣṇu who formed,—especially constructed,—the terrestrial [regions]; i.e., those connected with prithivi (the earth),—the regions (rajasī),—the things whose nature is to delight (rajanātma-kāṇi),—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 prithivi. Thus another text [R. V. i. 108, 9] says: ‘Whether, Indra and Agni, ye are in the lowest world (prithivi), in the middle [world], 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 prithivi. . . . Or, [the meaning may be], the Viṣṇu who formed the terrestrial [regions], the regions connected with the earth, the seven worlds beneath the earth. The term rajas denotes a world, since Yāska says ‘worlds are called rajasī.’ . . . 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 Sāyana, which gives the meanings of rajas: Rajo rajateḥ | jyotiḥ rajah uchyate | udakāṁ rajah uchyate | lokāḥ rajāṁsy uchyante | asraṅgah20-ahani rajasi uchyete | ’rajāmsi chitrāḥ viharanti tanyavaḥ’ ity api nigamo bhavati |

“Rajas is derived from the root raj. Light is called rajas. Water is called rajas. The worlds are called rajāmsi. [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 (rājāmsi): vi yas tastambha shal imā rājāmsi, “who established these six worlds.”

The verb vimane 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 Vishnu that he constructed the firmament with three steps. The phrase rajas vocmānaḥ, “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 vimimānaḥ seems to have the same sense: vi dyāṁ eshi rajas pritve ahā mimāno aktubhiḥ | paśyan janmāni sūrya | “Sun, thou traversest the sky, measuring the broad space (rajas), and the days, with thy rays,22 beholding created things.”

The phrase rajas vocmānaḥ occurs also in R. V. iii. 26, 7 (=Vāj. S. 18, 66), where Agni says of himself that he is arkas tridhātuh rajas vocmānaḥ23 | “the threefold light, the measurer of the world,” which the commentator explains thus: tredhā ātmānam vibhajya tatra Vayr-ātmanā rajaso 'ntarikshasya vimāno vimātā 'dhishṭhāta 'smi | “Triply

Roth conjectures that the word asrik here is spurious.—Illust. of Nir., p. 46.

21 See Böhtlingk and Roth s. v. māvī.

23 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 raṁṭubhiḥ, “rays,” in his annotation on R. V. i. 94, 5.

22 This verse is explained in a spiritual sense in Nirukta Parisśishṭa ii. 1.
dividing myself, I am, in the character of Vāyu, 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): \textit{Yasya prayānaṁ anv anye id yayur devāḥ devasya mahīmānāṁ ojasā | yaḥ pārthivāni vimame sa etaśo rajāṁsi devaḥ Savitā mahītvānā | “He, the god whose course and whose might the other gods have followed with vigour, 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: ‘\textit{Yasya prayānaṁ anv anye id yayur’ iti | Prājāpatir vai etad agrre karmā akarot | tat tato devāḥ akurvan ‘devāḥ devasya mahīmānāṁ ojasā’ iti | yajno vai mahīmā | devāḥ devasya yajnaṁ viryaṁ “ojasā” ity etad | ‘yaḥ pārthivāni vimame sa etaśah’ iti | yad vai kincha asyaṁ tat pārthivam tad esha sarcaṁ vimimite | rasiṁhir hy enad abhyavatanoṭi | ‘rajāṁsi devaḥ Savitā mahītvānā’ iti | ime vai lokāḥ rajāṁsi | asāv Ādityo devaḥ Savitā | tāṁ esha mahīṁnaṁ 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 \textit{pārthivāni vimame rajāṁsi,} with a part of R. V. vii. 99, 2, at the close of his account of the Dwarf incarnation of Vishnu, assigning to them, however (whether ignorantly, or knowingly), a different meaning from that which they have in the hymn,—Bhāg. Pur. viii. 23, 29: \textit{Pāram mahīṁnaḥ uru-vikramāto grīnāno yāḥ pārthivāni vimame sa rajāṁsi martyah} | kim jāyamānaḥ uta jātaḥ upaiti martyah ity āha mantradīg rishiḥ puru-
HYMN CLIV. OF THE FIRST BOOK OF THE RIGVEDA.

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 vikramato Vishnur mahimnah pārāṁ yo gṛiṇāno bhavati sa martyrāḥ pār-thivāni rajānsy' api viname gaṇitavan | yathā pārthiva-paramāṇu-gaṇa-nam asakyaṁ tatha Vishnur guṇa-gaṇanam asakyaṁ ity arthāḥ | tathā čha mantra 'Vishnur nu kaṁ viryāṇi' iti | etad eva mantrāntarārthaṁ sūchayann āha yasya purushasya pūrṇa-mahīnnāḥ pāram mantra-drīg rishir Vasishṭhāḥ ity evam āha | katham | kiṁ jāyamāṇo jāto vā upaiti na ko' pi iti vadann anantatvena eva āhā ity arthāḥ | tathā čha mantra 'na te Vishno jāyamāṇo na jāto deva mahimnah param antam āpa' 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, Vasishṭha, 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: **Śarve 'pi rasmayo gāvah uchyante | . . . tāni vāṁ vāstūni kāma-yāmahe gamāniya yatra gāvo bhūri-sringāḥ . . . ayāso 'yanāḥ | tatra tad urugāyasya Vishnur mahāgatēḥ paramam padam parārdhyastham avabhāti bhūri | “All rays are called gāvah.” 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 Vishñu; 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 dampaṭī 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 Sanhitā. The verse has been introduced into the wrong place because Vishñu is referred to in it. Compare verse 3. The inconvenient reading has been already altered in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (6, 3)," which, instead of tā vām vāstūny uṣmāsi gamadhyai, "we desire to go to these abodes of you two," etc., reads, yā te dhā- māny uṣmāsi, etc., "to which realms of thine we desire," etc., etc.

In the next hymn Indra and Vishñu are jointly extolled:

R. V. i. 155.—Pra vah pāntam²⁴ andhāso dhiyāyate mahe sūrāya Vishñaeva cha archata | yā sānumi parvatānām adābhīyā mahās tathātath pravṛttae sādhunā | 2. Tresham itthā samaraṇām²⁵ śimūvatar Indra-Vishñu suta-pāḥ vām urushyati | yā martyāya partidhiyāmānam it kriśānār astur asanām urushyathāḥ | 3. Tāḥ vīm vardhanti mahi asya paunisaṁ ni mātārācayati retase bhūye | dadhāti putro avaram param pitur nāma trītiyam adhi rochane divāḥ | 4. Tat tad id asya paunisaṁ griṇām asya inasaṁ ātṛat trātār avirikasya mālḥuṣhāḥ | yāḥ pārthivāni tribhir id vigāmabhīr uru kramiṣṭorugāyāya jīvase | 5. Dve id asya kramāṁ svardrīṇaḥ abhikhyāya martyo bhuranyati | trītiyam asya nākār ā dadharshati cayaṁ chana patayantaḥ patatīṇaḥ | 6. Chaturbhīṁ sākāṁ navatīncha nāmaṁ bhūtāṁ na vṛttāṁ vayatā avīvāt | brihachchhā- rīvo vimīmāṁ ṛikvabhīr yuvā 'kumāraḥ prati eti āhāvam |

"Sing praises to the great hero (Indra), who desires the draught of your soma, and to Vishñu, who both swiftly rose invincible, to the summit of the [aerial] mountains, as if [carried by] an excellent steed.

2. Indra and Vishñu, the drinker of the libation escapes the assault, so fierce, of you two who are violent,—who avert from the [pious]
HYMN TO VISHNU.

mortal that which is aimed at him,—the bolt of the archer Krișānu. 3. These [libations, according to Sāyaṇa] 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 ścvyo yhritisurit vibhūta-dyumnaḥ evayāḥ u sapratāh | adha te Vishno vidushā chid ardhyah stomo yajnascha rādhya havishmatā | 2. Yah pūryāya vedhase naviyase sumajjanaye Vishyace dadāsati | yo jātāṃ asya mahato māhi bravaṣat sa id u śravobhir yuṣyaṃ chid abhi asat | 3. Tam u stotāraḥ pūryaṃ yathā vidhā ṛitasaya garbhaṃ janīṣāḥ pipartana | ā asya jānanto nāma chid vivaktanā mahas te Vishno sumatīm bhajāmahe | 4. Tam asya rājā Varunās tam Aśvinā kratuṁ sanchanta mūrtaṣaya vedhasah | dādhāra daksam uttamam ahar-vidāṃ crajāṃ cha Vishnur sakhiṃvan apornute | 5. Ā yo vibāya sacha-thāya daivyā Indrāya Vishnūḥ sukrite sukṛittaraḥ | vedhāḥ ajinca tri-shadhaṣthah āryam ṛitasya bhāge yajamānanām ā bhujat |

"Be to us beneficent like a friend, worshipped with butter, greatly renowned, swiftly-moving, broadly diffused. Truly, Vishnu, thy praise is to be celebrated by the sage, and sacrifice is to be performed to thee by the worshipper. 2. He who worships Vishnu, the ancient, the disposer [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 Sāyaṇa gives two explanations of the word sumaj-jāni. The first makes it svo-yam evotpamāya, "born by his own power" (in proof of which sense he quotes Nir. vi. 22: Sūyata svo-yam ity arthaḥ | "sva-yam means svayam, self"). The second meaning is thus stated: Sutarām mādyati iti sumat | tadrisi jāya yasya sa . . . | tasmāi sarva-jagan-mādana-sīlā-Sṛi-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, 'Vishnū, we enjoy the good
will of thee, the mighty one.' 4. King Varuṇa and the Áśvins have
done homage to the power of this ruler [or wise god] who is attended
by the Maruts. Vishnū possesses excellent wisdom, which knows the
proper day, and with his friends, opens up the cloud. 5. The divine
Vishnū, who has hastened to seek companionship with the beneficent
Indra, [himself] more beneficent,—this wise [god], occupying three
stations, has gratified the Árya, and tenders the worshipper a sharer
in the sacred ceremony.'

R. V. i. 164, 36 (A. V., p. 10, 17; Nir. Par. ii. 21).—*Sapta ardha-
garbhāḥ bhuvanasya reto Vishnus tiṣṭhanti pradīṣā vidharmaṇī | te
dhitibhir manasā te vipāścitāḥ pari bhavanti viṣvataḥ |
"Seven embryos, the prolific sources of the world, abide by the com-
mand of Vishnū 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 Áśvināv avase kriṇūdhvam pra Pūshaṇāṁ
scatavo hi santi | advesho Vishnur Vātah Ribhukshāḥ achha sumnāya
evṛitiya devan | "Dispose the Áśvins, dispose Pūshan, to succour us,
for they have power in themselves. Vishnū is free from malice, and so
is Vātā (Vāyu) and Ribhukshan. May I incline the gods to be favourable
to us."

R. V. ii. 1, 3.—Tvam Agne Indro vṛishabhaḥ sātāṁ asī tvāṁ Vishnur
gladdening." Sumajaṅi then signifies 'one who has such a wife.' The phrase
will thus mean, 'to the lord of S'īri, 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."

29 Compare the words yuṣya vā sakhā vā in R. V. ii. 28, 10, where yuṣya is
explained by Sāyaṇa as =yojana-samārthah pitrādhir vā; and R. V. i. 22, 19, where
the same word yuṣya is said to be equivalent to anukula, "friendly." Compare also
ayuṣa in R. V. viii. 51, 2.

30 See the interpretation of the word ahaṁvida given by Sāyaṇa on R. V. i. 2, 2.
In Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary the word is explained as signifying "long
known."
urugay namasyah tvam brahma rayivid Brahma nastrapate tvam vidharta sadhase purandhyah "Thou, Agni, art Indra, most energetic of heroes; thou art Vishnu, the wide-stepping, the adorables; thou, Brahma nastrapati, art a priest, possessor of wealth; thou, sustainer, art associated with sacred wisdom."

R.V. ii. 22, 1 (S.V. i. 457).—Trikadrukeshu mahisho yavasiraum tvusushnas tripat somam apibad Vishnunata yathा 'vasat sa im madmaa mahi karma kartave maham urum sa enam saschad deva devum satyam Indram satya 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.—Mahun sadhasthe dhruve a nishatto antar dyava mahine haryamanah a skre sopatn ajare amrike sabardughe urugayasya31 dhenu "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.—Vishnun stomaasah puru-dasmam arkah bhagasyeva karino yamani gman urukrama kakuhho yasya purvir na mardhanti yuvatalyo janitiri "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.—Vishnur gopah32 paramam pati patah3 priydhamanam amritadadhanah Agnis tat visva bhuvanani veda mahad devanam asuratvam 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 Priyagamanasya adhika-stuter vah Sanyana, 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 Vishnun is here regarded by the commentator as an epithet of Agni, and rendered by "pervading." The hymn is, however, according to the Anukramanika, one addressed to all the gods.
33 Patah 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 Indra-Viṣṇu
Maruto Aścinā uta | su-aśvo Agne su-rathaḥ su-rādhāḥ ā id u-vaha su-
haṁviśe jānīya | “Agni, [do thou, who hast] beautiful steeds, a beau-
tiful car, and [bestowest] rich gifts, bring to the pious worshipper
from among these [gods], Aryaman, Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra and Viṣṇu,
the Maruts, and the Āsvins” (comp. R. V. vii. 39, 5, below).

R. V. iv. 3, 7.—Kathā mahe pushṭim-bharāya Pūṣane kad Rudrāya
sumakhāya havir-de | kad Viṣṇave uru-gāyāya reto35 bravaḥ kad Agne
S'arave bṛihatyaī | “Why, Agni, [shouldst thou declare our sin] to
the great supplier of nourishment, Pūṣan? why to Rudra, the vigorous,
the giver of oblations? why shouldst thou declare our sin to the wide-
stepping Viṣṇu? why to the great Saru (Nīrūti?).”

R. V. iv. 18, 11.—Ula mātā mahisham anvarenad amī tvā jahati putra
devaḥ | Atha abraviḍ Viṁtra Indro hanishyan sakhe Viṣṇo vitaraṁ
vikramasva | “And his mother sought to draw back the mighty [Indra],
saying, ‘My son, those gods forsake thee.’ Then Indrā, being about
to slay Viṁtra, said, ‘Friend Viṣṇu, do thou stride vastly.’”

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

R. V. viii. 39, 12.—Sakhe Viṣṇo vitaraṁ vikramasva dyaur dehi
lokaṁ vajrāya vishekhbe | hanāra Viṁtraṁ rīnācchāva sindhān Indrasya
yantu prasave viṁrīṣṭāḥ | ‘‘Friend Viṣṇu, stride vastly;’ Sky, give
room for the thunderbolt to descend; let us slay Viṁtra, and let loose
the waters; let them, when released, flow by the impulse of Indra.”36

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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 śarave, so as to give
the sense, “our sin (understood), which is the occasion for the great arrow of
destruction.” Böhtlingk and Roth render retas by “libation.”

36 The Taittirīya Sanhitā, ii. 4, 12, 2, has the following story about Indra and Viṣṇu:
Tasmād Indro ‘bīhad api Tvasṭha | Tvaśṭaṁ tuśma vajram asinchat | tapo
vai sa vajrāḥ āsīt | iam udvyantuṁ na asaknot | atha vai tari Viṣṇur anyā devatā
āsīt | so ‘braviḍ “Viṣṇaḥ ehi idam āharishyāva yena ayam idam” iti | sa Viṣṇuḥ
tridhā ātmamān vinyadhatta prīthivyāṁ tṛitiyaṁ antarikshē tṛitiyaṁ divi tṛitiyaṁ
abhiprayāvartināhy abhiḥket | yat prīthivyāṁ tṛitiyaṁ āsīt tena Indro vajram udā-
yayakhaḍ Viṣṇu-anuṣṭhitaḥ | so ‘braviḍ “mā me prahāḥ | asti vai idam mayī
viryaṁ | tat te pradīpyaṁ” iti | tad asmaṁ prāyagḥkhāt | tat pratyagriḥnaṁ “asūkhā
mā” iti tad Viṣṇove ‘tīpṛyagḥkhāt | tad Viṣṇuve pratyagriḥnaṁ “asmāśe Indra
indriyaṁ dadhōte” iti | yad antarikṣe tṛitiyaṁ āsīt tena Indra vajram udāyayakhaḍ
Viṣṇu-anuṣṭhitaḥ | so ‘braviḍ “mā me prahāḥ | asti vai idam mayī viryaṁ | tat
RELATING TO INDRA AND VISHNU.

R. V. iv. 55, 4.—Vi Aryamā Varuṇaḥ cheti pāthāṁ isha-panthāṁ svitaṁ gātum Agniḥ | Indra-Viṣṇu ni-vad u shu stavāṁ śarman no yantam anavad varathan | "Aryaman and Varuṇa know the path; so too Agni, the lord of strength [knows] a prosperous road. Indra and Viṣṇu, when ye are lauded, according to human ability, bestow on us prosperity and strong protection."

R. V. v. 3, 1–3.—Tvam Agne Varuṇojāyase yat tvam Mitro bhavasi yat samiddhāḥ | vtre viśve sahasas-putra devās tvam Indro dāsushe mart-

"te pradāṣyāṁ" iti | tad asmai prāyaghat | tat pratyagrijāt | "dev mā adhāḥ" iti tad Viṣṇaye utprāyaghat | tad Viṣṇuh pratyagrijāt "asmāv Indraḥ indriyāṁ dadhāte" iti | yad dīvī trīṣṭyāṁ āṣīt tena Indro vaṇrāṁ utāyachhad Viṣṇu-ānu-

shīthitāḥ | so brāvid mā me prahāḥ | yena āham, idam asmi "tat tē pradāṣyāṁ" iti | "ti" ity abrāvīt | "sandhāṁ tv | sandhāvadhāi | tvam eva praviśāṁ" iti | "yan mām praviśe kīṁ mā bhūnyāṁ" ity abrāvīt | "tvām eva indhāya tava bhogaya tvām praviśyām" ity abrāvīt | taṁ Vītrah prāvise⊺ | udaraṁ vai Vītrah | kshuṭ khaṭu | maṁudhyasya bhrātrīnyāḥ | yaḥ evam veda hanti kṣuṭhan bhrātrīnyāmn | tad asmai prāyaghat | tat pratyagrijāt | "trīr mā 'dūḥāḥ" iti tad Viṣṇave 'tiprāyaghat' | tad Viṣṇuh pratyagrijād "asmāv Indraḥ indriyāṁ dadhāte" iti | yat trīr prāyaghat trīh pratyagrijāt tat trīdhatūtvan | yaḥ Viṣṇuḥ anavatikṣṭhāna Viṣṇave 'tiprāyaghat' tasmāt Aindrāvaishnavām havir bhavatī

"Indra was afraid of him, as was also Tvasṭṭi. Tvasṭṭi moistened for him the thunderbolt: it was heat or austere-favour (tapas). He could not lift it. Now there was another deity, Viṣṇu. Indra said: 'Come, Viṣṇu, we two will take that whereby he is this [which he is].' Viṣṇu 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 [Vītrā's] development (ābhiparyāvaratāḥ: yasmād asya Viṭrasya abhiparyāvaratā sarva-dīg-rūpī-rūpāyāḥ evideh ayaṁ Indro'bhīṣ hete, Comm.). With the third [of Viṣṇu] which was on the earth, Indra lifted the thunderbolt, followed by Viṣṇu. Viṭrā 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 Viṣṇu, [saying,] 'Thou hast supported me.' Viṣṇu received it, [saying], 'May Indra impart energy to us.' Indra then lifted the thunderbolt with the third [of Viṣṇu] which was in the air," etc., as before. 'Indra passed it on to Viṣṇu, saying, 'Thou hast twice supported me,'" etc. 'Indra then, followed by Viṣṇu, lifted the thunderbolt with the third [of Viṣṇu] which was in the sky. Viṭrā 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 Viṭrā]. 'If thou enterest me, wilt thou eat me?' [replied Indra]. 'I will Kindle thee; I will enter thee for thy enjoyment,' [answered Viṭrā]. He accordingly entered into him. Viṭrā is the belly. Hunger is man's enemy. He who knows this slays his enemy. So Viṭrā gave Indra [that whereby he was what he was]. Indra took it, [and saying,] 'Thou hast three supported me; passed it on to Viṣṇu," etc., etc., as before. "From the circumstance that the one god gave, and the other took [what was given], thrice, the 'trīdhatū' derives its character. And from the fact that Viṣṇu 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 kaniṇāṃ nāma svadhāvan guhyam bibharṣki | anjanti mitrāṃ sudhitām na gobhir yad dampati samanasaṃ krinoshi | 3. Svadhitāv upamām nīdhāyi tena pāsi guhyāṃ nāma gotām

"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 Vishnu, thou possessest the mysterious name of the cows."

R.V. v. 46, 2-4 (=Vāj. S. 33, 48, 49).—Agne Indra Varuṇa Mitra devāḥ sārdhaḥ pra yanta Māruta uta Vishṇo | ubhā Nāsatyā Rudro adha gnāḥ Pūshā Bhagaḥ Sarasvati jushanta | 3. Indrāgni Mitra-Varuṇa Aditiṁ svāḥ prithivīṁ dyām Marutaḥ parvātān apah | hve Vishṇum Pūshanam Brahmanaspatim Bhagaḥ nu śāṃsaṅ Savitāram utaye | 4. Uta no Vishṇur uta Vāto asridho dravinoḍāḥ uta Somo mayas karat | uta Ribhavah uta rāye no Aśvinā uta Tvashṭā uta Vibhavā anu maṁsate |

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

R.V. v. 51, 9.—Sajur Mitra-Varunābhīyām sajih Somena Vishnuṇā | ā yā hi Agne Atri-vat sute rānā | "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 libation, as [in that of] Atri."

R. V. v. 87, 1 (S. V. i. 462).—Pra vo mahe matayo yantu Vishnave Marutvate givijah evayamarut | pra sardhaya prayujaye sukhadaye tavase bhundad-ishaye dhuni-avratiya savase | . . . 4. Sa chakrave mahato nir urukramah samanasmait sadasahe evayamarut | yada ayukta tmanah svadh shnubhir vishpardhado vimahasojigati sevridho nribhih | . . . 8. Advesho no Maruto gatum a itana srota havam jaritur evayamarut | Vishnor makahe samanjavo yuyotana smad rathyo na daamsanah apa dveshaansanu utah |

"May your hill-born (or, voice-born) hymns proceed to the great Vishnu, attended by the Maruts, O Evayamarut, (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 Evayamarut; 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, Evayamarut; 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 taken and translated in Prof. Benfey's Glossary to the Sāma-veda, p. 39 f.

R.V. vi. 17, 11.—Vardhan yan vihe Marutah sajoshah pachat satam mahishan Indra tubhyaam | Pusha Vishnus trini saransi dhavan vritrahanam madiram amsnam 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 Vṛitra-slaying, exhilarating soma.'"
R. V. vi. 20, 2.—Divō na tuḥṭyāṁ anu Indra satrā asuryāṁ decebhir dhāyi viśvam | Aiḥiṁ yad Vṛitram apo vavrīvāṁsaṁ hann rījhiṁ Viśhνunā sakhānaḥ | "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 Vṛitra Ahi, stopping up the waters."

R. V. vi. 21, 9.—Pra ūtaye Varuṇaṁ Mitram Indraṁ Marutaḥ krish-va arase no udya | pra Pūshanaṁ Viṣṇum Agnim Purandhiṁ Savitāram oshudhiḥ parvatāṁscha | "Dispose to-day to our help and succour Varuṇa, Mitra, Indrā, the Maruts, Pūshana, Viṣṇu, Agni, Purandhi, Savitṛi, the plants and the mountains."

R. V. vi. 48, 14.—Taṁ rauḥ Indram na sakratuṁ Varuṇaṁ iva māyi- nam | Aryaṁaṇaṁ na mandraṁ sripaṁ-bhojasan Viṣṇuṁ na stushe ṛdiśe | "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."  

R. V. vi. 49, 13.—Yo rajāṁṣi vimane43 pārthivāṁi triś chid Viṣṇur Manave badhīlāya | tasya te śarmann upadadyamāne rāyā madema tanvā tanā āha | "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."  

R. V. vi. 50, 12.—To no Rudraḥ Sarasvati sajoshāḥ mīlhubhūmanto Viṣṇuṁ mṛilantu Vāyuḥ | Ribhukṣhāḥ Vājo daicyvo vidhātā Parjanyāvātā pipyatāṁ ishaṁ naḥ | "May these dispensers of blessings, Rudra, Sarasvati, Viṣṇu, and Vāyu together be gracious to us. May Ribhukshan, Vāja, the divine Vidhāṭri (or disposer), Parjanya and Vātu replenish our store of nutriment."

40 Stotribhiḥ, "worshippers," according to Sāyāna.
41 The word sripa occurs also in R. V. i. 96,3; 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 Sāyāna sarpaṇa-śīla, "going," praśripa, "extended," etc. (See also Benfey's Glossary to the S. V.) The word visva-bhōjasan occurs in the preceding verse vi. 48, 13.
42 Such is the sense assigned to ādiś by Sāyāna: in Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary I find the word pradēṣaṇa rendered "a gift or offering, anything given to the gods, superiors, or friends," etc.
43 Tribhir eva vikramāṇaṁ parāṅgataṁ | "measured with three strides."—Sāyāna. Compare R. V. i. 154, 1, above (p. 69, ff.), and vii. 100, 4, below (p. 87).
44 Asurair hūśitaḥya | "injured by Asuras."—Sāyāna.

"Indra and Vishnu, 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 Vishnu, 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 Vishnu, ye two lords of exhilarating draughts, come to the soma-juice, bringing with you wealth; may the hymns uttered with praises anoint you* twain with the unguents of our prayers. 4. Indra and Vishnu, 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 Vishnu, this deed of you twain is worthy of celebration, that, in the exhilaration of the soma-juice, ye took vast strides;* ye made the

*Compare R. V. iii. 17, 1.

The commentator remarks on this: Yadyapi Vishnor eva visramas tathapy charythatvad ubhayor ity uchyate | "Though 'striding' is an act of Vishnu only, yet it is so [described as here] owing to both gods having one end in view." In R. V. vii. 99, 6 (see below), the epithet vrakrama, "far-stepping," is applied in the same way to both these deities. In the Harivansa, 7418, it is applied to Siva.
throughout 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).—"S'āṁ no Aditir bhavatu vratabhīṁ saṁ no bhavantu Marutaḥ su-arkāḥ | saṁ no Vishnuḥ saṁ u Pūśā no astu saṁ no bhavītraṁ saṁ v'astu 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," 48 may Vāyu, be propitious to us."

46 Comp. i. 165, 5, above.
47 The commentator explains this as follows. Yadd yad vastu praty apaspridhethāṁ asuraiḥ saha aspridhethāṁ tredhā loka-veda-vāgātmanā triḍāḥ sthitaṁ sahasram ami-taṁ cha vi tad airayethāṁ vyakramethāṁ ity arthāḥ | tathā cha brāhmaṇaṁ uddhā jigyathur ity achekkhāvakasya | vahau hi tāu jigyathur na parājyete na parājyige iti na hi tāuḥ katarasāhāna para-jyige 'Indraś cha Vīṣṇo yad apaspridhethāṁ tredhā sahasraṁ vi tad airayethāṁ' iti | Indras cha ha vai Vishnuḥ cha aswair yuvudhāte tāṁ ha soma jīteā uchātuḥ "kalpāmakāi" iti | te ha tathā ity asurāḥ uchāuḥ | so 'hbravīd Indro "pāvān evīyāṁ Vīṣṇuḥ trir vikramate tāveادة asmākān atha yushkākān ītara'd' iti | sa inām lokān vičakrame 'tath vedān ato ēcuḥ | tad ōhāḥ "kīm tāt sahasraṁ" iti "ime lokāḥ ime vedāḥ ato vāg" iti brujāt | "airayethāṁ airayethāṁ" ity achekkhākāḥ ukthye 'bhāyasyati' | 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 world, Veda, and speech, and in number a thousand, and immeasurable, ye strode. Thus a Brūhmaṇa [the Aitareya, 6, 15,] says: 'ye both conquered; this is what the Achāhāvāka 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 Veda, then speech. When people say, what is that thousand? let him say, Tse worlds, these Vedas, then speech. The Achāhāvāka priest repeats at the Ukthya ritual, ye scattered, ye scattered.'" Comp. Taitt. S. vii. 1, 5, 5. 48 The word bhavitra is explained by Sāyana as = bhuvanamantarikshom udākam vā. 44 The word, or the atmosphere, or water." The word, Dr. Aufrecht informs me, does not occur again in the Vedas.
TO VISHṆU, INDRA, AND OTHER DEITIES.

R. V. vii. 36, 9.—Achha ayaṁ vo Marutah ślokaḥ etu achha Vishnoṁ
nishedh-ādī śravohhir ityādi | “Maruts, may this hymn reach you: may it [reach] Vishṇu, the preserver of embryos, with its eulogies,” etc.

R. V. vii. 39, 5.—Ā Agne giro divah ā prithivyāṁ Mitraṁ vaha
Varuṇam Indram Agnim | Ā Aryamāṇam Aditiṁ Vishṇum āhāṁ
Sarasvatī Maruṇo mādayantām | “Agni, from heaven and earth bring
Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, Agni, Aryaman, Aditi, Vishṇu to the hymns of
these persons;” may Sarasvatī and the Maruts be gratified.”

R. V. vii. 40, 5.—Asya devasya mālhuso vayaḥ Vishṇor eshaṣya
prabhrithe havirbhīḥ | vide hi Rudro rudriyam mahitvāṁ yāsiḥaṁ
vartir Aṣvināv itāvat | “The branches of this prolific and rapid deity
Vishṇu [are to be worshipped?] with oblations at the offering. For
Rudra possesses impetuous power. The Aśvins have come to our place
of sacrifice which is provided with food.”

R. V. vii. 44, 1.—Dadhikrāṁ vaḥ prathamam Aṣvinā Ushasam Agnim
samiddham Bhagam utaye hure | Indraṁ Vishṇum Pūshaṁ Brahmanaspatīṁ
Adiyāṁ dyāva-prithivī apiḥ śvah | “I invoke you for succour,
first Dadhikrā, the Aśvins, Usha, the kindled Agni, Bhaga, Indra,
Vishṇu, Pūshan, Brahmanaspatī, the Adityās, Heaven and Earth, the
Waters, the Sky.”

R. V. vii. 93, 8.—Eṭāḥ Agne aṣushāṇāsaḥ ishtir yuvaḥ sachi abhi
asyaṁ vajān | mā Indro no Vishṇu Marutah parikhyann ityādi | “Breathing
forth these petitions, may we, O Agni [and Indra], with
[the help of] you twain, obtain food. Let not Indra, Vishṇu, and the
Maruts despise us,” etc.

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

50 Sāyaṇa interprets the first words of the verse before us thus, Vishṇoḥ sarva- devātmakasya asya devasya ane evaḥ vayaḥ sākhāḥ iva bhavanti | “Other gods are,
as it were, branches of this god, who is the soul of all the gods.” He explains eshaṣya
as follows: Prabhirthe havirbhīr. havir-gūpair annaṁ eshaṣya prāpranīyasya, “one
who can be brought by oblations of food.” The same epithet esha is applied to
Vishṇu in the other two, following passages referred to in Bōhltlingk and Roth’s
Lexicon under this word. R. V. ii. 34, 11.—Tān vo nāhā Marutah evaṣvaṁ Vishṇor
eshaṣya prabhirthe havirmahe | ityāū | “At the offering of the rapid Vishṇu we
invoke you, the great, and impetuous Maruts,” etc. R. V. vii. 20, 3.—Yuddha hi
Rudriyāṇāṁ bhumam ugram Marutāṁ śūnivaṁ | Vishṇor eshaṣya mālhusāṁ |
“For we know the fierce vigour of the sons of Rudra, the impetuous Maruts, of the
rapid Vishṇu, [all of them] prolific.”
R. V. vii. 99, 1.—Paro mātrayāṁ\(^{51}\) tanvā vridhānā na te mahītvam anna
aśnuvanti | ubhe te vidma rajāś prithivyāṁ Vishno deva tvam para-
masya vitse  
2. Na te Vishno jāyamāno na jāto deva mahīnvah param
antam āpa | ud astabhnaṁ nakam rishvāṁ brikhāntām dādhartha prāchīṁ
kakubham prithivyāṁ | 3 (≡Vāj. S. v. 16). Irāvatī dhenaunati hi
bhūtaṁ suhvasiṁ manuśe\(^{52}\) daśasyā | Vi astabhnaṁ rodayi Vishno ete
dādhartha prithivīṁ abhito mayūkhāṁ | 4. Uruṅ yajnāya chakrathur
u lokāṁ janayantā Sūryam Ushasam Agnim | dāsasya chid vṛkṣa-
śiprasya māyāṁ jaghnathur narā pritanājyesu | 5. Indrā-Vishṇu ṛdir-
hitāṁ S'ipivisṭhaṁ nava puro navatīṁ cha śnathīṁ | sataṁ varchināṁ
saahasrāṁ cha sākāṁ hatho aprati asurasya virān | 6. Iyam manishā
brikhati brikhānta urukramāṁ tavasā vardhayanti | rāre vāṁ stomaṁ
vidathesu Vishno pinvatam isho vrijaneshu Indra | 7. (S. V. 2, 977 ;
Taitt. Sanh. ii. 2, 12, 4) Voshāṁ te Vishno ṛṣaḥ ā kṛṇomi tad me jushasva
S'ipivisṭha havyam | vardhanṭu tvā sushtubhaya giro me yūyam pāta svasti-
bhiṁ sadā nah |

"Thou who, with thy body, growest beyond our measure, [men]
do not attain to thy greatness: we know both thy two regions of
the earth; thou, divine Vishṇu, knowest the remotest [world].\(^{52}\) 2. No one,
O divine Vishṇu, 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.\(^{53}\) 3. [Ye two
worlds,] be ye abundant in food, cows, and pastures, through beneficence
to man. Vishṇu, thou didst prop asunder these two worlds; thou
didst envelope the earth on every side with beams of light. 4. Ye
(Indra and Vishṇu) have provided ample room for the sacrifice,
producing the sun, the dawn, and fire. Ye, O heroes, destroyed in the
battles the wonderful powers of the hostile (dāra) Vṛkṣāṣipra. 5.
Indra and Vishṇu, 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; Vishṇu and Indra, I present to you twain
a hymn at the sacrifices. Supply abundant nutriment in our habi-
tations. 7. Vishṇu, I utter to thee this invocation from my mouth.

\(^{51}\) Compare paro-mātrayāṁ vṛkṣāṣipram Indram  
\(^{52}\) Yajur-veda v. 16 reads manasv.  
\(^{53}\) Compare R. V. i. 155, 5, above, p. 74.
Sipivishṭa,54 favourably receive this my oblation. May my laudatory hymns delight thee: do you always preserve us with blessings.”

R. V. vii. 100.—Nu’marto dayate sanishyan yo Vishṇave urugāyāya dāsāt | pra yāḥ satrāchā manasā yajāte etāvantāṁ naryam āvivāsat |
2. Tvaṁ Vishṇo sumatiṁ viśvajanyām aprayutāṁ evayāvoc matiṁ dāh |
parcho yathānaṁ svitasya bhūrer aśvavatāḥ puruṣchandrasya rāyaḥ |
3. Trir devaḥ prithivīṁ esah etāṁ vi chakrame satarchasam mahītva |
pri Vīṣṇur astu tavaṁ tātyāṁ tveshaṁ hi asya sthavirasya nāma |
4. Vi chakrame prithivīṁ esah etāṁ kṣetra-yāya Vīṣṇur manushe dasasyan |
dhrvāso asya kirayo janāśaḥ urukshitiṁ sujānimā chakāra | 5. (S. V. 2, 976; Taitt. S. ii, 12, 5; Nir. 5, 9.) Pra tat te adya S'ipivishṭa
nāma aryaḥ sāṁśāmi vayunāṁ videśān | taṁ tvā griñāmi tavaṁ atavyān |
khayantam asya rajasaḥ parāke | 6. (S. V. 2, 975; Taitt. S. ii, 12, 5; Nir. 5, 8.) Kim it te Vīṣṇo parichaksyām bhūt55 pra yad vacakshe
S'ipivishṭo asmi | mā varpo asmad apağha etad yad anyarūpaḥ samithe |
babhūtha | (The seventh verse is repeated from the last hymn.)

“That man never repents who, seeking [for good], brings offerings to Vīṣṇu, the wide-stepping, who worships him with his whole heart, and propitiates such a powerful [god]. 2. Vouchsafe to us, swiftly-moving Vīṣṇu, 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 Vīṣṇu the strongest prevail over the strong: for awful is the name (nature) of that immovable [being]. 4. The swift Vīṣṇu 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 dwell’st beyond this lower world. 6. What, Vīṣṇu, 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.”56

54 See the note on this word ‘where it occurs in the hymn next following.
55 The Sāma-veda reads parichaksī nāma.
56 The following illustration of this verse is quoted by Professor Benfey from the commentary on the corresponding passage of the S. V.: Purā khaṭu Vīṣṇuḥ seām.
R. V. viii. 9, 12.—Yad Indrena sarathaḥ yātho Āśvinā yad vā Vāyūnā bhavatāḥ samokasā yad Āditye bhir Ribhubhīḥ sa josahasā yad vā Vishnur vikramāṅgēsha 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.”

Yāska quotes verses 5 and 6 of the hymn before us in inverse order. After telling us (v. 7) that, “according to Aupamanyava, Viṣṇu has two names, Śipivishta, and Viṣṇu, of which the former has a bad sense” (Śipivishto Viṣṇur iti Viṣṇor dev namaṇi bhavataḥ | kutsītārthāyan pūrvar bhavati ity Aupamanyavah), Yāska quotes verse 6, on which he observes: Kiṁ te Viṣṇo prakhyātam etad bhavati aprakhyā-panīyaṃ yau na prabrūsheḥ | śepaḥ iva nirveshito ’sni ity apratipanna-raśmiḥ | api vā prāśmaṇa-nāmaiva abhipretāṃ syāt | kiṁ te Viṣṇo prakhyātam etad bhavati prakhyāpanīyaṃ yad uta prabrūsheḥ | Śipivishto ’sni iti pratipanna-raśniḥ | śipayo ’tra raśnayan ucyante | tair āvishko bhavati | mā varpo asmad apaguha etat | varpaḥ iti rūpa-nūna . . . | yad anya-rūpaḥ samitthe saṅgrāne bhavasi saṅyata-raśmiḥ “What, Viṣṇu, is this undeclared thing of thine, not to be declared, which thou tellst not? ‘I am enveloped like a private member,’ i.e. with rays obscured. Or, by Śipivisṭha a laudatory appellation may be intended; ‘what is this declared thing of thine, which is to be declared, that thou telllest?’ ‘I am Śipivisṭha, i.e. one whose rays are displayed.’ The word ‘śiṣṭa’ here means ‘rays;’ with these he is pervaded. ‘Do not conceal this form’: varpoḥ is a word meaning ‘form.’ . . . ‘That thou art of another form in the battle (samithe = saṅgrāme), with thy rays withheld.’” See Tattt. S., vol. ii., p. 586. On v. 5, Yāska remarks: Nir. v. 9: “Tat te’dya Śipivisṭha nāma aryah śaśiṇīmi | aryo’ham asmi śaśevah stomaṇām | aryas team asi iti vā | taṁ tvā stauni tavasaṁ alavāniḥ tavasaḥ iti mahato nāmadhyam udito bhavati | nivesantrya asya rajasaḥ paraṅke parakṛnte | ‘I, a master, to-day celebrate this thy name, Śipivisṭha.’ I am aryah, a master of praises. Or, thou art a master. ’I, weak, praise thee, the strong.’ Tavaśa is a word used for ‘great.’ ‘Dwelling beyond (parake = parakṛnte) this lower world.’ From the above quotation, it appears that even in the time of Yāska, the sense of the word Śipivisṭha was uncertain. In the Mahābhārata, Sāntiparva, vv. 13229, ff., Krishṇa is introduced as explaining the sense of the word thus (t) the writer intended to represent Yāska as the Vedic rishi by whom the word was first applied to Viṣṇu, he could not have been a particularly good Vedic scholar: Śipivisṭetī chakhyāyāṁ kīnā-romā cha yo bhavet | tenāviṣṭhitam tu yat kinech Oḥhipiṣṭhitē cha smrītaḥ | Yāsko nām rishir avyagro naika-yajnesha gitavān | Śipivisṭhē’ti hy asvād guhya-nāma- dhāro hy aham | stuvō mām Śipivisṭetī Yāskah sarshrī udāra-dhīḥ | mat-prasādād adho nāṣṭam Niruktam abhijñanavitam | “A bald man is designated by the word Śipivisṭha. Anything which is penetrated by that is called Śipivisṭha. Yāska, the serene rishi, celebrated me at many sacrifices. In consequence of this, I bear the mysterious name of Śipivisṭha. Yāska, that rishi of large understanding, having lauded me as Śipivisṭha, recovered by my favour the Nirukta, which had been destroyed.”
R. V. viii. 10, 2.— . . . Brihaspatiṁ Viśvādevan aham huve Indra-Viśnū Āsvinav āsu-heshasā | “I invoke Brihaspati, the Viśvedevas, Indra and Viśnū, and the Āsvinīs with quickly neighing steeds.”

R. V. viii. 12, 16 (=S. V. i. 384; A. V. 20, 111, 1).—Yat somam Indra Viśnave yad vā gha Trito Āptye | yad vā Marutsu mandase sam indubhiḥ | . . . 25. Yad Indra pritanāyāje devas tvā dadhire purah | ād it te haryatā hari vavakshatuḥ | 26. Yadā Vritraṁ nadi-vritaṁ savasa vajrin abadhiḥ | ād id ityādi | 27. Yadā te Viśnur ojasā trini padā vichakrāme | ād id ityādi |

“Whether, Indra, thou [drinkest] soma along with Viśnū, or with Trito 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 Vītra, who stopped up the streams, then thy dear steeds grew strong. 27. When by thy force Viśnū 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 dyaur Indra paunṣyam prithivi vardhati śrávaḥ | tvām āpah parvatāsas cha hinivre | 9. Tvāṁ Viśnur brihan kshayo57 Mitro grīnāti Varunah | tvāṁ sārdho madati anu mārutam | 10. Tvāṁ vriśhā janānām maṁhistāḥ Indra jajnishe | 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. Viśnū, 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.”


57 Benfey, in his translation of the Sama-veda, renders kshaya by “king.” Roth, in his Lexicon, thinks this sense is not established, and renders the words brihan kshayaḥ 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 brihat-kshayaḥ, “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 Vishno Aśvinā Puśhan mākinayā dhiyā | Indraḥ ayātu pratḥamah sanishybhir vrishā yo vṛitrahā grīne | "Come hither, ye Maruts, Vishnu, Aśvins, Puśhan, 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 to 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 nāvam is proved by its occurrence in R. V. ix. 45, 5: Induṁ nāvāṁ 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-gaṇa, may be meant, to whom, he remarks, the epithet babhru, "dark-brown, tawny," is as applicable as it is to their master, Rudra, to whom its is frequently given.

60 Böhtlingk and Roth understand vishuṇa 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, strole 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.—\(\text{Asarma parvatānām vṛṇīmaḥ nadinām ā Vishnoḥ sāchā-bhuvāḥ}\) “We seek for protection from the mountains, the rivers, and Vishṇu who is associated with them.”

R. V. viii. 35, 1, 14.—\(\text{Agninā Indreṇa Varuṇena Vishnunā Ādityaiḥ Rudair Vasubhiḥ sāchā-bhuvāḥ sajoshasā Ushasā Suryena cha somam pibatam Āśvinā}\) 14. \(\text{Angirasvantā uta Vishnusvantā Marutvantā jaritur gachhatho havam ityādi}\) “Aśvins, drink the soma-juice, united with Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Vishṇu, the Ādityas, Rudra, the Vasus, and associated with Ushas and Sūrya. 14. Attended by Angiras, by Vishṇu, and by the Maruts, you come at the invocation of your worshipper.”

R. V. viii. 66, 10.—\(\text{Viśvā it tā Vishnur ābharad urukramas tvā ishitāḥ}\) “The wide-striding Vishṇu, 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

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\(^{62}\) Tvāshtri.

\(^{63}\) Indra.

\(^{64}\) Rudra. Compare R. V. i. 43, 4, where Rudra is named, and the same epithet, \(\text{jālāsha-bheṣaja}\), is applied to him, and R. V. vii. 35, 6, where he is called \(\text{jālāsha}\), “healing.”

\(^{65}\) Pūshan.

\(^{66}\) Vishṇu.

\(^{67}\) 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 Sūryā.

\(^{68}\) Mitra and Varuṇa.
some myth (also referred to in R. V. i. 61, 7, quoted in p. 67), in which Vishnū 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.

Sāyaṇa 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 Taittiriya Sanhitā; but it is here given in a different and conciser version. Part of the following quotation consists of Sāyaṇa’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 | charēka-orāhmane itiḥāsah āmnāyate | “Vishnū yajnāḥ | sa devebhyaḥ ātmānam antaradhiḥ | tam anya-devataḥ na avindan | Indras tv avet | sa Indram abravit ’ko bhavān’ iti | tam Indraḥ prayābr avid ‘aham durgānām asurāṇāṁ cha hānta | bhavāṁs tu kaḥ’ iti | so ’bravid ‘aham durgād āhārta | tvam tu yādī durgānām asurāṇāṁ cha hānta tato ’yaṁ varāho vāma-mushāḥ ekaviṃśatāyaḥ purāṁ pāre ’śmanmayānāṁ vasati | tasmīn asurāṇāṁ vasu vāmam asti | tam imaṁ jahi’ iti | tasya Indras tāḥ puro bhittēcō hridayam avidhyat | adhi tatra yad āsīt tad Vishnū āhārād” iti | so ’yaṁ itiḥāsō “asya id u mātuḥ savaneshu” “viśvā it tā Vishnū” ity ābhyaṁ pratīpādaḥ | tayor madhye “asya id u mātūr” ity atrā Vishnunā “he Indra tvam ‘durgānām hāntā’ ity ātmānaṁ kathayasi tarhi vāma-mushāḥ varāhām asurāṁ jahi” ity uktārtho “viśhyad varāhām” ity pādena pratīpadātāḥ | Indreṇa rha ‘Vishno tvam ‘durgād āhārta’ iti brūshe | mayā purūṇī jītāny asuras chā ghūtītas tasya vāmaṁ vasv ānoya’ ity ukto Vishnu- mūrtis tasya Varāhāsurasaya āhanam mumoṣha | so ’rtho “mushyaḥ Vishnun pachatam” iti pādena sūcītāḥ | ca kim punar mushitavān iti tad atrā ucyate “viśvā it tā” iti |

“On the part of the Aitihāsikas a story is recorded in the Charaka Brāhmaṇa (i.e. the Brāhmaṇa of the Black Yaṇṭr Veda): ‘Vishnū 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 ārth thō? Indra replied, I am the destroyer of castles, and Asuras; but who art thou? He said, I am I 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 Vishṇu 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 Vishṇu,' 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 Vishṇu 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 Vishṇu stole the cooked mess,' alludes to the other clause of the story in which the being in the form of Vishṇu, being addressed by Indra in the words, 'Vishṇu, thou callest thyself the being who carries off goods from the castle. I (Indra) have conquered the castles and slain the Aśura; 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 Vishṇu, 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 evāṁ Vishṇo sajātyānām | ita Maruto Aśvinā | "Remember, Indra, Vishṇu, Maruts, Aśvins, us thy kinsmen."

R. V. ix. 33, 3 (S. V. 2, 116).—Sutāḥ Indrāya Vāyave Varuṇāya Marudḥyaḥ | somāḥ arshanti Vishṇave | "The soma-draughts poured forth, hasten to Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, the Maruts, and to Vishṇu."

R. V. ix. 34, 2.—Sutāḥ Indrāya Vāyave Varuṇāya Marudḥyaḥ | soma arshati Vishṇave | "The soma hastens to Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, the Maruts, and Vishṇu."

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

R. V. ix. 63, 3.—Sutāḥ Indrāya Vishṇave somāḥ kalaśe aksharat | madhumāṁ astu Vāyave | "The soma, when poured forth, flowed into the vessel for Indra, for Vishṇu. May it be honied for Vāyu."
R. V. ix. 65, 20 (S. V. 2, 345).—Apsah Indrāya Vāyave Varuṇāya Marudbhyaḥ | soma arshati Vishnave | “Pouring forth streams, the soma hastens to Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, the Maruts, and to Vishnu.”

R. V. ix. 90, 5.—Matsi Soma Varuṇam matsi Mitram matsi Indram Indo pavamāna Vishnum | matsi śardho Mārutam matsi devān matsi mahāṁ Indram Indo madāya | “Soma, Indu, purified, thou exhilaratest Varuṇa, thou exhilaratest Mitra, thou exhilaratest Indra, thou exhilaratest Vishnu, 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 Vishnok | “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 prasavanāt | janitā matināṁ prakāśa-karmanāṁ āditya-raśmināṁ dīvo dyotana-karmanāṁ āditya-raśmināṁ prithivyāḥ prathana-karmanāṁ āditya-raśmināṁ Agner gati-karmanāṁ āditya-raśmināṁ Sūryasya svikarana-karmanāṁ āditya-raśmināṁ Indraṣya aśvarya-karmanāṁ āditya-raśmināṁ Vishnoḥ vyāpti-karmanāṁ āditya-raśmināṁ ity adhidaivatam | atha adhyātmam | somaḥ atmā apy etasmād eva indriyāṇāṁ janitā ity arthāḥ | api vā sarvābhivibhūtibhir vibhūtata (?) atmā ity atma-gatim āchāṣṭe | “Soma is purified. Soma is ‘sūrya’ (the sun), from generating (prasavanāt). 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 (svikarana); of Indra, i.e. of those solar rays whose function is sovereignty; of Vishnu, 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.”
R. V. ix. 166, 6 (=S. V. ii. 566).—Pavasva vāja-sātamaḥ pavitre dhāraya sutaḥ | Indrāya Soma Vishnave devedhyo madhumattamah | “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.—Vishnu itthā paramam asya vidvān jāto bhrihanna abhi pāti śrītyam | āsā yad asya payo akṛata svāṁ sachetasa abhi achatāatra | “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. 1, 3.—Vishnu itthā paramam asya vidvān jāto bhrihanna abhi pāti śrītyam | āsā yad asya payo akṛata svāṁ sachetasa abhi achatāatra | “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 Varuṇa Mitro Aryamā Vāyuḥ Pūṣā Sarasvatī sajoshasaḥ | Ādityāḥ Vishnu Marutāḥ Svar bhrihat Somo Rudro Aditir Brahmanaspatiḥ | “Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, 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-prithivī ritam mahad Indrā-Vishnū Marutāḥ Svar bhrihat | devān Ādityān avase havānahe Vasūn Rudrān Savitaraṁ sudāṇasaṁ | 5. Sarasvān dhībhīr Varuṇo dhīrta-vrataḥ Pūṣā Vishnuḥ mahīmā Vāyuḥ Aśvinā | brahma-krito āmitāḥ viśva-vedāsaḥ śarma no yaṁsan trivarūtham añḥasaḥ | “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 Aśvins, the immortals, offerers of prayer, possessors of all wealth, grant us a triple protection from evil.”

R. V. x. 92, 11.—Te hi dyāvā-prithivī bhūri-retasā Narāsāṁsaḥ chaturango Yamo ’ditiḥ | devas Tvashṭā Draviṇodāḥ Ribhuksanaḥ pra rodasi Maruto Vishnuḥ arhiṛē | “The prolific Heaven and Earth, the four-limbed Narāsāṁsa, Yama, Aditi, the god Tvashṭṛi, Draviṇodas, the Ribhuksanas, the two worlds, the Maruts, Vishnu have been honoured.”

R. V. x. 113, 1.—Tam asya dyāvā-prithivī sachetāsa viśvebhir devān aṁ sudharmān āvatām | yad ait kṛiṇāno mahīmānam indriyam pitvā somasya kratumān arvadhāta | 2. Tam asya Vishnuḥ mahīmānam ojasā

69 See above p. 66 f.; and the fifth volume of this work, p. 207.
69* The same combination of words, mahīmānam 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 Vritra, became distinguished.

“May the gods all attend on my invocation, the Maruts with Indra, Vishnu, Agni,” etc.

We invoke with hymns, king Soma, to our aid, and the Adityas, Vishnu, Surya, and the priest Brihaspati. Excite Aryaman, Brihaspati, Indra, to generosity, and Vata, Vishnu, Sarasvati, and Savitri, the heroic.

“Vasishtha has received from the shining Dhātṛi, from Savitṛi, and from Vishnu, the Rathantarā, that which is the offering of the fourfold sacrifice, whereof Prathas and Saprathas are the names. 2. These [sages] discovered what was very far removed, the supreme and secret abode of sacrifice. Bharadvāja has received the Brihat from the shining Dhātṛi, 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 Dhātṛi, Savitṛi, Vishnu, Surya, they brought down Gharma.”

Vishnu yoniṁ kalpayatu Tvashtā

The Vajasaneyi Sanhitā reads anvārabhāmahe instead of gīr biom havāmahe.
UNDEFINED CHARACTER OF VISHNU.

97
rūpāṇi pīnātatu | ā sinchatu Prajāpatiṛ Dhātā garbhaṁ dadhātū te |
"Let Vishnu form the womb; let Tvashtri mould the forms; let Prajāpati infuse [the seminal principle]; let Dhātri form the embryo."

SECT. II.—Subordinate position occupied by Vishnu 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 Vishnu. 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, Sākapūṇi and Aurnāvābha, on the character of Vishnu. 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, Aurnāvābha, on the other hand, interprets Vishnu'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 Vishnu as taking vast strides.

As the peculiar divine office of Vishnu, 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 Śaṅkya, 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 Vishnu. 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

Vol. IV.
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 Vishn̄u 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 Vishn̄u 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 Vishn̄u 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), Vishn̄u is represented as celebrating Indra’s praises; while, in R. V. ix. 96, 5, Vishn̄u 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 Aśvins, etc., are extremely numerous; whilst the entire hymns and separate verses in which Vishn̄u 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, Vishn̄u 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 Vishn̄u. I shall quote a sufficient number of these texts to show that, in the Rig-veda, Vishn̄u does not hold a higher rank than several of these other divinities. 1; 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 Vishn̄u 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. 71

R. V. i. 7, 3—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—. . . . ayachhathāḥ bāhvor vajram āyasam adhārayo
divi ā sūryaṁ driṣe . . . . 12. Tvam asya pāre rajaso vyomanah
svabhāty-ojāḥ apase dhṛishan-amanah | chakrishe bhūmim pratimānām
ojasah apaḥ svah paribhūr eshi ā divam | 13. Tvam bhuvah pratimānām
prithivyāḥ rishvva-virāsya brihatataḥ patir bhūḥ | viśvam ā aprūḥ anta-
riksham mahītvā satyam addho, nākīr unyas tvāṁ | 14. Na yasya
dyāvā-prithivi anu yvacho na sindhavo rajaso antam ānāsūḥ | nota svā-
vṛishṭim made asya yudhyataḥ eko anyach chakrishe viśvam ānushak |

"Thou hast grasped in thine arms the iron thunderbolt; thou hast
placed the sun in the sky to be viewed. . . . 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 72 of [thy] energy; encompassing the waters and the sky,
thou reachest up to heaven. 13. Thou art the counterpart of the
earth, the lord of the lofty sky, with its exalted heroes. Thou hast
filled 73 the whole atmosphere with thy greatness. Truly there is none
other like unto thee. 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.—Divas chid asya varimā vi paprathe Indram na
mahā prithi vi chana prati | "His vastness is extended even beyond
the sky: the earth is not comparable to Indra in greatness."

R. V. i. 61, 9.—Asya id eva praririche mahitvam divas prithivyāḥ
pari antarikshāt ityādi | "His greatness transcends the sky, the earth,
and surpasses the atmosphere," etc.

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

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

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).

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 pārthivāṁ rajo badbadhe rochana divi | na tvaṁ Indra kāśchana na jāto na janīṣhyate ati viśvaṁ vavakshitha |
“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.—Trivishṭi-dhātu pratimānam ojasas tisro bhūmīr nripate trīṇi rochana | ati idaṁ viśvam bhuvanāṁ vavakshitha aśatrur Indra janushā sanuṣd asi | “The three worlds, O king, the three luminaries are a triple counterpart of [thy] energy. Thou hast transcended this w hole universe. By nature, Indra, thou art of old without an enemy.”

R. V. i. 103, 2.—Sa dhārayat prithivīm paprathachcha vajrena hatvā nir apaḥ sasarja | ahann Ahim ityādī | “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.—Stambhid hā dyāṁ ityādī | 3 . . . tastambhad dyāṁ chatuskpaṇe naryāya 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 jātā va praithamo manasvān deva deva gaya mānkarāṇā paryabhūshat 76 | Yasya śushmād rodasī abhyasetāṁ nrimnāsyaya mahān sa janāṣaḥ Indraḥ | 2. Yah prithivīn vyatihāmānām adriṇhaḥ yaḥ parvatān prakupitān aramṇāḥ | yo antarikṣaḥ viname varīyo yo dyāṁ astabhnāt sa janāṣaḥ Indraḥ | 9 . . . Yo viśraṣya pratimānam babhūva yo aṣṭhya-chyut sa janāṣaḥ Indraḥ | 13. Dyāvā chid asmāi prithivī namete śushmāc chid asya parvataḥ bhayante ityādī |

“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;

75 Compare R.V. viii. 21, 13; x. 133, 2 (below).
76 Kṛtunā karmāṇaḥ paryabhavat paryaygrihāt parparakshād atyakrāmad vā . . nrimnāsyaya mahān balasya mahattvena.—Nirukta. At the end of the comment the writer adds: iti risher drīṣṭivṛtasya prītir bhavaty ākhyāna-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. He who has been a counterpart of the universe; who casts down the unskaken, he, O men, is Indra. Even the sky and the earth bow down to him; even of his might the mountains are afraid,” etc.

R. V. ii. 15, 1.—Pra gha nu asya mahato mahāni satyā satyasya karaṇāni vochara | trikadrukeshu aśiśat sutasya asya made ahim Indro jaghana | 2. Avāṁṣe dyāṁ astabiḥyad bhiṁantam ā rodaśi aprīnad antariksham | sa dhārayat prīthīvīm paprathach cā somasya tā made Indraś chakāra | 3. Sadmeva prācho vi mīnāya mānaīr ityūdi |

“I declare the mighty deeds of this mighty one; the true acts of this true one. From the three cups Indrā drank of the soma, and in its exhilaration he slew Ahi. 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. He measured with measures the eastern (regions) as an abode,” etc.

R. V. iii. 30, 9.—Ni sāmanām ishirām Indra bhūmim mahīm apiṣrām sadone sasattha | astabhiṇḍu dyāṁ vrishabho antariksham arshantu āpas tvaṣṭaḥ 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.—Yajamā id namasā vriddham Indram bhīvantam rishnam ajaraṁ yuvāṇam | yasya priye māmatvā yajniyasya na rodaśi mahīmānam mamāte | 8. Indrasya karma sukritā purūṇī vratāni devūḥ na minanti viśve | dādhāra yah prīthīvīṁ dyāṁ utmaṁ jajāṇa śtryaṁ uṣhasāṁ sudāṁsūḥ | 9. Adroga satyaṁ tava tad mahīvāṁ sadyo yaj jato apiho ha somam | na dyuvaḥ Indra tavasas te o jaḥ nāhā na māsāḥ sarado 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 ishirā as meaning “fresh,” “blooming.”

80 Compare verse 16 of this same hymn, and R. V. viii. 77, 3: Na te bhīvantam adrogo 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 prithivīn hariyarpaśam | adhārayad ityādi | "Indra upheld the sky with its golden supports, and the earth with its golden form," etc.

R. V. iv. 16, 5.—Vvaksho Indro amitam ṛjīshī ubhe ā prapau rodasi mahitvā | ataś chid asya mahimā virechi abhi yo viśvā bhuvānā bahkāva | "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 uttarā na jyāyān astī Vītraḥan | nakir eva yathā tvam | "There is none, Indra, higher than thee, or superior to thee, thou slayer of Viśtra; neither is there any like thee."

R. V. vi. 17, 7.—Pāprātha kshām māhī daṁso vi ārvīm ūpa dyām ṛishvo brihad Indra stabhāyāḥ | adhārayo rodasi devaputre pratne mātarā yahī rītasya | "Thou hast filled the broad earth with thy mighty

81 Sātyāna explains priye as meaning aparimite, "immeasurable."—See vii. 87, 2.

82 Dr. Aurorecht 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 mamatāḥ may be the perfect of man, and used for māmanatōḥ or māmānataḥ. Compare the aorist amata, and sasavān for sasanvān; see also R. V. vii. 31, 7: Mahān iṣṭi yasya te 'nu svadāvāri saḥaḥ | māmātā Indra rodasī | "Thou art great, (thou) to whose energy the self-supporting Heaven and Earth have submitted themselves."

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

84 See Bühlingk and Roth's Lexicon under the word ṛjīśhin, and Benfey's note 260, on R. V. i. 32, 6, in his "Orient 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. ṛjīśhin.
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 iś tād 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 achyutā chit chyāvayante rājāṃsi | dyāvā-kśāmā parvatāso vanānī viśvāṃ drīdam bhaye ājmann 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. vii. 20, 4.—Ubhe chiś Indra rodasī mahītvā ā paprāṭha ta-vishibhis tvishmaḥ ityādi | “Thou, powerful Indra, hast filled both worlds with thy mighty deeds,” etc.

R. V. vii. 32, 16.—Tava iś Indra avamaṇi vasu tvam pushyaśi ma-dhyamam | satṛa viśvasya paramasya rājasi nakis tvā goshu vṛṣṇyate | . . . 22. Abhi tvā śūra nonumā adugdāḥ īva dhenavāḥ | īśānam asya jagataḥ svardriśam īśānam Indra tathusah | 23. Na tvāvān anyo diveṣ na pārthiva na jāto na janishyate ityādi 58 | “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).— . . . Ā Indra paprāṭha uru antarikshaṃ yudhā devebhya varivaś chakartha | . . . “Indra, thou hast filled the wide sky; thou hast by battle acquired freedom for the gods.” 56

58 This entire hymn is translated in Müller’s Ane. Sansk. Lit. pp. 543 ff.
56 The words at the close of this verse occur also in R. V. i. 59, 5 (see below). In regard to varivaḥ, compare R. V. i. 63, 7: aṁhṝḥ rājaṁ-varivaḥ Pūrve kah | “Thou affordedst relief to Pūrū from his strait.” The word occurs R. V. ix. 97, 16, in the plural, varivaṣi kṛṣṇa. In the Nighantu, 2, 10, it is said to mean “wealth.”
R. V. viii. 3, 6 (=S. V. ii. 938).—Indro mahnā rodasi paprathach chha va Indraḥ sūryam arochayat | Indre ha visvā bhucanāni yemīr iṣyādi | “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)—Abhrātrivyō anā tvam anāpir Indra janushā saṇād asi | yudhā id āpitvam ichhase | “Indra, by thy nature, thou art indeed of old without a rival, without a fellow. By battle thou seekest alliance.”

R. V. viii. 36, 4.—Janītā dīvo janītā prithivyāḥ iṣyādi | “Generator of the sky, generator of the earth,” etc. (Indra).

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

R. V. viii. 51, 2.—Ayuo’ asamo nṛbhīk ekaḥ krishtīr ayāsyāḥ | pūrvīr ati pravārīdhe visvā jātany ojasā iṣyādi | “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 dyāvah Indra te sataṁ sataṁ bhūmīr uta syuh | na tvā vajrin sahasramaṁ sūryāḥ anu na jātman ashta rodasī | “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 Pariśishta i. 1, ff.: Atha imāḥ atistutayaḥ ity āchakshate api vā sampratyayaḥ eva ayaḥ mahābhāgyāḥ devatāyaḥ . . . Yadī te Indra sataṁ dīvaḥ sataṁ bhūmayaḥ pratimānāni syur na tvā vajrin sahasram api sūryāḥ na dyāvā- prithivyāv api abhyaśnuteḥ 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. t, 924; Vāj. S. 33, 97; A. V. 20, 99, 2) the following words occur: asyaḥ Indro vārīdhe vṛīshnayaḥ śāvo made sutasya viṣṇavi | “Indra increased his ecundating strength, in the exhilaration of this soma, at the sacrifice.” Vṛīshnava, the word here rendered “sacrifice,” is the locative case of vṛīshnava. Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v., think the word here has this sense, as the Brāhmaṇas frequently employ the phrase yajno vai Vṛīshnava | “Vṛīshnava is the sacrifice.” The commentators of the Vāj. Sanhitā explains it by sarva-śavrīvyāpake, “That which pervades the whole body.” Sāyaṇa, too, makes it kṛiṣṇadehasya vyāpake |
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.—Nakṁ Indro nikartave na S'akraḥ pariṣaktave visvaṁ śriṇoti 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 visvā jātā abhi majmanā | ā tvā ayam 'rkaḥ utaye vacartati yaṁ Gotamāḥ ajijanu | 5. (S. V. 1, 312.) Pra hi ririkhe ojasā dīvo antebhayas 89 pari | na tvā vinvācha rajāḥ Indro, pārthivam anu svadhāṁ vavakhitha | “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 apūrvyā Maghavan Vṛtra-hatyāya | tat prthivim aprathayās tad astabhnaḥ utsa dyām | 6. Tat te yajno ajyata tad arkaḥ uta hastrikīthi | tad visvam abhibhūr asi yaj jatāṁ yachcha jantvam | 91

“When thou, O unrivalled Maghavan (Indra), wast born for the destruction of Vṛitra, 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 adishaṁ na minanti svarājyaṁ na devo na adhirigur janāḥ | “Whose command, and empire, no one,—whether god, or audacious mortal,—can resist.”

R. V. viii. 86, 9.—Na tvā devāsaḥ āsata na martyūso adrivaḥ | visvā

88 This hymn is translated by Professor Müller, Zeitsch. D. M. G. for 1853, p. 375.
89 Instead of antebhayā the S. V. reads sadobhyā.
90 At the end of the verse the S. V. reads ati visvam vavakhitha | “Thou hast transcended the universe.” On the sense of svadhā, 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 bhūtāṁ yachcha bhāvyam n 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.
The Sāma-veda reads *saryām*.

The Sāma-veda reads *kratev vare athemany āmurim*. It is difficult to assign a sense to *vare* in the text.

The Sāma-veda reads *tarasāni*.

Śāyaṇa explains *samvargam* as *sāmyg vṛishṭer varjyitāram* (discharger of rain). The word, as Dr. Aufrecht informs me, occurs only once again in the R. V. viz. B. 64, 12: *samvargam saṁ rayiṁ jaya* and he adds that the translation “spoils” is supported by several passages of the S. I. Br. e.g. 1. 7, 2, 24 (p. 69): *pitṛ dāyam upeyuh . . . kathāṁ nu inam api saṁvyūṁjāḥ* (Schol. apaharemāḥ): Ibid. *samvryinjata, samvrynkte*. S. P. Br. i. 9, 2, 34: *savaṁ yajnaṁ saṁvyūya (= samāpti-pūrvaṁ saṁhṛtya)*. In the R. V. Indra is called *samvrik samatsu* “the spoiler in battles.”

The same phrases occur in R. V. x. 42, 9, and A. V. 7, 50, 6; 20, 89, 9.
R. V. x. 111, 1.—Maniśiṇāḥ pra bhuradhvam maniśāṁ yathā yathā matayah santi vṛīṇām | Indraṁ satyair ā śrayaṁ kri-tebhīḥ sa hi vīro girvāṇasyur vidānaḥ | 2. Rītasya hi sadaso dhitir adyaut sam gārshṭeyo vrīśabhō gobhir ānañ | ud atishthāt tavishaṇa ravena mahānti chid saṁvivyācha rajāṁsi | 3. Indraṁ kila śrutiya asya veda sa hi jishnuḥ pathikriit sūryāya | ād menāṇi kriṇvaṁ achyuto bhuvad goḥ patir divaḥ saujāḥ apratītaḥ | 4. Indro mahā mahato arṇavaṣya vratā aminād Angivrōhir grināṇaḥ | purūṇi chid ni tatāna rajāṁsi ādāhara yo dharuṇaṁ satyatātā | 5. Indro divaḥ pratimāṇam prithivyaṁ viśvā veda suvanā hanti Sūṣṇaṁ | mahiṁ chid dyām ā atanot sūryaṇa chāśkambha chit skambhanena skabhīyan | “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 shown 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];77 he has stretched out many worlds, 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.”78

R. V. x. 133, 2 (=S. V. ii. 1151).—Tvam sindhūn avāspījāḥ adharačcho ahann Āhīṁ | aśatrur∗ Indra jajnishe viṣvam pushyasi vāryam ityādi | “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).—Ubhe yad Indra rodasi āpaprātha

77 That this is the allusion in the word arṇava is shown by the following passage: R. V. x. 67, 2.—Indra mahā mahato arṇavaṣya vi mūrdhānam abhinad Arbudaṣya ityādi | “Indra by his power split asunder the īḻad of the great streaming Arbuda,” etc.

78 Compare R. V. vi. 72, 2, below.
ushāḥ iva | mahāntaṁ tvā mahinum saṁrājanṁ charshāṇinām | devī janirī ajījanād bhadra janirī ajījanat 99 | “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 ushāsam ut sūryām nayatho jyotishā saha | upa dyāṁ śambhatuḥ skambhanena aprathatam prithivim māṣāraṁ 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, 100 ye have spread out the earth, the mother.”

R. V. vii. 82, 5.—Indrā-Varuṇa yad ināni chakrathur viśvā jātāni bhuvanasya majmanī 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 Varuṇaḥ chakāra sūryāya panthām anu-etavai u ityādi | “King Varuṇa hath made a broad path for the sun to follow,” etc.

R. V. ii. 27, 10.—Tvam viśveshāṁ Varuṇa asi rājā ye cha devāḥ asura ye cha mārtāḥ | “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.—Ghritavati bhuvanānāṁ abhiśrayā ūrvī prithvi maṁhu-dughe supesasā | dyāvā-prithvī Vāruṇasya dharmaṁ 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.—Dhīrā tu asya mahinā janūṁśhi vi yas tāstambha rodasā chid ūrvī | pra nākam rishvaṁ nunude bṛhantarā dvitā nakshatram 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.10

This hymn is translated in Müller’s Sansk. Lit., pp. 540 f.

R. V. vii. 87, 1.—Radat patho Varuṇaḥ sūryāya pra arṇāṇsi samu-
driyā nadinām | sarga106 na spriśṭo arvatir ritōya mahār mahī
ahabhyah | 2. Ātmā te vāto rajah ā navinot paśur na bhūrṇir yavane sa-
savān107 | antar'mahi bṛihati rodasi ime visvā te dhāma Varuṇa 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 im-
petuous 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.—Aṣṭabhnd dyaṁ Asura viśvaivedāḥ amimīta vari-
māṇaṃ prīthivyāḥ | asīdad viśā bhuvanāni samrāḍ viśvā it tāṇi Varu-
ṇasya vratāni | 2. Eva vandasva Varuṇaṁ bṛihantāṁ namasya dhīram
amritasya gopāṁ | sa naḥ sarma trivarūthaṁ viyaṁsad ityūdi |

“The omniscient Spirit (Ṛṣa) 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 im-
mortality. May he extend to us triple protection,” etc.

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

R. V. i. 50, 7.—Vi dyaṁ eṣī rajās prīthv ahā mimāṇo aktubhiḥ |
pāṣyan jumāṇi 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).—Bat mahān asī Sūrya
baṛ Āditya mahān asī | mahas te sato mahimā panasyate adhā deva
mahān asī | Bat Sūrya śravasā mahān asī satrā deva mahān asī | mahān
dehān asuryah purohito vibhu jyotir adāhyam |

“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

106 The word sarga occurs also in R. V. i. 190, 2; iii. 33, 4; vi. 32, 5; vi. 46, 13.
107 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 yantraḥ prithiviṃ aramṇād askambhane Savitā dyām adṛśinhat | aśey itva adhukshade dhumim antariksham aturte baddhan Savitā samudram | 2. Yatra samudraḥ skabhiito vi- aunad apāṁ napāt Savita tasya veda | ato bhūr atah aḥ utthitaṁ rajo ato dyāvā-prithivi aprathetām |

"Savitri has established the earth by supports; Savitri has fixed the sky in unsupported space; 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 S'esa, or on some other support. Thus it is said in the Vishnu Pur. ii. 5, 19 (Wilson, Dr. Hall's ed. ii. 212): Sa bibhrat śekharī-bhūtam aśeśhaṁ kṣitī-ḥaṇḍalam [aste pāṭalā-mila-sthāḥ S'eso 'śeṣha-suwārechitaḥ] "S'esa, 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 Pāṭala." The Siddhāntas, or scientific astronomical works of India, however, maintain that the earth is unsupported. Thus it is said in the Siddhānta-sūriyamaṇi, iii. 2: Bhūmeḥ pindah śaśānka-jna-kavi-ravi- kukeyārki-nakshatra-kakshā-vṛttiair vṛtah san mṛḍ-anila-salila-vyoma-tejonaya 'yan | nānyādāraḥ sva-saktayaiva viyati niyatain tiṣṭhati ityādi | . . . 4. Mūrtro dharītāḥ ced dharītreyo tad-ānyas tasyādyaya yo syavām aṭrānnavasthū | antye kalpyā chet sva-laktik kim ōdye kiṁ 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, Danujas 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-panjaraḥ sthiro bhūr evaśṛityaśṛitya prātiḍaivasāśtv udvāyānte mahā-sampādayati 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: 

Savītī yantraiḥ prthivīṃ aramayat | anāram-bhane ’antarikshe Savītī dyām adṛśit | aśvam iva adhukshad dhunim antarikshe megham baddham atūtane iti vā ’tvaramāne iti vā Savītī samuditāram iti | kam anyam madhyamād evam avakṣyat | Ādityo ’pi Savītī vchya. “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 unheasting—(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 support, 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 dhunī the sense of “sounding” (which is also adopted by Prof. M. Müller, Transl. of R. V. i. 95). He then observes: “According to Yāskā 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 krishṭnām asī mānushānām yudhā dekhyo varicaś 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 dādhāra prthivīṃ tasthambha dyām mantrebhiḥ satyair ityādī | 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. ii. 101, 4.—Yasmin viśvāni bhuvanāni tathus tiro dyāvas tredhā sasrur āpaḥ ityādī | 6. Sa retodhā vṛishabhaḥ saśvatānāṁ tasminn atmā jagataś tastuḥṣaścha | (Compare R. V. i. 115, 1.) “He

103* Comp. R. V. vii. 42, 10:—Yaḥ skambhena vi rodasi ajo na dyām adhārayāt |
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. sūryāḥ ātmā jāgalas tastushaḥ cha, R. V. i. 115, 1).

The next passage refers to the god called Gandharva:

R. V. x. 139, 5.— . . . Divyo 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 divas chitraṁ na tanyatum | jyotir vaśvānaram brihat | "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.—Tvamāḥ praṇāḥ divyasya retasas tvāṁ viśvasya bhuvanasya rajasi | atheḍāṁ viśvam pavamāna te vāse tvam Indo prathamō dhāmādahāḥ asi | 29. Tvāṁ samudro asi viśvavit kave tavemāḥ pānca pradiśo vidharmāṇi | tvāṁ dyāḥ cha prithivīṁ cha tāti jahbrishe tava jyotiṁshi pavamāna sūryāḥ | 30. Tvāṁ paritre rajaso vidharmāṇi devedhāya soma pavamāna pūyase | tvāṁ Usiḥaḥ prathamāḥ agrībhnata tukhyemā viśvā bhuvanāni 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 Usijes first gathered thee. To thee all these worlds have bowed."

R. V. ix. 89, 6.—Vishtambho dīvo dharuṇāḥ prithivyāḥ viśvāḥ uta kshitayo 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.—Pavitrebhhiḥ pavamāno nrihakshāḥ rājā devānām uta mṛtyumān ityādi, | "[Soma], purified by filters, the beholder of men, is the king of gods and of mortals," etc.
PROFESSOR MÜLLER'S REMARKS ON THE VEDIC GODS. 113

R. V. ix. 100, 8.—Pavamāṇa mahī śravaḥ chitrebhir yāsi raśmibhiḥ |
śardhan taṁnāṁsi jighnase viśvāṁ dasuḥo grihe | 9. Tvāṁ dyāṁ cha mahi-
vṛata prithivīṁ chāti jabhrishe 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
great deeds, hast ascended above heaven and earth,” etc.

R. V. ix. 107, 7. . . . Tvāṁ kavir abhavo deva-vitamaḥ ā sūryāṁ
rohayo divi | “Thou art a sage most pleasing to the gods; thou hast
causéd the sun to rise in the sky.”

R. V. ix. 109, 4 (=S. V. ii. 391).—Pavasva soma mahān samudraḥ
pitā devānām 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 Vishnu 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 supplicants 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
tail 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,’ 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 jeshik cha pavamāna mahī śravaḥ | and
ix. 83, 5: Jayan śravo brijat |
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,\(^{106}\) the lord of men, the wise king, the father, the brother, the son, and friend of men;\(^{107}\) 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\(^{108}\) is: \textit{Viśvasmād Indra uttaraḥ} | ‘Indra is greater than all.’ Of Soma it is said that he was born great, and that he conquers every one.\(^{109}\) He is called the king of the world,\(^{110}\) he has the power to prolong the life of men,\(^{111}\) and in one verse he is called the maker of heaven and earth, of Agni, of Sūrya, of Indra, and of Viṣṇu.\(^{112}\) If we read the next hymn, which is addressed to Varuṇa (oṣṇavōś), 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.—\textit{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.\(^{113}\)

\(^{106}\) \textit{Tvam viśvāni svaṇika patyase} | ii. 1, 8.—See Nirukta Pariśīṣṭa i.

\(^{107}\) ii. 1, 9.

\(^{108}\) x. 86.

\(^{109}\) ix. 59.

\(^{110}\) ix. 96, 10: \textit{bhuvanasya rājā}.

\(^{111}\) ix. 96, 14.

\(^{112}\) ix. 96, 5.

\(^{113}\) See Böhtlingk and Roth’s Lexicon under the word \textit{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. Sūrya (the Sun) is however called \textit{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 giraḥ Ādityebhyo ghrītasnāḥ sanād rājabhyyo jukvā jukomī | śrīṇotu Mitro Aryamā Bhago nas tuvijāto Varunyo Daksho Aūnāḥ | “With my tongue I of old offer up these praises, dropping with unctuousness, to the kings, the Ādityas: may Mitra, Aryaman, Bhagā, the mighty Varuṇa, Daksha, Anśa, hear us.”* Yāska makes *tuvijāto* to be = *bahujātaḥ* cha *Dhātā*, thus understanding it to designate Dhātṛ, as a seventh Āditya.

R. V. ix. 114, 3.—*Saṭpa diśo nānā-sūryāḥ sapta hotāraḥ rivijāḥ | devāḥ Ādityāḥ ye sapta tebhīḥ Somābhiraksha naḥ | “The seven points of the compass, with their respective suns, the seven hotṛ 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), Sāyaṇa observes of the Ādityas: *Te cha Taittīrye ‘ashtau putṛaso Aditer’ ity upakramya spasṭham anukrāntāḥ | ‘Mitraścā Varunasco Dhātācha Aryamācha Aūnāscha Bhagaścā Indrāsača Vivasvāṃcā cha ete’ iti | “They (the Ādityas) are distinctly specified in the passage of the Taittīrya, beginning with the words, ‘The eight sons of Aditi,’ as these, Mitra, Varuṇa, Dhātṛ, 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.

Vishṇu, 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 Varuṇam Mitraṁ Vishṇum atho Bhagam | Aūnāṁ Vivasvantam brūmas te no munchantvā aūhāsaḥ | 3 | Brūmo devaṁ Savitāram Dhātāram uṭa Pūshaḥam | Tvashṭārnam agrīram brūmas | “We invoke King Varuṇa, Mitra, Vishṇu, Bhaga, Anśa, Vivasvat. May they free us from calamity. 3. We invoke the God Savitṛ, Dhātṛ, Pūṣan, and Tvashṭṛ 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 manṣa eva vācham mithunam samabhavat sa dvādaśa drupeṇa garbhā abhavat | te dvādaśa Ādityāh asrijyanta tān diksha upādadhūt | “With his mind he associated conjugally with Speech. He became pregnant with twelve drops. They were created the twelve Ādityas. They he placed in the quarters of the horizon.”

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 6, 3, 8 (=Brīh. Ār. Up. iii. 9, 5, p. 646). Katame Ādityāh iti | dvādaśa mūsaḥ saṁvatsarasya ete Ādityāh—ete hi idaṁ sarvam ādādānāḥ yanti | te yad īdaṁ sarvam ādādānāḥ yanti tasmād Ādityāh iti | “How many Ādityas are there? There are twelve months of the year. These are the Ādityas. For they go on taking (ādādānāḥ) 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 suvarge loke 'spardhanta | te 'ngirasāḥ Ādityabhya 'mum Ādityāṁ āsvaṁ ścetam bhūtaṁ dakshinām anayan | te 'brucan “yaṁ no 'neshta sa varyo 'bhūd” iti | tasmād āsvaṁ savarya ity āhvayanti | tasmād yajne varo diyate | yat Prajāpatir ālabdho śvo 'bhavat tasmād āsvo 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 Angiras strove in heaven. The Angiras 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 (vara) is given at a sacrifice. Inasmuch as Prajāpati when sacrificed became a horse (āsva, which means “pervading,” according to the commentator), he has the name of āsva. Inasmuch as he suffered pain from swelling (so the commentator renders śvayad-aruk, 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 vājī. Inasmuch as he took (ādatta) from the Asuras their worlds, he is called Āditya.”

The Taitt. Āraṇyaka, i. 14, 1, also derives Āditya from the root ā+dā: Yo’ savu tapann vṛdeti su sarveshām bhūtānāṁ prāṇān ādaya udeti | mā me prajāyāḥ mā paśūnām mā mama prāṇān ādaya udagāḥ | asau yo
VARIous ETYMOLOGIES OF THE word ĀDITYA.

'Stam eti sa sarveshām bhuṭānām prānān ādāya astam eti | mā me prajā- 
yāh mā paśānām mā vama prānān ādāya astāṁ 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: 
Ādityah | kasmād | ādatte rāvaṇ | ādatte bhāsāṃ jyotishām | ādipī 
bhāśā iti vā | Āditeh putraḥ iti vā | alapprayaṅān tu asya etad ārchar- 
ābhyānnāye | sūkta-bhāk "sūryam āditeyam" Āditeh putram | evam 
anyāsām api devatānām Ādityapraavādāh stutayo bhavanti | tad yatā 
etad | Mitrasya Varuṇasya Aryanmo Dakeśasya Bhagasya Aṁśasya iti |

"The Āditya: whence [so called]? He takes up the fluids." 114 He 
takes up the light of the luminaries; he is illuminated (ādīptah) 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, Anśa."

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. Vishnu is almost always named as one of them,

114 Sahasra-γuṇaṁ uṣṇrāṣṭ̣hum ādatta hi rasāṇ rovih | "For the sun takes up the 
fluids [from the] earth, to discharge them again a thousand-fold."—Raghuvarsana, 
i. 18. in the hymn to the Sun, Mahābh. iii. 166 ff., it is similarly said, v. 179: 
Tvam ādiyāṁśubhis tejo vidāghe sarva-dehinām | sarvavishadi-rāśiṇām cha punar 
varshāsa munehīsa | "Having in the hot season taken up by the rays the substance 
of all embodied beings, and the essence of all plants, thou again discharges them in 
the rainy season." And Manu says: Āṣṭaṁ māsaṁ yathā "dityas toyaṁ harati 
raśmibhiḥ | tatāḥ harat karaṁ rāṣṭrād nityam arka-vratāṁ 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 solv 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 (Illust. p. 21), 
says: sūkta-bhāg eva chaśād abhidhānām 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 when 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 Kaśyapaḥ putraḥ Kaśyapāt tu imāḥ praśiḥ | praśājire mahābhāgāḥ Daksha-kanyās trayodaśa | . . . 2,522. Adityāṁ dvādaśādityāṁ 'sambhūtāḥ bhuvanēśvarāḥ | ye rājan nāmaṁ tāṁs tē kirtayishyāmi Bhārata | Dhātā Mitro'ryamā Śakro Varunās tu Aṁśāḥ eva cha | Bhago Vivasvān Pūṣācha Savitā daśamas tathā | ekādaśas tathā Tvasṭā dvādaśo Vishṇur uchyate | jaghanyajas tu sarvēśhāṁ Ādityāṁ āṁ guṇādhiḥ kaḥ

"Kaśyapa was the son of, Marīchi; and from Kaśyapa these beings were born. There were thirteen eminent daughters of Dakṣa . . . 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;" Bhātṛ, Mitra, Aryaman, Sakra (Indra), Varuṇa, Aṁśā, Bhaga, Vivasvat, Pūshan, and Savitṛ the tenth; the eleventh is Tvāṣṭṛ, and the twelfth is called Vishṇu, who, though the latest born, surpasses all the Ādityas in his attributes."

Mahābhārata, i. 2,598.—Marīcēh Kaśyapaḥ putraḥ Kaśyapasya Sūrāsurāḥ | jajnire nṛpa-sārēla lokānām prabhavas tu saḥ | . . . . 2,600. Dvādaśaivaśādityaḥ putraḥ Śakra-mukhyāḥ narādhipa | tēśāṁ avarajo Vishṇur yatra lokāḥ pratisāhitāḥ kaḥ

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

Mahābhārata, xiii. 7,092 f.—Aṁśo Bhagaścha Mitraścha Varuṇaścha jaleśvaraḥ | tathā Dhātā'ryamā chaiva Jayanto Bhāskaras tathā | Tvāṣṭṛ Pūṣā tathaivaśvendro dvādaśo Vishṇur uchyate | ity ete dvādasādityāḥ Kaśyapeyāḥ iti śrutih kaḥ

"Aṁśā, Bhaga, Mitra, Varuṇa, lord of the waters, Dhātṛ, Aryaman, Jayanta, Bhāskara, Tvasṭṛ, Pūshan, Indra, and Vishṇu, who is called

116 In the hymn to the sun, Mahābh. iii. 166 ff., it is said that that Luminary, dividing himself twelvefold, became the twelve Ādityas (kritvā dvādaśādha' tmānaṁ dvādaśādityatāṁ gatah).
the twelfth: these are the twelve Adityas, the sons of Kaśyapa, according to tradition (or the Veda, śrutī)."

Mahābhārata, v. 3, 501 ff.—Akshayaś chāvyayaś chaiva Brahmā lokapitāmah | tathaiva bhagavantau tau Nāra-Nārāyaṇav rishi | Ādityānāṁ hi sarvēshāṁ Vishnur ekaḥ sanātanāḥ | ajayayaś chāvyayaś chaiva śāsectaḥ prabhur īśvarāḥ | nimitta-maraṇaḥ chāṇye chandra-sūrya-mahījalam | Vāyur Agnis tathā "kāśaṁ grahās tārā-gaṇāṁ tathā | te cha kshayānte jatato hitaṁ lokā-trayaṁ sada | kshayāṁ guchhānti vai sarve sriyante cha punah punah | mukūrtta-maraṇāṁ te anye mānushāṁ mrija-pakṣiṇaḥ | "Brahmā, the parent of the world, is undecaying and imperishable; and so too are the venerable Rishis, Nāra, 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],—the moon, the sun, the earth, water, 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 (muhūrta)."

Vishnu Purāṇa, 1, 15, 90 ff. (vol. ii. pp. 26 f. of Dr. Hall's edition of Wilson’s translation)—Pārvamavantāre śreshṭhāḥ dvādaśaṁ saυottamaṁ | Tushitāṁ nāma te 'nyonyam ucbur Vaivasvate 'ntare | upasthitā 'tīyaśasaṁ Chākṣushasyāntare Manoḥ | samavāyikritaṁ sarve samāgamya parasparam | Āgachhata drutāṁ devāḥ Āditiṁ sampraviśya vai | Manvantare prasūyamas tanaṁ śreya bhaved iti | evam uktvā tu te sarve Chākṣushasyāntare Manoḥ | Mārīchāt Kaśyapāyā tātās te 'dityā Āryaṁ chaiva Dhātātha Teasītā Pūṣhā tathaiva cha | Vivāsāṁ Savītā chaiva Mitro Varunāḥ eva cha | Aṁśo Bhagaś chātitejāḥ Ādityāḥ dvādaśaṁ smṛitāḥ | Chākṣushasyāntare pariṣvaṁ āsan ye Tushitāṁ smṛitāḥ | Vai vasvate 'nture te vai Adityāḥ dvādaśaṁ smṛitāḥ |

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

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

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 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 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 Viṣṇu and Sakra (Indra) were again born, and Aryaman, Dātṛ, Tvasṛṭi, Pūshana, Viṃśavat, Savītrī, Mitra, Varuṇa, Anśa, and the energetic Bhaga: these are known as the twelve Adityas. Those who formerly in the Chākshusha Manvantara were called the Tushitas, are known as the twelve Adityas in the Vaivasvata Manvantara.'

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

The following is another passage from the Harivaṃśa, verses 11,548 ff.:

Adityāṁ jajnire rājann Ādityāḥ Kaśyapād atha | Indro Viṣṇur Bhagas Tvasṛṭa Varunō 'ṁso 'ryamā Raviḥ | Pūkī Mitrasēha varado Manuḥ Parjanyāḥ eva cha | ity ete dvādaśādityāḥ varisbhras tridīvaukaśaḥ |

"From Kaśyapa and Aditi were born the Adityas, Indra, Viṣṇu, Bhaga, Tvasṛṭi, Varuṇa, Anśa, Aryaman, Ravi (the Sun), Pūshana, Mitra, the bestower of boons, Manu, and Parjanya,—these are the twelve Adityas, most eminent celestials."

In the same work, verses 12,456 f., we read:

Aryama Varunō Mitraḥ Pūkā Dhātā Purandaraḥ | Tvasṛṭa Bhago 'ṁsaḥ Savītā Parjanyaśceti visrutāḥ | Ādityāṁ jajnire devāḥ Kaśyapāl loka-bhūvanāḥ |

"The gods, creators of the worlds, known as Aryaman, Varuṇa, Mitra, Pūshana, Dātṛ, Purandara (Indra), Tvasṛṭi, Bhaga, Anśa, Savītrī, and Parjanya, were sprung from Kaśyapa and Aditi."

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

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

Harivaṃśa, 589 ff.—Tātō nirbhāsitaṁ rūpaṁ tejasā samhatena vai | kāntāt kāntataraṁ drashṭum adhikām śuṣubha tadā | mukhe nirvartitāṁ rūpaṁ tasya devasya gopateḥ | tataḥ-prabhītī devasya mukham uṣīt tu lokitaṁ | mukha-rōgantu yat pūrvam Māṛtandaṁasya mukha-chyutam | Ādityāḥ dvādaśaiveha sambhūtaḥ mukha-sambhavāḥ | Dhātā 'ryamā cha
Mitrācha Varuno 'ṁso Bhagas tathā' | Indro Vivasvān Pūṣhā cha Parjanyo daśamas tathā | tatas Tvashṭā tato Vishnur ajaghanyo jaghan-yajah | harṣaṁ lebehe tato devo drīṣṭvā "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 Māraṇa were produced twelve face-born Ādityas: Dhātri, Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa, Anśa, Bhāga, Indra, Vivasvat, Pūshan, Parjanya the tenth, then Tvashṭri, then Vīshnū 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 Harivansa.) The Vīshnū 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.—Śrīnu nāmāṁ lokānāṁ mātrīnāṁ saṁkarāṇī cha | atha Kasyapa-patnīnāṁ yat-prasātām ivaṁ jagat | Aditir Ditir ityādi | . . . 36 f. Athātah śrūyatāṁ vaṁśo yo 'diter anupūrvaśaḥ | yatra Nārāyaṇo devo svāṁśenaivaśtarad vibhuh | Vivasvān Aryama Pāśhā Tvashṭā 'tha Savitā Bhagah | Dātā Vīdhātā Varuno Mitraḥ S'akraḥ Urukramaḥ |

"Hear now the auspicious names of the wives of Kasyapa, the mothers of the world, 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, Vīdhātri, Varuṇa, Mitra, S'akra, Urukrama (the wide-strider=Vīshnū)."

Sect. IV.—Stories regarding Vīshnū from the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, the Taittirīya Āranyaka, the Panchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas.

The following story from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (in which Vīshnū 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 Brāhmaṇa, i. 2, 5, 1 ff.—Devāśa vai Asurāśa ubhaye prajāpatyāḥ paspridhire [tato devāḥ anuvyam iva āsūḥ | atha ha Asurāḥ menire 'asmākam eva idām khālu bhuvanam' iti] 2. Te ha úchur 'hanta imām prithiviṁ vibhajāmahaś tāṁ vibhajyā upaśvāma' iti | tāṁ aukshnaiś charmabhiḥ paścāt prāncho vibhajamānaḥ abhiyuh | 3. Tad vai devāḥ sūṣruvur" vibhajante ha vai imām Asurāḥ prithivīṁ preta tad eshyāmo yatra imām Asurāḥ vibhajante ke tataḥ syāma yad asyai na bhajemahi iti | te yajnam eva Vishnum puraskṛtīya iyuh 4. Te ha úchur "anu no 'syāṁ prithivyām abhajata asteva no 'py asyāṁ bhāgah" iti | te 'surāḥ asāyantaḥ iva úchur 'yāvad eva esha Vishnur abhiśete tāvad vo dad-mahā iti] 5. Vāmano ha Vishnur āsa | tad devāḥ na jihidīre "mahad vai no 'dur ye no yajna-samhitam adur" iti | 6. Te prāṇchāṁ Vishnun nipādyā chhandobhir abhitaḥ paryagrīghan "gāyatrena tvā chhandasā parigrihāni" iti dakshiṇatas | "traśṭubhena tvā chhandasā parigrihānaṁ" iti paścāt | "jāgatena tvā chhandasā parigrihānaṁ" iti uttarataḥ 7. Taṁ chhandobhir abhitaḥ parigrihyā agnīṁ purastāt samādhāya tena archantāḥ śrāmyantaḥ cherūḥ | tena imāṁ sarvāṁ prithiviṁ samavindanta | tad yad eṇena imāṁ sarvāṁ samavindanta tasmād vedir nāma | tasmād āhur 'yāvati vediś tavati prithivi' iti | etayā hi imāṁ sarvāṁ samavindanta | evaṁ ha vai imāṁ sarvāṁ saṃprātiṇāṁ samvīrīktaś nirbhajaty asyai saṃpatnāṁ yaḥ evam etad veda | 8. So 'yaṁ Vishnur glāṇaṁ chhandobhir itaḥ parigrihiṭo 'gniḥ purastād na apakramanaṁ āsa | sa tataḥ eva oshadhīniṁ mūlāṇy upa evamumlocha | 9. Te ha devaḥ úchuh "iva nu Vishnur abhūt kva nu yajno 'bhūd" iti | te ha úchuś "chhandobhir itaḥ parigrihiṭo 'gniḥ purastād na apakramanaṁ aṣṭa eva avichhata" iti taṁ khanantāḥ iva anvishus taṁ tryangule 'nevavindāṁ tasmāt tryangulā vediḥ syāt | tad u ha api Pāṇchis tryangulāṁ eva saumyasya adhvarasya vediṁ 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.'\(^{119}\) 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 Trishṭubh
metre;' on the north, 'I surround thee with the Jagati 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 (samaṁvidantā) 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 be-
come 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, Pāṇcī\(^{120}\) 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.

\(^{120}\) Pāṇcī soma-yāgaśya-pi vediṇ tryaṁgu-la-khaṭām eva mene | "Pāṇcī thought
that the altar for the soma sacrifice also should have a trench three fingers deep."
(Commentary.) Pāṇcī 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-prabhātayas tryaṁ mānayah). See Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 192, 434.

121 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. tisribhīr ishubhir yuktāṁ (or sahitām) dhanva (or dhruva).

122 This, according to Böhtlingk and Roth, is the correct reading, in place of abhimriyanta, given in Weber’s edition. See a parallel passage, S’atap. Br. iv. 1, 3, 5.
EMINENT OF THE GODS AND LOSING HIS HEAD. 125

Tābhya vamrhīhyo 'ñnādyam prāyaścitaḥ, | āpo vai sarvam annām tābhīry hi idam abhiknūyam iva adānti | yad idam kiṃvadanti | 15. Atha imaṁ Vishnuṁ yajnāṃ tredhā vyabhajanta | . . . . tena apaśirhṇā yajνena deva archantāḥ śrāmyantaś cheruk |

"The gods, Agni, Indra, Somā, Vishnu, Makha, and all the [other] deities, excepting the Aśvins, were present at a sacrifice. 2. Kurukshetra 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 overcome 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 replied], '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 (ghṛṇa). 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 ghṛma, ['the

123 It seems as if there were a play of words here, the word yaśaḥ, "fame," having reference to the words sa yaḥ sa Vishnuḥ, etc., sayyaḥ sa ṣajñaḥ, etc. "He who [is] this Vishnu," etc. "He who [is] this sacrifice," etc.
sacrificial kettle,' received its ṛame]; and since he became extended, (prāvṛijyata), 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).\textsuperscript{124} They wiped (sammamṛijuh) with their hands the fluid (blood) which flowed from him. Hence arose the name of samrāt. 12. The gods rushed towards him (Vishnū), 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 Vishnū was indeed Makha.\textsuperscript{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 Vishnū, 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 Āraṇyaka,\textsuperscript{126} and the second from the Pancha-

\textsuperscript{124} A long account is given of the gharma, pravargya, and mahāvīra in Katyāyāna's S'tauta Sūtras, xxvi.

\textsuperscript{125} In regard to this word I quote the explanation of Böhtlingk and Roth, s. v. 2 e: 'This is the name of a malign mythical being, as is to be conjectured from the following passages, R. V. x. 171, 2: tvam Mahāyas a dosīhataḥ śiro ava tvacho bhareh] ('Thou hast smitten off the head, the skin, of the furious Makha'); ix. 101, 13, apa śvānam arūdhasaṁ hata Makhām va Bhṛigavah | ('Drive away the niggardly dog, as the Bhṛigus did Makha'). Herewith is to be conected the mention made of Makha's head in sacrificial formulae, Vāj. Sanhitā, 37, 3: ṛeva ṛyāvā-prthiviḥ Makhāṣya vām adya śiro rādhyaśaṁ devayajane prithivyāḥ | . . . . 4. Devyo vamvṛyo bhūtasya prathamajah makhāṣya va 'ṛya śiro rādhyaśaṁ devayajane prithivyāḥ | ('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, nama 'grnaye Makhaghe Makhāṣya mā yado 'ṛyād ity āhavaniyom upatih-thate | yajno vai makhah ('Adoration to Agni, the slayer of Makha. May the fame of Makha come to me. So (saying), he stands by the āhavaniya-fire. Makha is sacrifice'),' etc.

\textsuperscript{126} This part of the Taitt. Ar. has now been printed in the Bibliotheca Indica, pp. 590 ff. The commentary on it will be found in pp. 371 ff.
vīśṇu Brāhmaṇa, which both relate the same story which has just been given from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa.


127 The Bibl. Ind. reads ishudhanvam.
“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 Parīnāh its hinder section. The Marus were the earth dug from it. 2. Glory came to Makha Vaishnava 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 (smayākāh). 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 knew his (Viṣṇu’s) bowstring. His bow, starting asunder, hurled his head upwards. It travelled through heaven and earth. From its so travelling (prāvartata), the pravargya derives its name. From its falling with the sound of ghrām, gharma obtained its name. Strength (vīrya) fell from the mighty one (mahataḥ): hence the mahāvīra got its name. 6. As they gathered it (samabhavan) 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 Viṣvedevas the third oblation. Sacrificing with this headless sacrifice, they (the gods), neither obtained blessings, nor conquered heaven. 7. The gods said to the Āśvins, ‘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 Āśvina [libation] for them. [The Āśvins] 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 Āśvins."

Panchaviṃśa, Brāhmaṇa, vii. 5, 6.—\textit{Devaḥ vai yaśaskāmāḥ satram āsatu Agnir Indro Vāyur Makhas te 'bruvan 'yan no yaśah rīchhat tan nāḥ saha asad' iti | teshāṁ Makhāḥ yaśah ārchhat | tad ādāya aparākrāmat | tad asya pra saha ādītsanta tam paryayatanta | sa dhanuḥ pratishṭabhya atīṣṭhaṁ tasya dhanur-ārtiṁ ārdhac caḥ tīvar āḥ samśayaḥ sa pravargyo bhavat | yajno vai Makhāḥ | yat pravargyam pravrinjanti yajnasya eva tach chhirah pratidadhati |}

"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 Āitareya Brāhmaṇa has these two passages relating to Vishnu, 1, 1: \textit{Agnir vai devānāṁ avamo | Vishnuḥ paromas | tadantarena sārvaḥ anyāḥ devaḥ.} ‘‘Agni is the lowest, Vishnu the highest, among the gods; between them both are placed all the other deities.’’ In his Ane. 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 Āitareya says: \textit{Vishnu vai devānāṁ dvārapah} sa eva asmai etad dvāraṁ vivrīṇoti. ‘‘Vishnu is the door-keeper of the gods; he opens for him this door.’’ The Taś. Br. iii. 1, 5, 7, has the following: \textit{Vishnu vai akāmayata punyāṁ ślokāṁ śrīcīya na maṁ pāpi kirttṝṣ ugaḥḥet.} ‘‘Vishnu desired, ‘May I hear a holy verse; may no ill renown reach me.’’ The Taś. S. iii. 4, 5, 1, says: \textit{Rudraḥ paśūnāṁ Tevasṝ Tevasṝ Tevasṝ Vīṣhnuḥ paccita-}

128 Compare the close of the story about the Āśvins quoted from the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, iv. 1, 5, 1 ff., in the fifth volume of this work, pp. 250 ff.
nām Maruto gaṇōnām adhipatayah. "Rudra is the lord of beasts, Tvashtri of forms, Vishnu 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 mahābāho Vishnu deva-namaskṛitaḥ | tapaś-charaṇa-yogārtham wāsa sa mahātaṇpāḥ |
3. Esha pūrvarāṣamo Rāma vāmanasya mahātmanah | eśiddhaśramah iti khyātaḥ Siddho yatra mahātaṇpāḥ | 4 Abhībhūya cha devendram purā Vairochanir Balīḥ | trailokya-rājyaṃ bhujva balotseka-madānviṭaḥ |
5. Tat Balau tadā yajnān yajamāne bhavyarditāḥ | Indrādaṇāḥ suraganāḥ Vishnun uchur ihaśrane | 6. "Balir Vairochanir Vishṇo yajate 'sau mahābalaḥ | kāma-daḥ sarva-bhūtānām mahardhīr asurāḥdhipaḥ |
7. Ye chainām abhivartante yācyitārāḥ itastataḥ | yachaḥ yatra yathūvadhena sarvāḥ tebhyaḥ prayachchhate |

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 uktaḥ surīr Vishnuḥ ("Vishnu 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 Vishnu as one of the twelve Adityas.—See above, pp. 118 ff.
18. Labdhvā cha trīn kramāṇ Vīshṇuḥ, kṛtvā rūpaṃ athād bhūtam |
tribhīṇ hramais tādā lokān ājāhāra tri-vikramaḥ | 19. Ekena hi pada kṛtśūnā prīthīvīnāḥ so 'dhyaśīthata |
dvītyeṣaṣyaḥ vyoma dyāṇāḥ 
trītyena Rāghava | 20. Tūm chāsuraṃ Bālīḥ kṛtvā pātalā-tala- vāśīnam |
trālokā-rājyaṃ Indrāya dādāv uddhīriyā kaṇṭakaṃ |
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 mahābhāho Vīshṇu deva-namakritāḥ | varśāṇi
subhūnśha tathā yugā-satāni cha | 3 | tapāś-charana-yogārtham uvāṣa
sumahātapāḥ | [verses 3b and 4a correspond,—with only the difference of
by atra for atra,—with verse 3 of Schlegel's edition] 4b | etasmīn
eva kāle tu rājā Vairochanir Bālīḥ | 5 | nirjītya daivata-gaṇaṃ sendrān
saha-marud-gaṇaṃ | kārayāmāsa tad-rājyaṃ trishū lokēshu viśrutāḥ | 6
yajnaṃ chakāraṃ 131 sumahān asuṣendro mahākāḍaḥ | Bales tu yogaṃnaya
devaḥ sāgni-purogamāh | samāgānya scayaṃ chaiva Vīshnuḥ uchār
ihāsīrām | 7 | "Balir Vairochanir Vīshnvo yajate yajnam uttānam |

130 See Prof. Weber's account of this edition in the Journal of the German Oriental Society
131 In his note on this passage, the commentator discusses the question how Bālī could
sacrifice to the gods, since he was at enmity with Indra and the rest of them:
Nāyutār "asurasya Bālē deva-deviśa yugādyanumapattir yugā-tarpanāya-devatābhāvād
Indradīnān tad-deveshyateśā | naccha śabda-mātrān devatā iti yuktam artha-vāda-
prāmāṇyena devata-yāh vibravatvasya uttara-mimāṃsāyāṁ siddhāntītatvādā | iti
chet na | karma-deva-ājīvā-deva bhedena devanānā devaiśvāyat | tatra ye karmaṇa
devatām prāptāḥ te karma-devaḥ | ājīvā-devaś tu yajna-muṇḍvārthā-ḥūtah mantreṇa
nitya-sambuddāh karma-deveshaḥ prāchāhāvāc eva | tat-karma-devanānā devaiśvāye 
"py ājīva-devanānā yajne tarpayate na dosahā | vighna-kartāro "py atra karma-devaḥ eva 
yajñāvyadhikāraḥbhāvo "py ājīva-devanām eva svā-yashṭāya-devatāntābhiḥvāt 
karma-devanām tv asy eva | atak eva Indradīnānā yajnādi-śravaṇāṁ na aṃpanam |

"But is there not an absurdity in the idea of sacrifice, etc., being celebrated by
Bālī, the enemy of the gods—of 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 Mimāṃsā the corporeality
of the deities is established on the authority of the Arthāvadās (illustrative passages
of the Vedas). [See the passage of Śankara's Commentary on the Brahma 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:


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:

Visvamitra speaks: "2. In this place, O large-armed Râma, Vishnû, the great ascetic, reverenced by the gods, dwelt for the purpose of practising austerity, and contemplation. 3. This, Râma, 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 Vishnû in this hermitage. 6. 'That mighty Bali, son of Virochana, O Vishnû, is now profiting in sacrifice,—he who grants the desires of all creatures, the prosperous lord of the Asuras. 7. Whatever suppliants wait upon him from whatever quarter, he bestows on them in a proper manner all whatever, of any sort of thing, [they wish]. 8. Do thou, O Vishnû, 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 Râma, the divine Kaâyapa, 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 Madhusûdana: 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 Kaâyapa, 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, Kaâyapa, son of Marîchi, 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. Vishnû, 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, Vishnû 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 thee 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, chakera by the gods, dwelt very many years and hundreds of yugas, for the purpose of practicing austerity and contemplation. [Verses 4a and 4d are almost identical with the reading of the other edition.]

1. 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 Siddhashrama (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,' 131 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 Siddhāśrama (the hermitage where the work was fulfilled), 131 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 Mahābhārata:

Mahābhārata, Sāntiparva, vv. 12943 ff. — Virochanasya balavān Balīḥ putro mahāsurah abadhyah sarva-lokānām sa-devāsura-rakshasān bha vishyati sa S'akrancha sva-rājyād chārayishyati (=chārayishyati ?) trailokye 'prahrite tena vimukhe cha S'achīpatau | Adityāṁ dvīdaśādityāḥ sambhavishyāmi Kaśyapāḥ | tato rājyam pradāsyāmi S'akrāyāmit.s-tejasā | devatāḥ sthāpayishyāmi sveshu sthāneshu Nārada | Balinchaiva karishyāmi pātāla-tala-rāsinam Dānavancha Balīṁ 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 Rākshasas. He shall oust Sakra (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.—\[132 Aditer api putratvam etya Yaḍava-nandana | tvāṁ Vishnur iti vikhyātaḥ Indrād uvarajo vibhuḥ | śiśur bhūtāv divāṁkhancha prīthivincha parantapa | tribhira vikramaniṁ Kṛishṇa krāntavān asi tejasā | samprāpya divam ākāśam āditya-sadane sthitāḥ | atyārohaścha bhūtātman bhūskṛtaṁ svena tejasā | prādurbhāva- sahasreshu tesu teshu trayaṁ vibho | adharuma-ruchayaṁ Kṛishṇa nihatāṁ sataśoś surāḥ\

“And thou, Kṛishṇa, of the Yaḍava race, having become the son of Aditi, and being called Vishnu, the younger brother of Indra, the all-pervading, becoming a child, O vexas 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 | vāmanāṁ Kaśyapaṁ Vishnur Ādityāṁ śambhūca ha | Tṛibhiḥ kramair imāṁ lokāṁ jītvā yena mahātmanā | Purandarāya trailokyaṁ datīṁ nihata-kṛṣṭakam\

“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:

\[132 See Lassen’s Indian Antiquities, vol. i., p. 439, note, and p. 779 f. and note (pp. 587, and 921 of the second edition).\
Bhāgavata Purāṇa, viii. 15; 1._—Baleḥ pada-trayam bhūmeḥ kasmād Harir ayāchataḥ bhūtvēśvarah kripaṇa-val labdārtho 'pi babandha tam 2. Etad veditum ichhāmo mahaṭ kauṭūхalaṁ hi naḥ | yajneśvarasya pūrṇasya bandhanaṁ chāpy anāgasaḥ |

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 Brāhmans of the race of Bṛigu, who consecrated him for supreme dominion, and celebrated for him a Viṣvājit 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, Mahāvān, the cause of the exaltation of this your enemy to be the might imparted to their pupil by the Bṛigus, the declarers 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 man [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 Brāhmans, he shall perish with all his dependents."

133 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 Bṛgus celebrated for him a hundred aśvāraedhas (or horse-sacrifices).

The sixteenth section opens with an account of the distress of Aditi, the mother of the gods, at the discomfort 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 Vishnu'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!)? 135 Who are the husband, or the sons, or other relatives, of any person? 136 (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 Rāhuvaṁśa, i. 2: Kva sūrya-prabhavo vacāṣṭaḥ kva chālpa-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 Rāmayaṇa (Schlegel's and Bombay editions), ii. 108, 3 f., are spoken of as dharmāṅgata, which the scholiast in the Bombay edition interprets as = dharmā-mārga-viddhāṁ lokāyatikā-matīvalambanam, i.e., "opposed to righteousness, and derived from the tenets of the Lokāyatikas." The words there are: kāḥ kaśya purusho bandhuḥ kim āpyaṁ kaśya kṣaṇah | eko hi jāyate jantur ekaḥ eva vinaśayati | 4 | tasmād mātā pīḷā cheti Īśaṁ sajeto yo naraḥ | unmatāḥ īva sa jñeyo nāsti kāścid hi kṣaṇachit | 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,
ACCORDING TO THE BHAGAVATA PURANA.

as real relations); delusion alone creates them. 20. Betake thyself to Purusha, the divine Janardana, 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 Vishnu in such a way as to obtain her desire, and receives from Kasyapa an account (extending to the end of the section) of the milk ceremonial (prayo-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:

(Sect. 17, vv. 18 ff.)—Tvayarchitas chaham apatyaguptaye prayovratenunugyam samiditah | svamusena pratwaram upetya te sutain gop-
tasmi Maricha-tapasy adhishthitah | 19. Upadhava patim bhadre prajapatim akalnasham | main cha bhavayati patyav evaivrupam avasthitam |

20. Naityat parasmai akhheyam prishayay 'pi kathanchana | sarvaum sam-
padyate devi deva-guhyam susa vindritam | 21. 'Sukah uvaca | etavd utkta bhagavatam tatra vartahtaradhyata | Aditir durlabhah labdhvah Harer jannatamani prabhoh | upadhavat patim bhaktya parayar krita-krita-vat |

22. Sa vai samahdi-yogena Kasyapas tad abudhyata | pravishkim utmani Harer ausha hy avitalechchana | 23. So 'dityam virya matatta tapasa 

| chira-sambhritam | samahita-manah rujan daruny agnim yathau 'nikah |

"'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 Maricha (Kasyapa). 19. Wait, virtuous female, upon thy husband, the sinless Prajapat, 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 apyan in verse 3, which I have rendered by "affinity," according to the Vedic sense of the term, is explained by the commentator as =prapyan, "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 karya instead of apyan, 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 Vishnu, 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 Rāmāyaṇa, 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).—Yaṭ tad vapur bhāti-vibhūṣaṇāyudhaṁ avyakta- chid vyaktam adhārayad Hariḥ | babhūva tenaiva sa vāmāno bāṭuḥ sam- paśyator divya-gatir yathā nātaḥ | ‘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 Brahmical 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-pūda-śaucaṁ jana-kalmaśāpahaṁ sa dharma-vid mūrdhny adhāt sumangalam | yad deva-devo Giriśas churna- maulir dadhāra mūrdhnā parayaḥ cha bhaktyā | 29. Balir uvācha | svāgataṁ te namas tubhyar brahmaṁ kiṁ karavāṁ te | brahmashrīnāṁ tapaḥ sākṣhād manye tv ārya vapur-dharam | . . . . 32. Yad yad bāto vānchhaṁ tat pratichhā me tvām arthāṁ vipra-sūtāntar-kaye | 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.
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:


'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 befit 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 continents. 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, 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:


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 prokta汝 yan netyl ahānritaṁ hi tat |
39. Satyam pushpa-phalaṁ vidyād ātmā-vrikshasya jivataḥ | vrikshaṁ ˈjivati tan na syād anūtitaṁ mūlam ātmanah | 40. Tat yathā vrikṣaḥ unmūlāḥ sushyaty udecartate ˈchirāt | evaṁ nāṣṭānūtitaṁ sadyaḥ ātmā sushyed na saṁsāyāḥ | 41. Parāgvrktaṁ apūraṁ vai aksharaṁ yat tad “om” iti | yat kincid “om” iti brūyāt tena rīchyeta vai pumān | 42. Bhikṣave svāvaṁ om kurvan nūlaṁ kāmena chātmane | athaitat pūraṇam abhyātmaṁ yach cha nety anūtitaṁ vacah | 43. Sarvāṁ nety anūtitaṁ brūyāt sa dushkṛtiḥ ścasaṁ mṛitaḥ | stīshu narma-vivahe cha vṛtty-arthe pṛṇa-sunktet | go-bhṛmaṇārthe pṛṇa-suktet | go-bhṛmaṇarthe pṛṇa-sunktet |

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 fuller of the purposes of the gods. 31. That ill-advised promise which thou, unwittingly, hast made to him, is not, I consider, to the advantage of the Daityas;—a great error has been committed. 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 thou 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 property 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.\(^{10}\) 38. Hear from me, most excellent of the

\(^{10}\) 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 pratiṣrutiya "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.

katham anritaṁ vācyam | tatra āha sārdhakaṁ śaṅkhaṁ | atrāpi satyāṁrīta-ryavas-thāyāṁ bahvriha-śrutiḥ īḥ prathamām "'om' ītī satyaṁ 'na' ītī anrītam" īty ādinā satyāṁrītayor lakṣaṇaṁ-pūrvaṁ stmti-nindābhyaṁ satyaṁ vihitām anrītam cha nishkiddham anantarāṁ cha "parāv vai etad riktam aksaraṁ" ītyādinā satye doshāṁ anrīte cha gṛṇān uktvā "tasnāṁ kāle eva dadyāṁ kāle na dadyāṁ tat satyāṁrīte mithunākaroṭi" īty upasaṁkhāreṇa vrīttī-ṃukhaṁ śaṅkhaṁ apy anmukhānaṁ tam imaṁ śruti-arthaṁ dārsāyam āha | "But the objection arises, how, after promising, can a man say 'no,' and thus be guilty of falsehood? To this he replies in six and a half verses. Here, with a view to fixing the rules regarding truth and falsehood, after having first of all stated the characteristic marks of each, according to those words of the Rigvedic doctors, "yes" is truth, and "no" is falsehood, etc., and having by praise and blame shown that truth is enjoined and falsehood forbidden, he cites the clause, 'this word denotes removal and evacuation,' etc., to indicate the faults of truth and the virtues of falsehood; and lastly, after quoting the words, 'he combines truth and falsehood by saying "let a man give and withhold on the proper occasions,"' he sums up by deciding that falsehood is permitted when necessary for the sake of subsistence, and in straits, etc. Propounding this doctrine of scripture, he says, etc.'

The words of the passage here referred to, from a Bahvriha-Śruti (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" ītī satyaṁ "na" ītī anrītam | tad etat pushpaṁ phalam vācō yat satyaṁ | sa ha śivar āyaseśi kalyāṇa-kīrtir bhavīti | pushpaṁ hi phalaṁ vācō satyaṁ vaddati | atha etad mlīmām vācō yat anrītam | tad yathā vṛkshaṁ śruti-mālam śūṣyati | sa uvdartate evam eva anrītam vaddam āvīrmālam ātmānāṁ karoti sa śūṣyati sa uvdartate | tsmād anrītam na vaddet dayeta te enena | [anena te anrītāna "dayeta" sankaṭaṁ sthaṁ evāmaṁ rakshed iti śruti-arthaḥ | Comm.] parāv vai etad riktam aksaraṁ yad etad "om" ītī ītī tad yat kineḥ "om" ītī āḥ atra eva asmai tad richyate | sa yat sarvam "om" kuryād richyād ātmānāṁ sa kāmabhyaṁ nālaṁ syat | Ātha etat pūrṇam abhyātmaṁ yad "na" ītī | sa yat sarvam "na" ītī brūyāt pāpiṁī 'syā kīrtir jāyeta | ēśā eva tatra eva hūnyat | Tsmāt kāle ēva dadyāṁ kāle na dadyāṁ tāt satyāṁrīte mithunākaroṭi | "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 an applicant, 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 Brāhmans, 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:


14. “The preceptor, impelled by fate, cursed his disciple, thus devoid of faith and obedient, 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

\[141\ Jālakam muktābharaṇa-viśeṣaḥ \ Comm. \]
\[142\ Avanejanīnāṁ āpāṁ \ Comm. \]
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 vāmanaṁ rūpas auryadhatādbhutaṁ Hari anantasya guṇa-trayātmakam | bhūḥ khāṁ diśo dyaur vivarāḥ payodhayas tiryaṇ-nri-devaḥ rishayo yad āsata | “That dwarfish body of the infinite Hari, consisting of the three qualities, increased miraculously, [that body] in which they 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.)—Kṣitīṁ padaikenā Baler vīchakrame nabhaḥ sarīrenā diśāsca bāhubhiḥ | padaṁ dvitiyaṁ kramatas trivishṭapaṁ na vai tritiyāya tadiyam api | udrakramasyānghir upary upary āt h 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-ā, 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 Vishṇu, 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 Vishṇu, 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 Varuṇa, and reproached by Vishṇu for failing to fulfil his promise:


144 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: pratiśrutasyādātāna yo 'ṛthinaṁ vipralambhate | "who deceives a suppliant by not giving him what had been promised."
Bali answers as follows (sect. 22):  

(Sect. 22, v. 2). — Yady uttama-sloka bhavān mameritām vacho vyalikaṁ sura-varya manyate | kuromy ritaṁ tud na bhavet pralambhanam pādam tritiyaṁ kuru śirshā me nijam | 3. Bibhemi nāhāṁ nirayāt pada-chyute na pāśa-bandhād vyasanād duratrayāt | naicārtha-kriechhrād bhavato vinigrāhāt asādhu-vādād bhrisyām udvije 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 bhūri-pāśāv aniritasya setā | “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 Prahrāda. His wife Vindhyāvali nexts worships Viṣṇu; and then Brahmā intercedes in behalf of the Asura monarch. Viṣṇu, after making some general reflections, replies as follows:

(Sect. 22, v. 28).—Eṣṭa dānava-dāityāṇāṃ agrāṇīḥ kīrti-vardhānaḥ | ajaishīd ajayām māyām śidān api na muhyati | 29. Kṣīṇa-riktaḥ 
chytāḥ sthānāt kshiptya baddhaśca śatrubhiḥ | jñatibhiṣaḥ parītyakto 
yātanām anuyāpitaḥ | 30. Gurūṇā bhartsitaḥ 
saptō jahau satyaṁ na suvraṭāḥ | chhalair ukto mayā dharmo*[quere dharmam?] nāyam 
yajati satyavāḥ | 31. Esma me prāpitaḥ sthānām 
dushprāpam amorrār api | Sāvarner antarasyāyaṃ bhavitendro 
mod-āśrayaḥ | 32. Tāvat 
sutalam adhyāstāṁ Viśvākarma-vinirmitam | yan nādhayo vyādhayāscha 
klamas landrā parābhavah | nopasargāḥ nivasatāṁ sambhavanti mane-
chhayā |

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 Sāvarṇī Manvantara. 32. Meanwhile let him occupy Sutala, formed by Viśvākarma, where, by my will, neither mental nor bodily pains, nor fatigue, nor weariness, nor discomfiture, nor diseases afflict the inhabitants."

(Sect. 23, v. 2).—Bali replies thus: Aho praṇāmāya kritāḥ samud-
yamah prapanna-bhaktārtha-vidhau samākṣitaḥ | yal lokapālaṁ tvadaman-
graḥo 'marair alabāha-pūrvo 'pasade 'sure 'rpitaḥ | 3. Sukāh uvācha | ity uktvā Harim ānanya Brahmanāṁ sa-Bhavaṁ tataḥ | viveṣa Sutalam 
prito Balir muktah sahāsurāḥ | 2. "' O, even the effort made to adore

147 If we should read dharmam instead of dharmāḥ, 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 (Sīva), Bali, being released, entered Sutala with joy, along with the Asuras.” Vishnu now addresses Uśanas, the priest of Bali:

(See above, p. 133, line 6 from the bottom.)
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-Bhrigu-Angiro-mukhyaiḥ Kumārena Bhavena cha | 21. Kaṣyapa-yāditeḥ prīyai sarva-bhūta-bhavāya cha | lokānām loka-pālānām akarod vāmanam patim | 22. Vedānām sarva-devānām dharmasya yaśasāh śriyāḥ | mangalānām vratānāncha kalpaṁ svargāpavargayoh | 23. Upendraṁ kalpayānchakre patim sarva-vibhūtaye | tadā sarvāni bhūtāni bhṛśam mumudire nriṇa | 20. “Brahmā, the lord of the Prajāpatis, together with the gods, rishis, pitris, with Daksha, Bhrigu, Angiras, and other lords of the earth, with Kumāra, and Bhava, 21. with a view to the gratification of Kaśyapa aśe 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. 42b. The Matsya Purāṇa has been lithographed and published at Bombay, with a Mahārati 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 (Brahmanah Kaśyapa tv aṁśaḥ Prithiviḥ tv Aditiḥ tathā).
see further on) that Vishnu 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 Prahrada 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.\textsuperscript{150} 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 discomfitures, counselled them to wait for a favourable turn of fortune, and declared his intention to resort to Mahadeva 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 Mahadeva and asked for texts more powerful than those possessed by Brihaspati, the priest of the gods; when the deity directed him to perform a painful rite, imbibing the smoke of chaff (kaṇa-dhūma)\textsuperscript{151} 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.). Vishnu, however, now interposed, and desired Indra to enter into him (Vishnu). This provoked the goddess, who threatened to burn them up. Indra called upon Vishnu to slay her before she could carry her threat into effect. Vishnu, though hesitating to kill a female, cut off her head with his weapon (vv. 95 ff.). Vishnu 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

\textsuperscript{150} Compare Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa, vii. 5, 20: Uṣanā vai Kāvya 'surāṇām purohitah āsit | taṁ devāḥ kāmadugāhāḥ (kāma-dugāhāḥ goblīḥ | Comm.) api- maṇtrayanta | tasmaī etānī atāsanāni prāyaḥchān | kāmadugāhā vai uṣanānā | "Uṣanas Kāya was the priest of the Asuras. The gods invited him with milk cows. They gave him these Aus'ana texts. Ausana texts are milch cows."

\textsuperscript{151} I have to thank Prof. Aufrecht, for pointing out an explanation of this phrase given by the commentator on the Kāśi Khaṇḍa of the Skanda Pur. 16, 2, viz. Kanāḥ khaṇḍitās tāṇḍulatūshās tajjanyāin dhūmam |
the good of the world when unrighteousness prevails: 102 (vv. 102 tāṁ drishṭvā stri-badhaṁ ghoraṁ chukrodha Bṛhguṁ iśvarah | tato 'bhiśaptō Bṛhguṁ Vīṣṇuṁ bhūrya-badhe tadā | 103 | yasmāt te jānato dharmam abadhyā striṁ nishūditaṁ | tasmāt tvāṁ saptakriśevā manusheśhā papatsyasi | 104 | tatas tenābhiśāpena nāṣte dharme punah punah | lokasya cha hitarthāyā jayate manusheśhā īha). 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 Sukra'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. tāṁ drishṭvā tu piṁantaṁ sā kanadhūman avāmnukham | yaksheṇa pātyamānaṁ cha kunda-dhāreṇa pātitam | drishṭvā cha tam pātyamānaṁ devī Kavyāṁ avasthitam | svarūpa-dhūyaṁ-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

102 I have not elsewhere met with an explanation of Vishnu's incarnations so dishonourable 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 Bhārata | abhyutthānam adharmasya tadā "tmānāṁ srijāmy aham | paritrādhī yā sāthiṁnām vinīśayā cha duskṛteṣu | dharmasamsthāpanārthāyā 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 Rāghuvamśa: Aṇavaṁtapam evaptaṁ pada te kineḥaṁ vidyate | lokasyaṁ vato hetu te janma-karmanah | "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 Prahrāḍa, 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 Sāvarṇī Manvantara, however, they were destined to regain supremacy, and Bali, grandson of Prahṛāda, would become lord of the worlds. Another boon was destined for Prahṛāda, which Brahmā had forbidden Sūkra to reveal (vv. 201 ff.). Elated by this prediction of their future ascendency, 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 Saṇḍa 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. Saṇḍa 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 jeshyāmaka 'surān | tadopāmantrayan devāḥ Saṇḍāmarkau tu tāv ubhau | 227. yajne chāhuya tau proktau “tyajetām asurān devījau | vayaū yuvām bhajishyāmah sāhā jītvā tu dānavān” | 228. evan kriyābhīsandhā tau Saṇḍāmarkau surās tathā | tato devāḥ jayam prāpur dānavās cha parājitāḥ | 229. Saṇḍāmarka-parityaktāḥ dānavāh hy abalās tathā | evam dāityāḥ purā Kāva-sāpenābhihatās tādā | 230. Kāva-sāppūbhībhatās te nirādharās cha sarvasāḥ | nirayamānāḥ devāiḥ cha viviśus te rasātataṃ | ] (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 Prahṛāda should be slain by men (231. tataḥ-prabhṛiti śāpena Bṛigar naimittikena tu | 232. jajne punāḥ punar Vishnur dharme prāśithile prabhuh | kurvan dharma- vyavasthānam asurāngām pranāsanam | 233. Prahṛādasya nideśe tu na sthāvyanty asurās cha ye | manushya-badhyās te sarve Bṛahmeti vyāharat prabhuh | Vishnu’s incarnations are then enumerated (verses

153 See the fifth volume of this work, p. 230, note.
154 Regarding Prahṛāda, or Prahlāda, see Wilson's Vishnu Purāṇa, Dr. Hall’s ed., vol. ii., pp. 30-68.
234-245) viz. (1) a portion of him sprung from Dharma, (2) the Nara-
sinha, 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 tisrah smṛitās tasya
divyāha smabhūtayo dvijāh | mānushāḥ sapta yānyās (sic.) tu śāpajīs
tāh nibodhata). These seven are (4) the Dattatreya, (5) Māndhātri,
(6) Parasūrāma, (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. e. 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) Dattā-
treya, (7) Yajna or Sacrifice, (8) Rishabha, (9) Pṛithu, (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)
Parasūrāma, (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 Viṣṇu are innumerable, like the
rivulets flowing from an inexhaustible lake. Rishis, Manus, gods,
sons of Manus, Prajāpati are all portions of him (verse 26. *Avatāraḥ
hy asankheyāḥ Hareḥ satteva-nidher dvijāh | yathā 'vidāsinaḥ kuryāh
sarasah syāḥ sahasrasaḥ | 27. rishayo manavo devaḥ manu-putraḥ
mahaujasāḥ | kalāḥ sarve Ūrera eva sreprajāpatayaś tatha).

Sect. V.—Viṣṇu as represented in the Nirukta, Rāmāyaṇa,
Mahābhārata, and Purāṇas.

From the passages adduced in the preceding pages, it is clear that
Viṣṇu 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 Sākapūrī and Aurnāvatīhā, the ancient
interpreters of the Veda, whose opinions he quotes, assigned to Viṣṇu
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-devaṭāḥ mantras teshu devatopaparikṣhāḥ | 
yad-devaṭāḥ sa yajno vā yajnāngaṁ vā tad-devaṭāḥ bhavanti | atha anyatra 
yajnāt prājāpatyāḥ iti yājukāḥ | nārāsaṁsāḥ iti nairuktāḥ | api vā sā 
kāma-devaṭā syāt prāyō-devaṭā vā | asti hy āchāro bahulaṁ loke deva- 
devaṭyam atithi-devaṭyam pīṭṛi-devaṭyam | yājna-daiṁvata manraḥ iti | 
api hy adevaṭā devaṭā-vat stūyante | yathā 'śva-prabhṛūṇy oshadhī- 
paryantany athāpy ashtau dvandvāni | sa na manyeta āgantuṁ iva arthān 
devaṭanāṁ pratyakṣa-drīṣyam etad bhavati | mahābhāyād devaṭāyāḥ 
ekaḥ ātma bahudhā stūyate | ekasya ātmavo.'nye devaḥ pratyangānī 
bhavanti | api cha sattvānm prakriti-bhūmahīr rishayaḥ stuvanti ity 
āhuḥ | prakriti-sārvanāṁyāḥ cha itaretara-jaṁmāno bhavanti itaretara- 
prakritayāḥ karma-jaṁmānaḥ ātma-jaṁmānaḥ | ātma eva esāṁ ratho 
bhavaty ātma 'svāḥ ātma' yudham ātma ishavāḥ ātma sarvāṁ devasya | 
5. Tisraḥ iva devaṭāḥ iti naiṛuktāḥ Agniḥ prittripitṛi-sthāno Vāyur vā 
Indro vā 'nārīkṣa-sthānaḥ Śūryo dyu-sthānaḥ | tāṣām mahābhāyād 
ekaṅkasyāḥ api bahūni nāmadheyāni bhavanti | api vā karma-prithaktaḥ 
yathā hotā 'dhvāyur brahmā udgātā ity api ekasya sataḥ | api vā 
prithag eva syuḥ | prithag hi stutayo bhavanti tathā 'bhidhānāni' | yatho 
etat-"karma-prithaktaḥ" iti bahavo 'pi vībhajya karmāṇi kuryuḥ | tatra 
saṁsthānaṅkaṭvāṁ sambhoguṅkaṭvāṁ cha upekṣhīrayaṁ | yathā prithivyaṁ 
manuṣyaṁ paśavo devaḥ iti sthānaṅkaṭvāṁ | sambhogaṅkaṭvāṁ cha drīṣyate 
yathā prithivyaḥ Parjanyaḥ cha Vāyur-Ādityāḥbhgāṁ cha sambhoga'guṇā 
cha itarasya lokasya | tatra etad nara-rāśtram iva | 6. Atha ākāra- 
chintanāṁ devaṭanāṁ | puruṣa-viḍhāḥ syuṛ ity ekam | chetanāv-ad-vad 
hi stutayo bhavanti tathā 'bhidhānāni | athāpi puruṣa-viḍhikārī nivelā 
śaṁstūyante | "rīṣhva te Indra sthāvirsya bāḥu" (R. vi. vi. 47, 8); 
"yat sangriṅbhnāḥ maghvan kāśir it te" (R. V. iii. 30, 5) | athāpi 
puruṣa-viḍhikārī dravya-sāmyoṅgaiḥ, | "ā dvābhgyāṁ haribhyāṁ Indra 
yāḥ" (R. V. ii. 18, 4); "kalāṅvīr jāyā suraṅgā grihe te" (R. V. 
iii. 53, 6) athāpi puruṣa-viḍhikārī karmabhikī | "addhi Indra piba cha 
prasthitasya" (R. V. x. 116, 2); "āsruṅkarna śruṅdi havam" (R. V. 
i. 10, 9) | 7. Apuruṣa-viḍhāḥ syuṛ ity aparām | api tu yad drīṣyate 
'puruṣa-viḍhāṁ tat | yathā 'gnir vāyur aśītyāḥ prithivī chandramāḥ 
iti | yatho etat "chetanāv-ad-vad hi stutayo bhavanti" ity achetanāny
SEVENTH SECTION OF THE NIRUKTA.

159

Aditya-karma eva tat | Chandramasā Vriyāna Saṅvatsareṇa iti saṁstavah |
eteshv eva sthēna-vyāhesv pitu-chhandah-stoma-prishṭhasya bhakti-sesham
anukulpayita | sarad-anushṭub-ekarimeṣa-stomo vairājaiṁ sāma iti prithivy-
ayatanāni | hemantaḥ panktiṣ triṇapa-stomah sākvaram sāma ity antari-
khāyatanāni | śisīro 'tichhandās trayas-trimiṣa-stomo raivatam sāma
iti dyu-bhaktini |

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, accord-
ing to the ritualists (yājnikāh), addressed to Prajāpati; according to
the etymologists (nairuktāḥ), they are spoken in praise of men.155
Or in such cases the deity may be an optional one, or a class of
deities:156 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 sacrificia-
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 Nighaṇṭu, 5, 3, and Nir. ix. 1–28), and also
the eight pairs (see Nighaṇṭu, 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 nārāṣaṁsa is thus defined:
Yena navāḥ prasāyaṇe sa nārāṣaṁsau mantraḥ | "A hymn in which men are eulogized
is a nārāṣaṁsa 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 appellations, 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

157 Compare Taitt. Sańh., vi."6, 8, 3: Indra-Vāyū 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 ear 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
Agnāyī, Prithivī, 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 Vishṇu 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 Khandava 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 Vanapurvan, 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 Pushan, 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 Pushan, 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 Pushan, who had been named before;¹⁵⁹ or, on the other hand, it may be a celebration of Agni, who is mentioned afterwards. *Suvidatra* (from which *suvidatriyebhyaḥ* in the fourth clause, "May Agni," etc., comes) means 'wealth,' and is either derived from *vid*, 'to find,' with one preposition (*su*), or from *dā*, 'to give,' with two prepositions (*su* and *dv*).

10. "The following are the objects connected with Indra's domain: viz. the atmosphere, the midday oblation, summer, the trishtubh 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 exertions of force are the work of Indra. The deities lauded along with him are Agni, Soma, Varuṇa, Pushan, Bṛhaspati, Brahmaṇaspati, Parvata, Kutsa, Vishnu, and Vāyu. Further, Mitra is lauded along with Varuṇa, Soma with Pushan and Rudra, Pushan 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 pṛishṭhas (particular sāma formulas) under [one or other of] the [three] spheres above mentioned. Autumn, 'the anushṭubh metre, the ekaviniśa stoma, and the vairāja sāma, belong to the sphere of earth. The early winter, 'the pankti metre, the triṇava stoma, and the śākvara sāma, belong to the atmospheric sphere. The later winter, the atri-

¹⁵⁹ I have translated the clause as referring to Pushan.
chhandas metre, the trayastrinśa stoma, and the raivata sāma, are connected with the celestial sphere."^{160}

It will be observed that in the preceding classification of the gods, the principal places are assigned to Agni, Vāyu, or Indra, and Śūrya, who appear therefore to have been regarded in the time of Yāska 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 Yāska.

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 Siva is a part) might have grown up along with the Vedic. It may, however, be objected to this view, that if Yāska 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 Brīhaddevatā, in which the views of Yāska are repeated, are derived from Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 113 f.:

Brīhaddevatā, i. 13.—Bhavat-bhūtaṁ [syā bha] vyasya jangama-sthāvar-
asya cha | asyaśke śūryaṁ evaikam prabhavam pralayaṁ viduḥ | asataś
cha sataś chaiva yonir esha Prajāpatiḥ | yad aksharaṁ cha vāchyāṁ (?) cha
yathaiva Brahma śāsavatam | kṛitaśāṁ hi triḍhā "tmānam esu lokeshu
tisthathā | Ibid. i. 14 . . . tisraḥ eva devatāḥ | etasām eva māhātmyaṁ
nāmāyatvam vidhyate | tach cha sthāna-vibhāgena tatra tatrehā driśyate |
i. 13: "Some consider Śūrya (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 ff.) from Manu, it appears that the word Nārāyaṇa is there applied to Brahmā, and that no mention whatever is made of Viṣṇu, as concerned in the creation. In fact Viṣṇu is only once mentioned 161 by Manu, viz. in the following verse xii. 121:

'Manasindum ādiḥ śrotre krānte Viṣṇum bale Haram | vāchy Agnim Mitram utsārga prajane cha Prajāpatim | "[He may contemplate] in his mind the Moon (Indu), in his hearing the regions, in his stepping Viṣṇu, in his strength Hāra, in his voice Agni, in excretion Mitra, and in procreation Prajāpati." Viṣṇu 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 Rāmāyaṇa too, it is Brahmā 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 Mahābhārata and Purāṇas (see above, pp. 118 ff.) where Viṣṇu is described as one of the twelve Ādityas, 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 Rāmāyaṇa also, where Viṣṇu 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 Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas, and in some parts of the Mahābhārata, and other portions of the Rāmāyaṇa itself (unless we suppose these to be later interpolations), or identified with the supreme deity, as in those first-named works. In proof of this I adduce the following passage from the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 14, 1 ff. (Schlegel’s

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

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

Rāmāyāna, i. 14, 1 ff.—Medhāvä tu tato dhyātvā sa kinchid idam uttaram | labdha-saṁjñaś 162 tatas taṁ tu veda-jo nri-pam abrahit | 2 | ishiṁ te 'nyāṁ 163 karishyāmi putriyāṁ putra-kāraṇāḥ | athavasārisi proktair mantraṁ siddhāṁ vidhānataḥ | 3 | 164 tataḥ prachakrame kartum ishiṁ kāma-samriddhayā | tasya rājno hitācchāḥ Vibhūndaka-sūto vasi | 4 | tatra devaḥ sa-gāndhārvāḥ Siddhāśeṣa munibhiḥ saha | bhāgā-pratigrahārthāṁ vai pūrvam eva samāgatāḥ | 5 | Brahmā sūreśvaruḥ Sthānus tathā Nārāyaṇaḥ prabhuh | Indraś cha bhagavān sākṣaḥ Marud-ganā-eritas tathaḥ | 6 | aśvamedhe mahāyajne rājnas tasya mahātaṁ | tatra bhāgārthino devān āgatān so 'bhayaḥchata | 7 | ayaṁ rājā Daśarathāḥ putrārthī tuptarcāṁ tapaḥ | ishṭavān aśvamedhena bhavatāḥ śraddhāyā 'nvitaḥ | 8 | ishiṁ cha putra-kāmo 'nyāṁ punah kartum samudyatāḥ | tad asya putra-kāmasya prasādaṁ kartum arhatāḥ | 9 | abhiyāche cha vai svarān asyārthe 'ham kriśānajāliḥ | bhuceṣu asya chatvāraḥ putrās tralokya-viśrūtaḥ | 10 | te tathety abravam devaḥ rishi-putraṁ kriśānjalim | mānaniyō 'si no vipra rājā chaiva viśeṣātāḥ | 11 | prāpyate paramaṁ kāmaṁ etayeshtyā narādhīpah | ily uktvā

162 Labāha-saṁjñaḥ samādy-utthitaḥ | Comm. in Bombay ed.
163 Bombay ed. reads te 'ham for te 'nyāṁ.
164 The Bomb. ed. here reads: 3. Tataḥ prākramad ishiṁ tāṁ putriyāṁ putra-kāraṇāḥ | jahāv agnaḥ cha tejasvi mantra-drishṭena karmāṇaḥ | 4 | tato devaḥ sa-gāndhārvāḥ siddhāḥ cha paramarshayaḥ | bhāva- [qu. bhāga] pratigrahārthāṁ vai samavetāḥ yathāvidhi | 5 | tāḥ sametāya yathānyāṁ taṁs sadāsa devatāḥ | abravam loka-kartāram Brahmāṇaṁ vachanaṁ tataḥ | 6 | Bhagavāṁte trust-prassēdaṁ Rākṣasya nama rākṣasaḥ | svarān no bādhate vīryāṁ sātāṁ taṁ na sākṣaḥ | "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 Brahmā, the creator of the world: 6. 'Lord, owing to thy favour a Rākṣasa named Rāvaṇa 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] (a) not stating the gods to have been already present at the preceding sacrifice of the aśvamedha; (b) in not naming Brahmā, Sthānū (Mahādeva), and Nārāyaṇa (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 Brahmā'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 Vibhāpāda, 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, Sthānu (Mahādeva), the lord Nārāyaṇa\(^{165}\) (Vishṇu), and the divine Indra in visible presence, surrounded by the host of Maruts. He (Rishyasringa thus) supplicated the gods who had come, desiring their shares, to the great āṣvamedha 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 āṣvamedha. 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, Brahman, 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 Sakra (Indra), then disappeared.

‘Having duly assembled, in that abode,\(^{166}\) these gods then addressed a word to Brahmā, the creator of the world: ‘A Rākṣasa named Rāvana, 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 Rākṣasas vexes the three worlds by his acts of cruelty . . . 19. We are therefore in great fear of this Rākṣasa 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 (tasmin sadasī)? 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.: \(\text{i} \text{ty uktvā ‘ntarhitāḥ devās tataḥ S’akra-puroga-māḥ}\ | 12 \ tāṁ dṛṣṭvā vidhvaṁ dīkṣāṁ kriyamāṇāṁ mahāsāṁ ā | upetya loka-kartārām Prajāpatiṁ tīdāṁ vachāḥ | 13 \ uchūḥ prāṇājalyo bhūteḥ Brahmāṁ vāraḍāṁ, 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 Achemyta (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 āśvamedha 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 Rāvaṇa, 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 pāpaṅ śakto hantuṅ dvaukasāṁ). Vishṇu, then, “the lord of the gods” (devēṣa), “the most excellent of the immortals” (tridaśa-pungava), “adored by all the worlds” (sarva-loka-namaskrita), reassures the deities, promises to slay Rāvaṇa, 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 Rāmāyaṇa, 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 Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata:

"It is true that in the Epic poems Rāma and Kṛishna 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 without 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." 167

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

167 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 Rāmāyaṇa, 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 Kṛishna, especially in the philosophical episode known as the Bhāgavad Gītā. In other places the divine nature of Kṛishna 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. xxxii.: "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 Rāmāyāna, 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 Rāmāyāna 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 asvamedha 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-prabhāvasya dhārmikasya mahātmānaḥ | sutārtham tapyamānasya nāsid vaṁśa-karaḥ sutaḥ | tasya chintayato buddhir utpanneyam mahāmateḥ | sutārtham vāji-medhena kimarthau na yajāmy aham | sunīścitāmatīn kriyā yashṭaye vasudhādhipāḥ | "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 kāle vyatikrānte śīśre tadanantaram | vasanta-samaye
prāpte rājā yashtum mano dadhē| tataḥ prasādyā sīrasā taṁ vipraṁ deva-varchasam | yajñāya varayāmāsā 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 Brahan 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 tātapyamānasya putrārthāṁ nāsti vai sukham | tad ahaṁ haya-medhena yajeyam iti me matiḥ | tad-arthāṁ yashtum ichhāṁ haya-pūrveṇa karmanā | "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 hridayayamāk | uvācha dikshāṁ viśata yakṣye 'hāṁ suta-kūrṇāt | "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: Punah prāpte vasante tu pūrṇah saṁvatsaro 'bhavat | prasavārtham gato yashtum hayamedhena viryavān | "Then, when the spring arrived, a year had elapsed, and the heroic king went to celebrate 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, Kauśalya, "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]: Patatriṇā tādā sārdhāṁ susūkṣhitena cha chetasā | avasad rajanīṁ ekām Kauśalyā putra-kāmyāyā), and the other two queens beside her (v. 37).163

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

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 patatriṇī, "winged," applied to the horse, the commentator in the Bombay ed., in loco, remarks: Purā adivānām pakṣhāṁ santi iti prasādhyā evāvadādah | patatriṇā garuda-vegena ity anve | "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)."
Having received the gifts with great gratification, the Brahmans then said to Daśaratha, ‘Think of the object you desire.’ The king then said to Rishyasringa, ‘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 Rishyasringa, after thinking over the preceding reply, offers 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 Rishyasringa 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 ceremony 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 commencement of the second sacrifice.

In section 15 (=Bombay ed. 15, 31 ff. and 16; Gor. 15) we are told that Vishṇu, considering how he shall fulfil his promise to the gods, makes 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 (praśjāpatyaṁ naram), and bearing a large vessel full of nectar. This nectar he desires Daśaratha to administer to his wives, who would then bear sons. Vishṇu then, after receiving the king’s homage, disappears.
Daśaratha gives the half of the potion to Kaushalyā, and a fourth each to Sunitā and Kaikeyī. They all in consequence become pregnant.

Section 16 (=Bombay ed. 17; Göresio, 20) begins thus: *Putratrāṁ tu gate Vishnau rājnas tasya mahātmanaḥ | urācha devān ēhāya Svayambhū bhagavān iḍam | "When Vishnu had entered into the relation of sonship to that great king, the divine Svayambhū (Brahmā) summoned the gods, and said to them." These words must either be said by way of anticipation, for the birth of Daśaratha'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 Göresio'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 mahātmanaḥ | havirbāgān avāpeshtān jagmur devāḥ yathāgatam | 2 | rīṣhayaḥ cha mahātmānaḥ pratijagmuḥ supūjitāḥ | rājānās chaiva ye tatra kratāvāsan 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 Göresio'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 mahātmanaḥ | pratigrihyā- marāḥ bhāgān pratijagmuḥ yathāgatam | 2 | samāpta-dikṣā-niyamāḥ patnī-gaṇa-samanvitāḥ | pravīcesa purīṁ rājā sa-bhṛitya-bala-vāhanāḥ
When that horse-sacrifice of the great king had come to an end, the immortals, after receiving their shares, returned as they had come. The ceremony of consecration being concluded, the king with his wives, servants, army, and chariots, entered into the city. 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. The hosts of these glorious monarchs, as they set out from the city for their homes, shone brilliant and delighted. When they had gone, King Daśaratha again entered the city, preceded by the Brahmans. Rishyasringa, receiving homage, set out with (his wife) Sāntā, followed by the wise king and his attendants. Having dismissed all these (visitors), the king, with satisfied mind, dwelt in happiness, meditating on the birth of his sons. Then six seasons elapsed after the sacrifice had been completed; and in the twelfth month," etc. [The sequel of this passage, together 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 samāpte tu rītūnāṁ shat samatayayah | tatascha dvādaśe māśe ityādī). After specifying the month, day, and planetary influences under which Rāma was born, the writer proceeds: ... Jagannatham sarva-loka-namaskritam | Kauśalyā 'janayad Rāmaṁ divya-lakṣanāsāmyutam | Kauśalyā śūsūbe tena putreṇāmita-tejasā | yathā 'dhipena devānāṁ Aditir Vajrapānīnā | [*bhavāya sa hi lokānāṁ Rāvanasya badhāya cha | Vishnor viryārdhato jajne Rāmo rājiva-lochanah | Bharato
REGARDING RĀMA'S BIRTH, WITH REMARKS.

nāma Kaikeyyāṁ jajne satya-parākramah | sākshād Vishnoṣ chaturbhāgaḥ sarvaiḥ samudito guṇaiḥ | atha Lakṣmaṇa-Satrughnau Sumitrā 'janayat sutau | dṛḍha-bhakti mahotsāhau Vishnoṣ ardhā-samanvītau | ] pushyē jātas tu Bharato mīna-lagne prasūna-dhiḥ | sārpe jātāu tu Saumitrā kulīre 'bhayaite ravaṇu |

"Kauśalyā bore Rāma, the lord of the universe, adored by all worlds, distinguished by divine marks. Kauśalyā 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 Vishnoṣ'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 Vishnoṣ, endowed with all virtues. Then Sumitrā brought forth two sons, of strong devotion and great energy, Lakṣmaṇa and Satrughna, possessing (each) the haiś (of the fourth part) of Vishnoṣ.] Now Bharata, of clear understanding, was born under Pushya (the eighth lunar mansion), under the sign of the fishes; while the sons of Sumitrā 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 Vishnoṣ, 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 Vishnoṣ, it does not appear so suitable to compare his birth to that of Indra (in that case a personage of less dignity than Vishnoṣ), 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 (Rāmāyaṇa, 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 Vasistha 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 try 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 Vishṇu’s. Two celestial bows, he proceeds, were made by Viśvakarman, of which one was given by the gods to Mahādeva, the other to Vishṇu. The narrative then proceeds (14 ff.):

Tadā tu deva-vah sarvaḥ prichhanti sam Pitāmaham | S'itikanṭhaśya Vishnoṣa cha balābala-nirikshayā | abhiprāyaṁ tu vijnāya devata-nām Pitāmahah | virodhaṁ janayāmāsa tavoyatātāv varah | virodhe tu mahad yuddham abhavca roma-horshaṇam | S'itikaṇṭhasya Vishnoṣa cha paraspara-jayaishinoḥ | tadā tu jrimbhitam saivaṁ dhanur bhima-parākramam | hukāreṇa Mahādevah stambhito ’tha trilochanaḥ | devais tadā samāgama sarshi-saṅghaiḥ sa-chāraṇaiḥ | yāchitau praśamaṁ tatra jagmatau tav sarottamau | jrimbhitam tad dhanur drīṣṭvā saivaṁ Vishnu-parākramaiḥ | adhikaṁ menire Vishṇuṇu devaḥ sarshi-gaṇas tathā | dhanu Rudras tu sankraddho Videheshu mahāyaśaḥ | Devaratasya rājarśher dadau haste sa-sāyaṁ | ivaṁ tu Vaishnavayāḥ Rāma dhanuḥ para-puranjayaḥ | Richke Bhārgave pruddād Vishnuḥ sa nyāsam uttamaṁ | “The gods then all made a request to Brahmā, desiring to find out the strength and weakness of Sitikānṭha (Mahādeva) and Vishṇu. 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 Sitikānṭha and Vishṇu, each of whom was eager to
conquer the other. Siva’s bow of dreadful power was then relaxed, and the three-eyed Mahādeva was arrested by a muttering. These two eminent deities being entreated by the assembled gods, rishis, and Chāraṇas, then became pacified. Seeing that the bow of Siva had been relaxed by the god 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 Devarāta [who dwelt] among the Videhas. But this, Rāma, is the bow of Vishnu, which vanquishes hostile cities. Vishnu gave this excellent deposit to Rīchīka, the descendant of Bṛighu.” From him it came to Jamadagni, father of Paraśurāma. After referring to his father’s murder by Arjuna, and his own subsequent history, Paraśurāma repeats that he had heard of Rāma’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. Rāma 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 Paraśurāma, bends it, fits an arrow on the string; and tells his challenger that he will not shoot at him because he is a Brāhman, and for the sake of his kinsman Visvāmitra; 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. Paraśurāma 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 Kaṇḍyapa 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): *Akṣhayam Madhuhantāraṁ jānāmi tvām mahēṣvaram (or sureśvaram) | dhanusho 'syā parāmarśāt svasti te 'stu parantapa | 18 | ete sura-gaṇāḥ sarve nirikshante sāmāgaṭāḥ | tvām apratima-karmāṇām apratidvandvam āhare | 19 | na cheyam mama Kākutṣthā vṛidda bhavītam arhati | tvayā traylokya-nāthena yad ahaṁ vinushikritaḥ | 17. “By the bending of

169 The orthodox commentator (in the Bombay edition) will not allow this to be taken absolutely. He says: *Vastatas tu prakṛta-yuṣṭhe Vishyo ardhiya-durṣanat Tripura-badhe Śivasya ardhiya-durṣanat toyaḥ sōmya-grahaṇam iti tātparyam | *“In reality, as we find that Vishnu is the stronger in the fight before us, whilst Sīva 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.” 
Ràma then shoots the arrow, and destroys Paraśuráma’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 Harivaṁśa (sections 183 and 184), and the Bhāga-
vata 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 Rāvaṇa, 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.—Tato hi durmunāh Rāmaḥ śrutvaivaṁ 
vadatāṁ giraḥ | adhyau mukhārtam dharmātmā vāšpa-ryākula-lochanāḥ | 
tato Vuiśravame bājā Yamaś cha pitribhiḥ saha | Sahasrākshaḥ cha devesō 
Varuṇascha jaleśvarah | saha-ardha-nayanāḥ śrīmān Mahādevo vrisha-
dvajah | kartā sarvasya lokasya Brahmap brahma-vidāṁ varah | [171 sa cha 
rājā Daśaratho vimānenāntariksha-gaḥ | abhyājagāma taṁ desaṁ deva-rūja-
sama-dvutiḥ | ] eto sarve samāgyama vimānāṁ sūrya-sannibhaiḥ | āgamyā 
nagarīm Lankām abhijagmuḥ cha Rāghavam | tataḥ sa-hastābharaṇān 
pragrihya vipul in bhūyān | ab uvaṁ tridaśa-śreshthāḥ Rāghavam prāṇjaliṁ

171 This verse is found in Gorresio’s edition only, not in that of Bombay.
179

These two verses occur in Gorresio’s edition only, not in that of Bombay.
Then the righteous Rāma, dejected, on hearing the words of those who thus spoke, meditated for a moment, with his eyes disturbed by tears. Then King Kuvera, and Yāmā with the Pitṛis, and Indra, lord of the gods, and Varuṇa, lord of the waters, and the glorious three-eyed Mahādeva, whose ensign is a bull, and Brahmā, 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 Lankā, came near to Rāghava (Rāma). Then these most eminent gods, holding the large arms of Rāma, 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 Sītā’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 Ritadhāman, and the Prajāpāti of the Vasus. Thou art the primal maker of the three worlds, the self-dependent lord, the eighth Rudra of the Rudras, and the fifth of the Śādhyas. The Āsvins 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 Sītā like a common man.’ Being thus addressed by these guardians of the world, Rāma, the lord of the world, chief of the supporters of righteousness, said to the most eminent gods, ‘I regard myself as a man, Rāma, son of Daśaratha; do you, divine being, tell me who and whence I am.’ Brahmā, chief of the knowers of the

173 In the parts of the Mahābhārata where Krishṇa is identified with the supreme Deity, he is always represented as perfectly conscious of his true character. The commentator explains away this eleventh verse in the following manner: Atha Brahmānām eva Braham-vidyānanukhyasya śruti-ādī-siddhataya taddhātasya "ātmānam nāvebudhyase" iti Brahamo’śa kriyatvā taj-jijnāsura eva sva-dadjānām svavārūpa-bandhanāya Brahamāyān gurum ajnāh eva upāsāt ity āha ‘ātmānam’ iti | "As it is established by the Veda, etc., that the aspiration after the science of Brahma comes only from the grace of Brahmā, and since Brahmā had just prompted that aspiration by the words ‘how dost thou not perceive thyself?’ Rāma, assuming the appearance of a desire to know, with the view of explaining his nature to his (worshippers), applies to Brahmā, as an ignorant student to his teacher, and says, ‘I regard myself,’ etc."
Veda, replied to Kākutstha (Rāma) thus speaking: 'Hear my true word, O being of genuine power. Thou art the god, the glorious lord, Nārāyana, 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, Vishvakṣena, the four-armed; the bearer of the bow, Sūrnga, Hirṣīkēśa (lord of the senses), Purusha (the male), the highest of Purushas, the unconquered, sword-wielding, Vishnu, 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 Sādhyas, O thou primeval born. Thou art sacrifice, thou art the vāshaṭkāra, and the oṃkāra, 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 Dānavas. I am thy heart, Rāma, the goddess Sarasvatī is thy tongue. The gods have been made by Brahma 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 thine anger, Soma is thy pleasure, O thou whose mark is the Śrīvatśa. 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" (kṛṣṇas tad-varṇaḥ).

175 The commentator explains sāṁskārāḥ thus: sāṁskriyante bodhyante ebhir lokāḥ iti sāṁskārāḥ pravṛtti-nirvṛtti-vyavasthā-bodhakāḥ | "Sāṁskāras 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 Mahendrapurata 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 Lakṣmi, and thou art Viṣṇu, the divine Kṛṣṇa, the lord of creatures, who hast entered a mortal body for the slaughter of Rāvana,'” etc.

In the same way as Viṣṇu is associated with Rāma in the Rāmāyana, so is he connected with Kṛṣṇa in the Mahābhārata, the Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata, and Brahma-vaiṣṇava, Purāṇas, and other Viṣṇu works of a later date. In the two first-named Purāṇas, though Kṛṣṇa is sometimes spoken of as a partial incarnation of Viṣṇu (see the passage from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 33, 27, quoted above, p. 50, and another from the Viṣṇu 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 Chhandogya 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 Lakṣmi and S'ī, 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 Sīśupāla 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 Chhāndogya Upanishad (pp. 220 ff. of the Bibl. Ind.) is, I believe, the oldest text yet known in which Kuśāṇa 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, and that he was so enthusiastically devoted to the pursuit of mystical lore as to become indifferent to everything else:

_Tad ha etad Ghorah Āngirasah Kuśāṇaya Devaki-putrāya ukṛtā uvācha apīpāsāḥ eva sa babhūva so 'nta-velāyām etat-trayam pratipadyeta "akshitam asy achyutam asi prāṇa-saṁsitam asi" iti | "Ghora, the descendant of Angiras, having declared this [the preceding mystical lore] to Kuśāṇa the son of Devaki, 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:

_Tad ha etad yajna-darsanaṁ Ghoro nāmatatā Āngiraso gotrataḥ Kuśāṇāya Devaki-putrāya śishyāya ukṛtā uvācha | tad "etat trayam" ityādi vyavahitena sambandhaḥ | sa cha etad darsanaṁ śrutā apiśāsāḥ eva anyābhya vidyābho babhūva | itthāṁ cha viśiṣṭā iyaṁ vidyā yat Kuśāṇasya Devaki-putrasya anyāṁ vidyāṁ prati trid-vichheda-kari iti purusha-yajna-vidyāṁ stauti | Ghorah Āngirasah Kuśāṇaya ukṛtā imāṁ vidyāṁ kim uvācha iti tad āha | sa evāṁ yathokta-yajna-vid anta-velāyām maraṇa-kāle etan-mana-trayam pratipadyeta japed ity arthaḥ |

177 I am not aware whether Ghora is mentioned in connexion with Kuśāṇa in any other work.
prana-samśītaṁ pranaśya samśītāṁ samyak tanukṛitanca sūkṣmaṁ tatvam asi. . . . "A person, Ghora, by name, and an Āngirasa by family, having declared this doctrine of sacrifice to Krishṇa 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 Krishṇa, the son of Devaki, for any other knowledge. He now tells us what Ghora Āngirasa said after declaring this knowledge to Krishṇa. It was this: 'Let him who knows the aforesaid sacrifice, at the time of his death have recourse to, mutter, these three texts; . . . prana-samśītam means, 'thou art the very minute, and subtle principle of breath.'"

II. I shall next quote some passages of the Mahābhārata in which Krishṇa 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. 1513-1656), 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 (Drona-parvan, v. 2838) Arjuna is advised by Krishṇa 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 Jayadratha 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.). Krishṇa 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 Krishṇa 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 Vāśudeva (Krishṇa) bows down to the earth:

"The righteous Vāsudeva' (Kṛṣṇa) 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, Yakshas, and men, the supreme Brahma of meditative systems, the satisfied, 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. Kṛṣṇa then reverenced him with voice, mind, understanding, and act. 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 Śaṁtiparvan, vv. 13152 ff., which I shall quote further on, Kṛṣṇa 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.'"

Krishṇa 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" (viśvātmane viśvasrije viśvam āvṛitya tishṭhate). Arjuna now, after reverencing both Krishṇa 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 Krishṇa 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 (hasanāviva), says to Aśvatthāman: Satya-sauchārjava-tyāgais tapasā niyamena cha | kshāntyā matyā cha āhṛityā cha buddhyā cha vachasā tathā | 313. Yathāvad aham ārūddhaḥ Krishnena klishṭa-karmanā | tasmād ishṭatamaḥ Krishnād anyo mama na vidyate | "I have been duly worshipped by Krishṇa, 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 Krishṇa."

(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.) Krishṇa thus celebrates the greatness of Mahādeva: Nāham sa deva-devānām īśvarēśvaram aryayam | jagāma saranaṁ Drauṇir ekas tenābadhīd bahīn | 766 | prasanno hi Mahādevo dodhyād amaratām api | viryaṁ cha giriśo dadyād yenendram api sātayet | 767 | vedāham hi Mahādevāṁ tattvena Bharat- arshabha | yāni chāṣya purāṇāṁ karmāṁ 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 bhūtānām madhyam antaḥ cha Bhūrata | vicheshtate jagah chedaṁ sarvam asyaiva karmanā | 765. “Aśvatthāman 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 Kṛṣṇa. 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 Mahâdeva, who is an all-pervading god, yet is nowhere seen, who is the creator and the lord of Brahmâ, Vishṇu, and Indra, whom the gods, from Brahmâ 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 Brahmâ. 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 Nārāyana, 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 [him] with the eye of contemplation. Through his devotion to Rudra, the world is pervaded by the mighty Kṛishṇa. Having then propitiated that deity (Mahâdeva) at Badari, he (Kṛishṇa) obtained from the golden-eyed Maheśvara the quality of being in all worlds more dear than wealth. This Mādhava (Kṛishṇa) performed austerity for a full thousand years, propitiating Siva, the god who bestows boons, and the preceptor of the world. But in every mundane period (yuga) Maheśvara has been propitiated by Kṛishṇa, and has been gratified by the eminent devotion of that great personage. This unshaken Hari (Kṛishṇa), [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 [Kṛishṇa] 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 Maheśvara in all its extent."

Bhishma then calls upon Kṛishṇa, whom he designates as Vishṇu,
and as the divine teacher of gods and Asuras (surásura-guro deva Vīshno), to celebrate Mahādeva’s greatness. Krishna accordingly says (vv. 610 ff.):

Na gatiḥ karmanāṁ sakyā vettum iśasya tattvataḥ | Hiranyagarbha- 
pramukhoḥ devāḥ sendrāḥ maharshayah | na vidur yasya bhavanam 
Ādityāḥ sūkhma-dārsīnaḥ | sa kathaṁ nara-mātreṇa sakyō jñātuṁ satāṁ 
gatiḥ | tasyāham, asura-gnasya kāṁśchid bhagavato guñān | bhavatāṁ 
kirtayishyāmi vratesāya [vratesasya?] yathātatham | “The course of the deeds of Iśa (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.”

Krishṇa then relates how he had formerly seen Mahādeva. It appears that his wife Jāmbavatī (v. 616), daughter of the king of the monkeys183 (kapindra-purtī, v. 629), had come to him desirous of a son; she says (vv. 619 f.) :

Na hi te ‘prāpyam astiḥa trisūru lokeshu kinchana | lokān śripes tvam 
aparān ēkhān Yadu-kulodvāha | tvayā dvādaśa-varshāni vrataḥhūtena 
sūṣhyataḥ | ārādhya paśubhartaraṁ Rukminyāṁ jānītaḥ sutaḥ | “For there is nothing in these three worlds unattainable by thee (Krishṇa). Thou, scion of the race of Yadu, couldst create other worlds.184 By thee, after twelve years’ fasting and mortification,185 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 Jāmbavatī’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).186 Krishna enters, and is reverentially saluted by Upamanyu

183 He is, however, called king of the bears in the Vīshnū 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 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 Krishṇa is represented in that passage in a higher character than he is in the one before us, it will be more appropriately quoted further on.

186 One of the features of the hermitage is thus depicted in v. 651: Krīḍanti sar-
(v. 655), who tells him that after propitiating Mahādeva by austeritys, he shall obtain a son equal to himself (v. 658). 187 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.):

Hiranyakaśipur yo 'bhūd dānaro Meru-kampanaḥ | teta sarvāmaraś-varyaṁ S'arvāt prāptaṁ samārūbadam | tasyaiva putra-pravaro Mandaro nāma viśrutāḥ | Mahādeva-varāchchhakram varshārbudam ayod-hayat | Vishnoś chakrancha tad ghoraṁ vajram Ākhaṇḍalasya cha | śirnām purā 'bhavat śaṁta Grahasyāṃgeshu Keśava | yat tad bhagavatā pūrvaṁ dattaṁ chakraṁ tvaṁ nagha | jalāntara-charāṁ hatvā daityanca balagāruitam | utpāditaṁ Vīrāṅkena diptaṁ jvalana-sannibham | dattaṁ bhagavatā tadbhyāṁ durbharshaṁ tejasā 'dbhutam | na sākyāṁ drasḥtum anyena varjayaṁvī Pīnākinam | Sudarśanam bhavaty evam Bhavektaṁ tadā tu tat | Sudarśanau, tadā tasya loke nāma pratishthitam | taj jīrṇam abhavat śaṁta Grahasyāṃgeshu Keśava | Grahasyatibalasyange varadattasya dhimataḥ | na sastrīṁ vaḥancy ange chakraṁ vajra-śatāṁ api | ardāmūnāścha vibudhā Graheṇā subaliyasā | S'iva-datta-varāṁ jaghnur asurenānān Śrūṇ bhṛiśam |

"Hiranyakaśipu, the Dānava, the shaker of mount Meru, obtained from Śarva (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 Ākhaṇḍala 188 (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 Daitya, proud of his strength, was produced

pair nakulāḥ mrigaṁr vyāghṛāścha mitra-vat | prabhāvādipta-tapasāṁ sannikarṣhād mahātmānaṁ | "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 adhokshoja, are applied to Krīṣṇa.

188 This word occurs in Rigveda, viii. 17, 12, and the words are quoted in the Nirukta, iii. 10: Ākhaṇḍala praṇā hūyase | "O Akhaṇḍala, or destroyer, thou art invoked." It is rendered "shatterer," "destroyer," in Bohtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, s.v.
by Mahādeva.\textsuperscript{189} Bestowed upon thec by the god, resistless, and wonderful in its potency, it could not be looked upon by any other than Pinākin (the bearer of the bow, \textit{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 Siva.”

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 (\textit{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, Vishṇu, 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,\textsuperscript{a} 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,\textsuperscript{190} naked, with excited look (v. 752: \textit{krīdāte}).

\textsuperscript{189} In an account of Krishna's exploits in the Droṇa-parvan, however, it is said (v. 402) that the chakra was obtained by worshipping Agnī: \textit{Khāṇḍīva Pārtha-sahitas toshayitvā Hutaśanam | Āgneyam astraṁ durdharsaṁ chakraṁ lehe mahābalah |} In the same passage (v. 401) he is said to have obtained his shell (\textit{gāṅkha}) by conquering Panchajana in the infernal regions.

\textsuperscript{190} Literally, \textit{ingenti membro virili preditus.} Compare Sauptika-parvan, v. 289.
rishi-kanyābhīr rishi-patnībhīr eva cha | urddha-keśo mahāsepho nagno
evīkṛita-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 kiṃ anyais tair Īśaḥ kāraṇa-kāraṇam | na śūrana yañ anyasya lingam abhyarchyate suraiḥ | kasyānyasya suraiḥ sarvair lingam muktvā Mahēsvaram | archyate 'rchita-pūrvaṁ vā brūhi yady astī te
srutiḥ | yasya Brahma cha Viṣṇuḥ cha tvām chāpi sāha daivataiḥ |
archayetvāḥ sadā lingāṁ tasmāḥ chhreshāthato hi saḥ | na padmāṅkāḥ
na chakrāṅkāḥ na vajrāṅkāḥ yataḥ prajāḥ | lingāṅkā cha bhagāṅkā cha
tasmād Mahēsvaram prajāḥ | Devyāḥ kāraṇa-rūpa-bhāva-janitāḥ sarvāḥ
bhagāṅkāḥ striyo lingenāpi Karasya sarva-purushāḥ prayāksha-chih-
nikrītāḥ | yo nyat kāraṇam iśvarat pravadaṁ devyā cha yaḥ nānkitāṁ
trailokyāh sascharāḥchare sa tu pumāṁ vāhyo bhaved durmatiḥ | puṁlingāṁ
sarvam Īśānaṁ strī-lingāṁ vidhi chāpy Umāṁ | drābhyaṁ tanubhyaṁ
vyāptāṁ hi charācharam idāṁ jagat | “Is Īśa (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 Brahma and Viṣṇu, and thou (Indra), with the deities, con-
tinually worship, is therefore the most eminent. Since children bear
neither the mark of the loṭus (Brahma’s), nor of the discus (Viṣṇu’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 Ṛśvara (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 Umā; 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 āsthitāya haṁsa-yuktam manojavan | vāma-pārśva-gatūḥ chāpi tathā Nārāyaṇah sthitāḥ | Vainateyaṁ samāruhyā śankha-chakra-gadā-dharaḥ |

875 f. Astuvaṁ vividhaiḥ stotair Majhādevaṁ surās tadā | Brahmā Bhavaṁ tadā 'staushīd rathantaram udirayan | jyeshṭha-sāmnā cha deveśām jagau Nārāyaṇas tadā | griṇan brahma paraṁ S’akrah satarudriyam uttamam | Brahmā Nārāyaṇas chaiva devarājascha Kausikāḥ | asobhanta mahātmānas trayas trayāḥ ivāgnyah | 869. “On the left (right?) of the god was Brahmā, patriarch of the world, standing on a celestial car, drawn by swans, and fleet as thought. On the left was Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) mounted on Garuḍa, bearing a shell, discus and club. . . . . 875. The gods then lauded Mahādeva with various hymns. Brahmā celebrated him, reciting the Rathantara, while Nārāyaṇa hymned the god of gods with the Jyeshṭha sāman, and Indra, uttering that most eminent prayer, the excellent Satarudriya. Brahmā, Nārāyaṇa, and the king of the gods (Indra), the son of Kusika,191 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 Kausika 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 esha bhagavan devah sarva-sattvādīr avayāyah | sarva-tattva-vidhāna- jnaḥ pradhāna-purushah parah | yo 'srijad dakshinād angād Brahmānāṁ loka-sambhavam | vāma-pārśvat tathā Vishṇuḥ loka-rakshārtham Īśvarah | yugānte chaiva samprāpto Ṛudram Īśo 'srijat prabhur 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 Brahmadeva, the originator of the worlds, and from his left side Vishnu, 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 (kshiraudana) with his relations, and that they may ever enjoy the near presence (sānnidhya) 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, Krīṣhṇa expresses a desire that the god may vouchsafe to him a similar vision and the like favour. Upamanyu promises that Mahādeva shall appear to Krīṣhṇa 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 (Krīṣhṇa) is (vv. 964 ff.). Krīṣhṇa 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, Vishnu (the delight of his mother Aditi), and Brahmā, all uttering the rathantara sāma (S'atakratus cha bhagavan Vishnuḥ chāditī-nandanāḥ | Brahmā rathantarāṁ sāma ārayanti Bha- vāntike). Krīṣhṇa then describes the effect of this vision on himself (vv. 997 ff.):

Purastād dhīshēṭhitaḥ S'arvo mamāsit trīdaśeśvāraḥ | purastād dhīshēṭhī-
taṁ drishṭvā mameśānancha Bhāratasya Prajāpati-S'akṛntam jagad mām abhyadaikshata iksituṁ cha Mahādevaṁ na me śaktir abhūt tadā tato mām abravid devaḥ "paśya Ṛṣyaḥ Mahādeva vadasa ca tayā [tvaya?] hy ārādhitaś chāhāṁ satasas 'tha sahasrasaḥ | tvat-samo nāsti me kāścit trishu lokeshu vai priyaḥ" | śirasā vandite deve devi prītā hy Umā 'bhavat | tato 'ham abruvāṁ Sthānuṁ stulam Brahmādibhiḥ suraṁ "Before me stood Sarva, the lord of the gods. Beholding Isāna standing before me, the world from Prajāpati to Sakra (Indra) gazed upon me. I had no power to look on Mahādeva. The god then said to me, 'Behold, Śrīna, 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 Śrīnaḥ parāṁ bhaktim asmāsu tava satruhan | vriyataṁ atmanaḥ śreyah prītir hi tvayi me parā | vriṇīśvāśthau varān Śrīnaḥ dātāsmi tava sattāma | braḥi Yadavaśārdula yān ičchasi sudurlabhān | "We know, Śrīna, 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 desirlest." Śrīna 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 Brahmanas, (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 superadd sixteen thousand wives whose affection he should retain, and several other blessings. Mahādeva and his spouse then disappear, and Śrīna relates to Upamanyu all that has happened (v. 1034). That sage then goes on to tell him a story about a rishi called Tandī, who had formerly worshipped Mahādeva,
in the Kṛita 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 (Brahma S'atākratūr Vishṇur viśvedevāḥ maharshayāḥ | na vidus tvām tu tatvena kuto vetyāmahe vayaṁ). 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 Krishṇa (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 Krishṇa:

Aśubhaiḥ pāpakarmāṇa ye narāḥ kalushikriṭāḥ | Īśānaṁ na prapadyante tamo-rājasa-vrīttayaḥ | Īśvaraṁ samprapadyante dvijāḥ bhāvita-bhāvanāḥ | sarvathā vartamāno 'pi yo bhaktah paramēścare | sadriśo 'ranyavāsaśāṁ munnīnāṁ bhāvitaṁ manāṁ | Brahmanatecaṁ Keśavatvaṁ cha Sakratvaṁ vā suraiḥ saha | trailokyasyādhipatyāṁ vā tushṭo Rudraḥ prayaḥchati 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 Mahēśvara—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 Krishṇa), or of Indra, or the supreme lordship of the three worlds, including the deities.”

In a later part of the Anuśāsana-parvan, 7402 ff., Krishṇa relates to Yudhisṭhirā the benefits which had resulted to himself from his patient submission to the caprices and freaks of the irritable Brahman Durvāsas (an incarnation of Śiva, as it is stated below; see page 201), who, among other tricks, had yored Krishṇa's wife Rukminī to his car, and had wounded her with a goad, while drawing him on the road, and as a reward of Krishṇa's patient endurance of all this annoyance, had offered him his choice of boons, and had promised to Rukminī that she should be eminently renowned in the world, and the most distinguished of the sixteen thousand wives of Krishṇa, whom she should worship. The Brahman then disappeared, and Krishṇa 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.

Yudhishṭhīra then says to Kṛṣṇa (vv. 7458 ff.): Durvāsasah prasūdāt te yat tadā Madhusūdana | avāptam iva vijnānaṁ tan me vyākhyaṁ arhasi | mahābhāṣyancha yat tasya nāmāni cha mahātmanah | tattvato jnātum ichhāmi sarvam matimatāṁ vara | Vāsudevaḥ uvācha | Hanta te kṛtaśishyāmi namaskṛtya Kapardine | yad avāptam maya rājan śreya yach chāryitaṁ yaśaḥ | prayataḥ prātar utthāya yad adhiye viśaṃpati | prānjaliḥ śatarudriyaṁ tan me nigadataḥ śrīnu | Prajāpatiḥ tat sasrīje tapaso 'nte mahātapaḥ | S'ankaras te aṣṭijat tata prajāḥ sthāvara-jana-gamāḥ | nāsti kinchit param bhūtab Mahādevaḥ viśaṃpati | iha trishv api lokeshu bhūtānaṁ pravaro hi saḥ | na chaivotsahate sthātuṁ kinchid agre mahātmanah | na hi bhūtaṁ samaṁ tena trishu lokeshu vidyate | gandhenāpi hi suṅgrāme tasya kruddhasyā śatavah | visajñāḥ hata-bhū-viśiṣṭāḥ veṃ pante cha patanti cha | ghoraṃcha nindaṁ tasya Purjanya-
nindopanam | śrutā viśīryeḥ hridayāṁ devānapī api saṁyuge | yāṁcchā
gheṇa rūpeṇa paśyent kruddhaḥ pināka-dhrīk | na surāḥ nāsuraḥ loke na 
gandheravah na prannagah | kupite sukham edhante tasmān api guhāgatāḥ | Prajāpatiḥ tu Daṅkhasya yajato vitate kratau | vivyādha kupto yajnāṁ nirbhayas tv abhavat tada | dhanusāḥ vānum utsṛiṣya saghoshāṁ vinānāda cha | tenā sarma kutalḥ śaṁtīṁ viśadāṁ lehbhe surāḥ | viḍāde cha sahasā yajnē kupite cha Mahēśvare | tena jyā-tala-ghoshena sarve lokāḥ samākulāḥ | bahbhūvur avasāḥ Pārtha visheduḥ cha surāsuraḥ | āpaś chukshubhīre chaiva 
chakame cha vasundharā | vyādravān girīṛṣaṁ chāpi dyauḥ paphāla cha 
sarvaśaḥ | andhena tamaśā lokāḥ prāvritāḥ na chakāśire | prāyāṣṭā jyo-
tishāṁ bhāś cha sāha sūryena Bhārata | bhṛiṣam bhṛītas tataḥ śaṁtīṁ 
chakruṁ svāyaṇayanāṁ cha | rishayaḥ sarva-bhūtānaṁ atamanāḥ cha 
haitaśīḍaḥ | tataḥ so 'bhyaḍravad devān Rudro raudra-parākramāḥ | Bhagasya nayane kruddhaḥ prahareṇa vyāsātayat | Pūṣhānāṁ chābhi-
dudrāva pūḍena cha rūshāntaḥ | puroḍāsam bhakshayato dāsanāṁśa cha 
vyāsātayat | tataḥ praṇemur devāś te vepamānās tu S'ankaram | punaṁ 
cha sāndadhe Rudro dīptaṁ suniṣṭāṁ sāram | Rudrasya vikramāṁ 
ḍrishtvā bhītāḥ devāḥ sahaṛshibhiḥ | tataḥ prasādayəmah śarve te 
vibudhottānām | āpatā cha śatarudriyaṁ devāḥ kriyā 'naliṁ tada | 
samātyamānās tridasāiḥ prasasāda Mahēśvraḥ | Rudrasya bhāgaṁ yajne 
cha viśiṣṭāṁ te tv akalpayan | bhayena tridasāṁ rājan saranāṁ cha pra-
pedire | tena chaiva hi dushṭena (tushtena ?) sa yajno sandhito 'bhavat | yad yach chāpahṛitaṁ tatra tat tathaiva sa jivyat | Asurāṇam pūrṇy āsāṁ triṇi viṛyavataṁ divi | āyasaṁ rājataṁ chaiva savarṇam api chāparaṁ | nāsakat tāni Mahavā bhettum sarva-yuḍahair api | atā sarve Mahārūdraṁ jagmuḥ saranaṁ arditāḥ | tataḥ uchur mahātmāṇo devāḥ sarve samagataḥ | Rudra rauḍrāḥ bhaveṣyaṁti pāsavaḥ sarva-karmaṁ | jahi dāyīn saha purair lokāṁs trāyasa mānāda | sa tathoktas tathety uktvā kṛtva Visha- nūṁ sarottamam | saḷyam Agnīṁ tathā kṛtva punkhaṁ Vaivasvataṁ Yaman | vedān kṛtva dhanuḥ sarvān jyām cha śaivītrīm uttamām | Brah- māṇaṁ sārathīṁ kṛtva viniyujya cha sarvaśaḥ | triparavaṇa triśalyena kāle tāni bibheda saḥ | sarenādītya-varṇena kalāgni-sama-tejasā | te 'suraḥ sa-purās tatra dagāhāḥ Rudrenā Bhārata | tataḥ chaivānā gātuṁ drishvā bālam panchaśikham punaḥ | Umā jijnāsāmāṇā vai “ko 'yam” ity abravit 
| asāyataś cha Sākraśya vajreṇa praharishyataḥ | sa vaijraṁ stambha- yāmāsa tam bāhūm pariḥopānam | na sambubudhire chaiva devām tam bhuvaneṣvaram | sa-prajāpatayaḥ sarve tasmin sumahatiśvare | tato dhyā- 
vā tu bhaga-vān Brahmatīm amatāya- 
| yāmā śreshṭhaḥ iti jñātva 
vavande tam Umā-putiṇ | tataḥ prasādayāmāsur Umāṁ Rudravaḥ cha te 
suraḥ | babhūva sa tadā bāhur balahantur yathā purā | sa cāpi brāhmaṇo bhūtvā Durvāsāḥ nāmā viṛya-vān | Dvāra-vatyaṁ mama pure chiraṁ kālam upārasat | viprakārān prayunte sma subahūn mama veśmāni | tān udāratayā cāhām chakshhame chāti-duḥsahān | sa vai Rudravaḥ sa cha Sivaḥ so 'gnīḥ Sarvaḥ sa sarva- 
| jīt | sa vai chendraḥ cha Vaiyuḥ cha so 'śvinau sa cha Vidyutāḥ | sa chandraramḥ sa cheṣānaḥ sa Suryo Varuṇaś 
| cha saḥ | sa kālaḥ so 'ntako mrityuḥ sa tamo rātry ahāni cha | māsār- 
dha-māsuḥ rītavaḥ sandhye saṁvatsaraḥ cha saḥ | sa dhāta sa vidhāta 
cha viśvakarmā cha sarvām | naksatratāṁ grahaḥ chaiva diśo 'tha vidiśās 
tathā | viśva-mātir ameyāṁ bhagavān amara-dyutīḥ | ekadhā cha 
dvīdha chaiva bahuḥcha cha sa eva hi | tathā sahasradhā chaiva tathā 
sta-sahasrasaḥ | uḍīśaḥ sa Mahādevo bhūmaḥ192 sa bhaga-vān ajāḥ | na 
hi sakyāḥ gunāḥ vaktum api varsha-ṣatair api | Yudhishtira mahābhō 
nahābhūgyam mahātmānaḥ | Rudrāya (?) bahurūpāya bahū-nāmne 
nibodha ma Yuddantya Agnim Mahādevaṁ tathā Śtāgum Mahēsvaram | ekākshaṁ tryambakaṁ chaiva viśva-rūpam Śivaṁ tathā | dve taṇū tasya

192 See Böhtlingk and Roth, S. v. bhūman, vol. v., p. 1660, where several passages of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa are referred to in which a kindred word, bhūman, is applied as an epithet to Kṛishṇa. See also page 347 of the same vol.
devasya brāhmaṇāḥ vedaṇāḥ viduh | ghorāṁ anyāṁ śivaṁ anyāṁ te
| tanā bahuchā puṇaḥ | ugrā ghorā tanūr yā sā so 'gnir vidyut su bhā-
| skaraḥ | śiva saunyā chā yā tv asya dharmas tv āpo 'tha chandramāḥ
| ātmna no 'rdhaṁ tu tasyāgniḥ somo 'rdham puṇar uchyate | brahma-
| charyaṁ charatī ekā śivā yā 'ṣya tanuṣ tathā | yā 'ṣya ghoratamā
| mūrtir jagat sūnharatā tadā | 192 | īsvaratvāḥ mahatvāḥ cha Mahēśvarāḥ
| iti sMurataḥ | yaṁ nirdahati yat tikshna yaṁ ugro yaṁ pratāpavān | māṁsaśonita-majjādo yat tato Rudrāḥ uchyate | devānāṁ sumahān yach
| cha yach chāṣya vishayo mahān | yach cha viśvaṁ mahat pāti Mahādevas
tataḥ sMurataḥ | dhūmra-rūpaṁ cha yat tasya dhūrjaṭity ati uchyate | samedhayaṁ yaṁ nityān sarvān vai sarva-karmabhiḥ | manushyāṁ śivaṁ
| anvichhaṁs tasmād eva Śivaḥ sMurataḥ | ityādi

Anuśasana-parvan, v. 7458 ff.—Yudhishṭhira says to Kṛishṇa: "Thou
oughtest, Madhusūdana, to expound to me that knowledge which thou
then obtainedst by the favour of Durvāsas. 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 Satarudriya, 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. Sankara 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 (lit. '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 Drōṇap., 9632 ff.

193 It is part of the White Yajur Veda (Vājasaneyi Sanhitā). 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 Mahēśvara 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 the puṣḍāsā offering.  

194 For the older story about Bhaga and Pūshan, see Indische Studien, ii. 306 f.; and Taittirīya 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: Devāḥ vai yajñād Rudram antar āyam | sa yajnam avidyāḥ | taṁ devaḥ abhisamagachanta “kalpatāṁ naḥ idam” iti | te āvivātu “sviṣṭaṁ vai naḥ idam bhavishyaḥ yad imāṁ rūḍhayaś- yānam” iti | tat sviṣṭakṛtyaḥ sviṣṭakṛityavam | tasya avidāḥṁ nīrakṛtān (4) yavana sanāmitam | tasmāu yava-mātram avadyet | yaj jayuva ’vadyed ropayet tad yajnasya | yad upa cha striyād abhi cha ghāraved ubhayataḥ saṁśīyigī kuryāt | avadāya abhiḥkārayati | deviḥ sampādaḥ | devād yajānāḥ | pratiṣṭhītyār | yat tiraścāhīmam atihāred anahūvibhīdham yajnasya abhīvidhyet | agraṇa parihaṛatī tīrthena eva parihaṛati | tat Pūṣya paryaharan tat (5) Pūṣaḥ prāśya dato ’ruṣat | tasmāt Pūṣaḥ prapriṣṭa-bhāgaḥ | adantaka hi | tain devāḥ abruvau “vi vai ayam ardhi | apṛāśitiṛya vai ayam abhūd” iti | tad Bṛhaspataye paryaharan | so ’bhisveda Bṛha- 
apati “itthaṁ veda svam ārtīṁ ārīṣhyati” iti sa etam mantram apāyata | “The gods excluded Rudra” [in the form of Sviṣṭakṛt 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 (sviṣṭo).’ It is from this that the Sviṣṭakṛt insures the due performance of the rite.” [According to Professor Weber, Ind. Stud., ix. 217, the sviṣṭakṛt is the portion of the sacrifice deśtined for Agni Sviṣṭakṛt.] “They cut off the part which had been pierced to the extent of a barleycorn. 4. Wherefore let the adhivaryu priest cut off [the prāṣṭra 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 [ghee] underneath and sprinkle [ghee] above, he would cause the oblation to become swollen on both sides. He is therefore, after cutting off [the prāṣṭra], only to
trembling then made obeisance to Sāṅkara, 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 hands [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 Pūshan. Eating it, he broke his teeth. Wherefore Pūshan 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 prāśītra.’ They handed it to Brīhaspāti. 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 prāśītra broke Pūshan’s teeth was, that it was 7 Rudriya’ (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 arunāt (followed by tasmai), in the above passage, must stand for arunak (though the root rū is nowhere else conjugated in the seventh conjugation), and compares Taitt. S., vii. 4, 9, 1, asrid deabhāyām for asrig (see Ind. Stud., viii. 54, note); Kauś. 39, nyat for nyak; sammad-annā for sanyag-ājñā, Dhammap, verse 57; sānisridhīkh from sānisrip, Taitt. Br., i. 8, 1, 1; nadbhyaḥ from nap, R. V., x. 60, 6; adbhīkh, adbhyaḥ from ap; sainyat 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: 5 | Te ha uchur “upajñita yathā idāna amya asat kanīyo ha āhuter yathā idān syād” iti | 6 | te ha uchur “Bhajya evad daksinatāḥ aśīnaya pariharata | tad Bhagah prāśītyati tad yathā āhutan eva bhavishyati” iti | tad Bhajyā daksinatāḥ aśīnaya paryājāhrah | tad Bhago ‘vekshānchakre | tasya akshepi nirdadahā | tathā in nūnām tad āsa | tasmaḥ aḥur “anada Bhagah” iti | 7 | te ha uchur “no no atra aśamata | Pūṣheṇe etat pariharata” iti | tat Pūṣheṇa paryājāhrah | tat Pūṣha praśa | tasya dato nirjagāna | tathā in nūnām tad āsa | tasmaḥ aḥur “adantakah Pūṣhā” iti | tasmaḥ yam Pūṣheṇa caturṇi kurvanti prāpiṣṭānam eva kurvanti yathā adantakah 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 Pūshan.’ Pūshan ate it; it knocked out his teeth. That verily so happened. Wherefore they say, ‘Pūshan is toothless.’ Hence the cooked oblation they present to Pūshan is of ground materials.

In the sequel of this passage it is said, i. 7, 4, 9: Sa yat prāśītram avadyati yad eva atrāvādiḥham uṣṇasya yad Rudriyāṁ tad eva etad yamminite (bahāḥ koroti nish-karhati, Comm.) | “The prāśītra 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 prāśītī | “Agne tvā tvāyena prāśītī” iti | na vai Agniṁ kinechana pinasti | tathā u ha enam etad na kinasti | 16 | tad na adbhīkh hådet | “na id me idāṁ Rudriyāṁ dato hinasad” iti | tasmaḥ na adbhīkh hådet | 15. “He eats that,
joined hands, muttered the Satarudriya. Being thus lauded by the
gods, Mahesvara became pleased; and they apportioned to him a dis-
tinguished 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 Brähmāṇa:
i. 7, 3, 1: Yajñena vai devah divam upodakrāman | atha yo 'yaṁ devah paśuṁīm
īṣṭe sa iha ahiyata | tasmād vāstavyaḥ ity āhūḥ | vāstau hi tad ahiyata 2 | sa
yena eva devaḥ divam upodakrāmanīm tena u eva archaṇat śūṃyantāh cheruḥ |
atha yo 'yaṁ devah paśuṁīm īṣṭe yaḥ iha ahiyata (3) sa aikṣhata "āha asya
ha antaryanty u mā yajnād" iti | so 'nucchakrāma | sa āyatāya uttaratāh utpade|
sa esha svishṭaṅkṛitaḥ kālaḥ | 4 | te devah abruvan "mā visrakṣir" iti | "te vai
mā yajnād mā 'ntorgataḥ āhūtin me kalpayata" iti | "tathā" iti | sa samabhyāta
sa na āyat sa na kauchana aḥinat | 5 | te devaḥ abruvan "yāvantī na haviṁshi
grihitāṇy abhūvan sarveshōṁ teshāṁ hutm upaṇāntaḥ yathā 'smai āhūtin kalpa-
yāma" iti | 6 | te 'dhvaryum abruvan "yathāyupuraṇā hariṁśhah abhīghāraya | ekas-
mai avadānīya punar āpyāyaya | ayatāyānāni kuru tataḥ ekaikam avadānām
avadāya" iti | 7 | so 'dhvuryaḥ yathāyupuraṇa hariṁśhah abhyagārayad ekaimai avadā-
nāya punar āpyāyayad ayatāyāmāni akarot tataḥ ekaikam avadānām avādyat |
1. "By sacrifice the gods ascended to the sky. Now the god who rules over cattle
was excluded here. Hence men call him Vāstarya; for he was excluded [by remaining]
on the sacrificial ground (vēṣu). 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 Svishtakrit. 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 pre-
sented, 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 Bhāgavata Purāṇa, referred to by Böhlingk and Roth, s. v. Bhaga and
Pūshan, has the following verses on these gods: iv. 5, 20 | Bhagasya netre bhagavān
pāttasya rūṣhā bhūvi | ujjahāra sadasātho 'kṣhṇā yaḥ 'sapanam asūṣcah | 21 |
Pūṣāḥs chāpātyaḥ dantān Kālingasya yathā Balāḥ | S'apayāmane garimaṁ yo 'hasad
darśayaṁ dataḥ | "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 Bala had done to the king of Kalinga), because, when the great
god was being cursed, he had laughed, showing his teeth." vi. 6, 41 | Pūṣāṁ 'napat-
yaḥ pishṭādo bhagā-danto 'bhavat purā | yo 'sau Dakṣāḥyā kuptaṁ jahāsa viṛītā-
dvijaḥ | "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,\(^{195}\) 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 Vīśṇu his arrow, Agni its barb, Yama, the son of Vivasvat, its feather, all the Vedas his bow, and the excellent Śāvitrī (the Gāyatrī) his bowstring, and having appointed Brahmā his charioteer,\(^{196}\) 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.\(^{197}\) Again, beholding him a child in the lap, with five locks,\(^{198}\) Umā, desiring to know,\(^{199}\) said, 'Who is

\(^{195}\) See the second vol. of this work, pp. 378 ff., and the Karna-parvan of the M.Bh. vv. 1402 ff. below.

\(^{196}\) See the story from the Karna-parvan, cited below, vv. 1515 ff.

\(^{197}\) For the older forms of this story, see the second vol. of this work, pp. 380–384.

\(^{198}\) Like an ascetic, and according to Böhtlingk and Roth, s. v. pancaśīkha.

\(^{199}\) Or, is the proper reading jijnāsamānaṁ, 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 dagdha-vantaṁ tāṃ devī yāti praviśkhitum | bālam ankagataṁ kṛitiśvaya panahāvah kālaṁ jijnāsamānaṁ vai "ko' yam" ity abraśvī surāṁ | asyāyaṁ iva rakṣaya praharishyataḥ | bāhuṁ savajraṁ tāṁ tasya kruddhaśystambhayat prabhuh āgnaḥ bhagavavāṁśa tūryam sarva-lokeśvaro vihūh | tataḥ saṁstambhita-bhujāḥ S'akro deva-gaṇaṁ vṛitiḥ | ṇāgāṁ sa-suras tūryam Brahmasam prabhum avyayam | te tam praṇāmya śīrasā prochuh prāṇjalayaṁ tadā | kimapi ankagataṁ Brahman Pārvatāṁ hūtum adhītyaṁ | bāla-rūpa-dharaṁ drishtva nāmābhir abhīvādaṁ | tasmā tvāṁ prashṭum ichhāno nirjītaṁ yena vai vayam | ayukhyataḥ kāyaḥ ṇālaṁ līlaṁ sa-purandarāḥ | "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, jijnāsamānaṁ? 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 paralyzed 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 paralyzed, 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 constituted, as if in play, and without any fight.'"
CELEBRATION OF MAHĀDEVA: HIS TWO BODIES.

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 Aśvins, he is the lightning, he is the moon, he is Īśāna, he is Śūrya, 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 Dhātri, and Vidhātri, 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-thousandfold. Such is Mahādeva, the vast, the divine unborn being; his qualities cannot be declared in a hundred years." Kṛiṣṇa proceeds uninterruptedly at the beginning of a new section: "Large-armed Yudhisṭhīra, 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. Brahmans versed in the Veda know two bodies of this god, one awful, one auspicious; 200 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 (tīvra) and great (mahat), he is called Maheśvara. Since he consumes, since

200 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 Dhūrja. Since he constantly prospers all men in all their acts, seeking their welfare (śiva), he is therefore called 'Śiva,' etc., etc.

In the Bhīśma-parvan (vv. 793 ff.) Krīṣṇa is introduced as recommending Arjuna to worship the goddess Durgā:

Sanjayah uvācha | Dhīrtarāśṭram balaṁ dṛishtvā yuddhāya smupasthitam | Arjunasya hitārya Śrīvān vachanam abravit | Śrībhagavān uvācha | 'śuchir bhūte mahābāho sangrāmaḥbhimukhe sthitah | parājayaya satrūnāṁ Durgā-stotram udāraya | Sanjayah uvācha | evam ukto 'ṛjunaḥ sankhye Vāsudevena dīmatā | avatīrya rathāḥ Pārthaḥ stotram āha kṛitānjanīliḥ |

"Beholding the host of Dhrītarāśṭra come near to the conflict, Krīṣṇa, 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 Vasudeva, 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 Mahābhārata the divine nature of Krīṣṇa is disputed or denied. An instance of this denial is to be found in the following passage of the Sabhā-parvan, in which Siśupāla, prince of the Chedis, is introduced as objecting to the divine honours which had been paid to Krīṣṇa, and as ultimately suffering the penalty of his proud and contemptuous impiety at the hands of the incarnate deity.

Yudhīṣṭhīra having resolved to perform the Rājasūya sacrifice (Sabhā-parvan, v. 1211), is joined by Krīṣṇa, 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: Athaivaṁ bruvatāṁ evaṁ teshāṁ abhyāyayau Hariḥ | rishiḥ purāṇo vedātmā 'dṛisyāṁ chaiva vijñatāṁ | jagatās tathushāṁ śreṣṭhaḥ prabhavaḥ chāvyayaḥ (chāpyayaḥ?) cha ha | bhūta-bhavya-bhavan-nāthaḥ Kesavaḥ keśi-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, Krīṣṇa 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 eṣṭhām samastānāṁ tēja-bala-parākramaiḥ | madhye tapann īvāhātī jyotiṣīlaṁ īva bhūṣakaraṁ | āsūryaṁ īva süryaṇaṁ nirvātaḥ īva vayunāḥ | bhāṣitaṁ hāditaṁ 'chaiva Krīṣhṇene- 

dāṁ sado hi naḥ | tasmai Bhīṣmābhyanujnātaḥ Sahadevaḥ pratāpavān | upajahre 'tha vidhivad Vārṣhneyāyārghyaṁ uttamam | pratijagraha tat Krīṣhṇaḥ śāstra-dīśṭena karmanā | Śiśupalās tu tām pājāṁ Vasudeve na chakshame | “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 Krīṣṇa, 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 (Krīṣṇa) a most excellent offering, which the latter received with the act prescribed by the śāstra. But Śiśupāla could not endure that honour shown to Vasudeva.”

Śiśupāla then proceeds to state at length a variety of objections to what had been done (vv. 1338 ff.). He urges that Krīṣṇa was a “transgressor of the injunctions of law (smṛiti), a contemptible and ill-instructed person” (v. 1340: Ayam cha smṛity-atikṛantu hy apageyo 'ipa-darśanāḥ); that he was not a king, or a person venerable from age, his father Vasudeva being still alive (v. 1343: Athavā manyase Krīṣṇaṁ sthavraṁ Kuru-puṅgava | Vasudeve sthite vṛddhe katham arhati tat-sutaḥ | ); 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 ātmanāḥ pājāṁ tvam punar bahu manyase | havishah prāpya nisyandam prāśītā śevasa nirjane | ).

201 This line had previously occurred as part of verse 1218 of the same Parvan.
202 Similarly we read in Śiśupāla’s speech on the same occasion as given in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 74, 34: . . . Gopālaḥ kula-puṅsanaḥ | yathā kākāḥ puḍīśām saparyāṁ katham arhati | “How does this cowherd, the vīlest 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, Sisupāla leaves the assembly, followed by Yudhishṭhira, who endeavours to soothe him. Bhīṣma then defends Krishna’s claims to the honour which he had received (vv. 1377 ff.):

“Na hi kevalam asmākam ayam archyatamo ’chytayaḥ | trayāṇām api lokānām archanīya mahābhuhajah | Krishnena hi jītaḥ yuddhe bahavah kshatriyarshabhāḥ| jagata sarvaṁ cha Vārshneye nikhilena pratisthitam| tasmāt satsv api vṛiddhesu Krishnaḥ archāmi netarān | . . . . 1382.

Na kevalaṁ vayaṁ kāmaḥ Chedi-rāja Janārdaṇaṁ | na satvamḥ katham ardharātmāḥ vā kathanchanaṁ | archāmahe ’rchitaṁ saddhīr bhuvī bhūta-sukhavaham | Yasaḥ sauryaṁ jayaṁ chāsyā vijnāyārcharāṁ prayujmahe | na cha kaśchid ihāsmābhīḥ subalaḥ ’py aparikṣhitāḥ | guṇair vṛiddhān atikramya Harir archyatato mataḥ | jāna-vṛiddho deviṭināṁ kshatriyānāṁ 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 Krishna: and the whole world rests upon Vārshneya. Wherefore, even though there be aged men [present], I worship Krishna, 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 Janārdaṇa, 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-ādi-pālakaḥ ity arthaḥ | kutsitaṁ veda-viparītaṁ lapanti iti kulapāḥ pākhaṇḍāḥ | tān aṁsate samāghatasyati iti tathā saḥ | “akākah” kāṁ cha akāṁ cha kāke (=kō+ōke) sukha-dukhhe te na vidyate yasya saḥ | “akākah” āptakāmaḥ ity arthaḥ | sa yathā āptakāmaḥ deva-yogam purogīsa-mātrām na arhati tu sarvasvam api tathā yaṁ śrī-krishṇa brahmavari-yogyaṁ samarpayā-mātrāṁ katham arhati | kinte utma-samarpaṇam api arhati ity arthaḥ | “Gopāla” means the protector of theVeda, the earth, etc. ‘Ku-lapāḥ’ are those who speak what is evil, contrary to the Veda, heretics. ‘Kulapaṁsaṇa’ (Ku+lapa+āṁsana) is thus one who destroys (āṁsate) such persons. ‘Akākah’ (the commentator elyoses here to suppose that there is an elided e between yathā and kēkah) is one to whom (‘kēke’) pleasure and pain (ka+e+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 Krishna does not deserve merely the offering suitable for a Brāhmaṇ-rishi, but also the offering up of one’s self.”
of worship. In knowledge he excels Brahmans, and in force Kshatriyas.” . . .

1386: Pujyatayäche Govinde hetu dväv api saṁśthitau | veda-vedāṅga-vijnānam balaṁ chāpy adhikaṁ tathā | nṛṣaṁ loke hi ko ’nyo ’sti viśish-ṭaḥ Kesavād rite | dānaṁ dākṣhyaṁ śrutaṁ śavyaṁ hriḥ kirtir buddhir uttamaṁ | sannatiḥ śrīr dhrīritis tushṭiḥ pushtiṣca niyatā ’chyute | tam imaṁ loka-sampannam āchāryam pitaraṁ gurum | arghyam architam archāraṁ sarve saṁkṣhantum arthaḥ | ritvīg gurur vivāhyaś cha snātaṁ nṛpatiḥ priyaḥ | sarvāṁ etad Hṛṣīkēsas tasmād abhyarchito ’chyutah | Kṛṣṇaḥ eva hi lokānāṁ utpattir api chāpyayaḥ | Kṛṣṇasya hi krite viścām idam bhūtaṁ charācāram | esha prakṛitrir avyaktā kartā chaiva saṅtanaṁ | paraś ca sarvābhūtebhyaḥ tasmād pujyatamo ’chyutah | Buddhīr mano mahad vāyus tejo ’mbhaḥ kham mahā cha ya’ | chatur-vidhaṁ cha yad bhūtam sarvaṁ Kṛṣṇe pratishṭhitam | . . . .

1396: Sa-devakeshu lokeshu bhagavān Kesavo mukham | ayaṁ tu purusho bālaḥ Siśupālo na budhyate | sarvatra sarvadā Kṛṣṇaṁ tasmād evam prabhāṣate | yo hi dharmaṁ vicinīyād utkṛṣṭam matimān narāḥ | so vai paśyed yathā dharmān na tathā Chedi-rād ayam| sa-vṛddha-bālesv athārav āparīthveshu mahātmasu | ko nārham manyate Kṛṣṇaṁ ko vā py evaṁ na pūjayet | athaṁnaṁ dūṣkṛitāṁ pūjāṁ Siśu-pālo vyavasyati | dūṣkṛitāyaṁ yathānyaṁ tathā ’yaṁ kartun 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 Kesava? 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,—Hṛṣīkēsa is all this, and therefore he has been honoured. It is Kṛṣṇa 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) Kṛṣṇa. 203 He is un-

203 The grounds urged for honouring Kṛṣṇa in this and the following verses are of a different character from these 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 (mahaţi), air, fire, water, sky, and earth—whatever fourfold being exists—all depends upon Krīṣṇa. . . . . 1396. The divine Keśava is chief among the worlds including the gods. But this foolish man, Śisupāla, does not know that Krīṣṇa [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 Krīṣṇa as honourable, or who will not reverence him? Śisupāla treats this honour as unduly paid. But it having been unduly paid, he should act as is befitting.”

Śisupāla afterwards renews his vilifications of Krīṣṇa, in a long harangue, of which the following is a specimen (vv. 1433 ff.):

1433. Śisupālaḥ uvācha | vibhiṣhikābhīr bahuḥbhir bhāṣyayan sarvas-paṁthivān | na vyapratrapo kasmād vṛiddhāḥ san kula-pāṁsanaḥ | yuktam etat trītiyāyām prakṛitau cartatā tvayā | vaktuṁ dharmaṁ apetart-hāṁ tuvaṁ hi sarva-kurūttama[h] | nāvī naur iva sambaddhā yathā 'ndho vā 'ndham anvijāt | tathā bhūtāḥ hi Kauravyāḥ yesām Bhīṣmā tvam agrāṇiḥ | Pātanā-ghātā-pūrvāṇi karmāṇi asya viśeshataḥ | tvayā kirtya-yāt 'smākam bhūyaḥ pravayathitam manah | avaliptasya mūrkhasya Keśavaṁ stotuṁ iḥhataḥ | katham Bhīṣmā na te jīhva śatadheyaṁ vidīrya-yate | yatra kutsā prayoktavyā Bhīṣhma bālatarair naraṁ | tam imaṁ jauna-vṛiddhāḥ san gopam saṁstotum iḥhais | yady anena hatā bālīye śakuniḥ chitram atra kim | tae vā 'śva-vrīshabhaṁ Bhīṣmā yau na yuddha-viśāradau | chetana-rahitaṁ kāśṭhūṁ yady anena nipātiyam | pādena sakaṭam Bhīṣmā tu-tra kim kīram adbhutam | valmīka-mātrāḥ saptāhaṁ yady anena dhīrito 'chalāḥ | tadā Govardhano Bhīṣmā na tath chitram matam mama | bhuktam etena bahu annaṁ kriḍatā naga-mūrdhanī | iti te Bhīṣmā śriṇvānāḥ paraṁ vismayam āgataḥ | yasya chānena dharmajña bhuktam annam bālīye sa | chānena hataḥ Kaṁsāḥ ity etan na mahābhutam | na te śrutam idam Bhīṣmā nānaṁ kathayatāṁ satām | yad vakṣhyte tvāṁ adharma-jñaṁ vākyāṁ Kuru-kulaḥdam | strīṣu goshaḥ na śastrāṇi pātayet brāhmaṇeshu cha | yasya chānena bhunjita yasya cha syāt pratiśrayaḥ | iti santo 'nuśasanti sajjanaṁ dharmaṁ sadā | Bhīṣmā loke hi tut sarvāṁ vitathāṁ tvayai dṛiṣyate | jauna-vṛiddhāṁ cha

VOL. IV.
vriddham cha bhuyāṁsaṁ Keśavam mama | ajānataḥ ivākhyāśi saṁstuvan
Kaurava-dhama | go-ghnaḥ stri-ghnaḥ cha san Bhiṣhma tvad-vākyād yadi
pujyate | evam-bhūtaḥ cha yo Bhiṣhma kathāṁ saṁstuvan arhati | . .
1451. Nunam prakṛitir 乃至 te jaghanyā ātā śaṁśayah | atā pūpiyasī
chaishām Pāṇḍavaṁām apiṣhyate | yeshām archyatamāḥ Krīṣṇas teāṁ
cha yeshām pradarasakah | dharmavāṁs tvam adharmau jnāḥ satām mārgaṁ
avaplutaḥ | ityādi |

Śiśupāla answers Bhiṣhma: “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, Bhiṣhma, art the leader. Our minds have frequently been vexed by thee when detailing his (Krīṣṇa’s) slaughter of Pūtana205 and other feats. How is it, Bhiṣhma, 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 Sakuni,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: 

205 A female demon slain by Krīṣṇa.—See Wilson’s Vishnu Purāṇa, p. 506 (vol. iv., p. 276, of Dr. Hall’s ed.).

206 See the Udyoga-parvam 4409, where Pūtana and Śakuni (there spelt with a long i) are mentioned together as having been slain by Krīṣṇa in childhood.

207 See Vishnu Purāṇa, p. 508 (vol. iv., p. 279, of Dr. Hall’s ed.).

208 See Vishnu 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 revered,—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 Krīṣṇa 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 Sīśupāla, though the latter is anxious to fight him. Bhīṣma then goes on (1494 ff.) to give Bhīmasena an account of Sīśupāla'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 Krīṣṇa came and took him into his lap, and the infant got rid of his superfluous members. On seeing this, his

309 See above, pp. 152 f.

310 On this story of Sīśupāla Lassen remarks (Instr. Antiquities, i. p. 674 first ed.; p. 822 second ed.): "Sīśupāla 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 Sīḍūpāla's offences. Kṛṣṇa promises to pardon a hundred. Bhīṣma then proceeds (v. 1518 ff.):

Evam  eṣa  nirpaḥ  pāpaḥ  Sīḍūpālaḥ  sumanda-dhīḥ  |  tvāṃ  samāhārayate  
vīra  Govinda-vara-darpitaḥ  |  Nāiśā  Chedi-pater  buddhir  yayā  tvā  
′hva-  yate  ′chyutam  |  nūnam  esha  jagad-bhartuḥ  Kṛṣṇa-sayina  vinischayaḥ  |
ko  hi  mām  Bāmasenādyā  kṣitāv  arhāt  pārthivaḥ  |  ksheptum  kāla-pari-  
tātmā  yathaisha  kula-pāṃsanaḥ  |  esha  hy  asya  mahābhāhus  tejo  'ūsā  cha
Hārer  dhruvam  |  tama  eva  punar  ādātum  ichhaty  uta  tathā  viṃhūḥ  |
yenaisha  Kuru-sārdula  sārdulaḥ  iva  Chedi-rāt  |  garjaty  ativa  durbuddhiḥ  
sarvān  asmān  achintayan  |

"Thus this wicked king Sīḍūpāla, 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 Bhāmasena, ought to-day to revile me, deprived by-destiny of his reason, like this degrader of his race?’ For this large-armed (Sīḍūpāla) 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 grows loudly, like a tiger, disregarding us all.”

Sīḍūpāla 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.): "Sīḍūpāla is probably an earlier name of Śiva, who is called 'Paśupati,' or lord, protector, of beasts. 'Śiṣu' denotes the young of men and beasts, and 'pāla' protector. He had a second name 'Sunitha' (Sabhā. v. 1410), which no doubt was the proper one."
any one who was desirous to incur speedy destruction should challenge him to fight. Sisupala hereupon challenges Krishna; and the narrative proceeds:

(Verse 1561 ff.): Tatah srutvajva Bhishnasya Chedi-râd uru-vikramâḥ | yuyutsur Vâsudevena Vâsudevam uvâcha ha | âhaye tvâṁ râpaṁ gachha mayâ vîrdham Janârdana | yâvad adya nihannî tvâṁ sahaîm sarva-Pândavâh | saha tvâya hi me badhyâh sarvathâ Krishna Pândavâh | nripatin samatikramya yâir arâjâ tvam architaḥ | ye tvâṁ dâsaṁ arâjânam bâlyâḥ archanti durmatim | anarham arha-vat Krishna badhyâs te iti me matih | ity uktaâ râja-sârdula [s?] tasthau garjann amarshaâh | evam ukte tatah Krishna mridu-pûrcam idaṁ vachâḥ | uvâcha pârthivân sarvân sa samakshâm cha Pândavân | esha naḥ satrur atyantam pârthivâḥ Sâtvati-sutaḥ | Satvatanâṁ nrisâmsâtmâ na hito 'napakârînâm | Prâg-jyotisha-puram yâtân asmân jnâtâ nrisâmsa-krit | adahad DeVrakâm esha seasriyaḥ san narâdhipâḥ | kridato Bhoja-râjasya esha Raivatake girat | hatvâ baddhâva cha tân sarvân upâyât sea-puram purâ | astamedhe hayam medhyam utrishtaṁ râbhibhir vritam | pitur me yajna-vîgnârtham afarâ pâpa-nîschaâyaḥ | Sauvîrân pratijîtânâcha Babhor esha tapasvinaḥ | bhâryâm abhayahard mohâd akâma[m?] tâm ito gataṁ | esha mâyâ- pratichkâhânaḥ Kârûshûrthe tapasvinim | jahâra Bhadrâṁ Vaiśâlm mâtulasya nrisâmsa-vat | pitri-vasuḥ krite dukhkham sumahad marshayamy aham | dishtyâ hidaṁ sarva-râjâm sannidhav adya vartate | pasyanti hi bhavanto 'dya maya ativa vyatikramam | kritâni tu parokshham me yâni tâni nibodhata | imaṁ täv asya na sakshyâṁ kshantam adya vyatikramam | arapelâd badhârhasya samagre râja-mandâle | Rukmiñyâṁ asya mûdhasya prârthanaḥ "sîd mumûrshatah | na cha täm prâptavân mûdhaḥ sûdraḥ vedasrutim eva | evam-âdi tatah sarve sahitâs te narâdhipâḥ | Vâsudeva- vachâḥ srutvâ Chedi-râjâṁ vyagarhayan | tasya tad-vachanaṁ srutvâ Sisupâlaḥ pratâpavân | jahâsa svanavadhâsaṁ vâkyâm chedam uvâcha ha | mat-pûrvâm Rukminiṁ Krishna samaśtu parikrtayan | viseshatah pârthiveshu vriḍâṁ na kurushe katham | manyamâno hi kaḥ satsu purushâḥ parikrtayet | anaya-pûrvâṁ striyaṁ jatû tvad-anyo Madhusûdana | kshama vâ yadî te sraddhâ ma vâ Krishna mama kshama | krudhdh vâ 'yî prasannâd vâ kiṁ me tvatto bhavishyatî | tâthâ brucataḥ evâsya bhagavân Madhusûdanâṁ | manasâ 'chintayach chakram daiya-garvanisûdanam | etâsmîṁ eva kâle tu chakre hata-gate sati | uvâcha bhagavân uchchârâm vâkyâṁ vâkyâ-vîsâradh | śprîcantu me mahipâlâḥ yenaîtut
"'The king of the Cheedis, 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, Janârdana, till I slay thee with all the Pândavas. For together with thee, Krishna, I must utterly destroy the Pândavas, 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 Pândavas, in their presence: 'This son of Sâtvati, O princes, is the bitter enemy, truculent and ill-disposed, of us the Sâtvatas, who have done him no wrong. This malignant man, a sister's son, knowing that we had set out for the city of the Prâgijotishas, burned Dwârakâ. 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 Babhru, who had set out to return to [the country of] the Sauviras, who had gone hence, and who had no passion [for him]. Under a magical disguise, he, like a cruel wretch, carried off for the Kârusha the devout Bhadrâ, daughter of Višâla, [the daughter] of my maternal uncle. For the sake of my father's sister (Sîsupâla'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 Rukmini, but the fool did not obtain her, as a Sûdra 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 Sīśupāla, hearing these words, laughed a sonorous laugh, and thus spoke: ‘How is it, that thou art not ashamed, Kṛishṇa, thus in the assembly, and especially before the princes, to make mention of Rukmini, who was betrothed to me?’ For what man but thou, Madhusūdana, after reflection, would mention among respectable persons a woman who had been betrothed to another? Forgive me, Kṛishṇa, 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 Madhusūdana 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 vicer 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.”

211 Rukmini had been betrothed to Sīśupāla, as we are told in the Vishnū Purāṇa, v. 26, 1 ff. (Wilson, p. 573, first ed.; p. 69, vol. v. of Dr. Hall’s ed.): Bīskmakaḥ Kūṇḍīne rījā Vīdardha-vishaye ‘bhavat | Rukmiṇī tasyābhavat putra Rukmiṇī cha 
varāṅganaḥ | Rukmiṇīṁ chakame Kṛishṇāḥ sā cha tāṁ chāru-kāsiniṁ | na daadau yāchate 
chaināṁ Rukmi dveshṣaya chakrīṇe | daadau cha Sīśupālasya Jarāśandha-prachoditaḥ | 
Bhīṣmako Rukmiṇīṁ sārdāhāṁ Rukmiṇīṁ uru-vikraṇāḥ | ‘Bhīṣmaka was king in 
Kūṇḍina, in the country of the Vīdardhas. Rukmin was his son, and the beautiful 
Rukmini (his daughter). Kṛishna 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 Jarāśandha, Bhīṣmaka, mighty in valour, together with 
Rukmin, gave her to Sīśupāla.’ Kṛishṇa 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 Harivaṁśa, sect. 117, vν. 6579 ff.; and in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. sections 43 ff.

212 See the sequel, vv. 1585–1588. The Vishnū Purāṇa (Wilson’s translation, p. 437, 
first ed.; vol. iv. p. 104, of Dr. Hall’s ed.) tells that Sīśupāla had been in a former 
birth the Daitya Hiraṇyakaśipu, who was killed by Vishnū in his man-lion incarnation. 
He afterwards became Rāvana, who was slain by Rāma. In his character as Sīśupāla he evinced an intense hatred towards Vishnū, “a portion of the supreme being, 
who had descended to lighten the burthens of the earth,” (V. P. iv. 14, 14: Sīśupāl-
atvena bhagavato bhū-bhūravatāraṇiya avatirnāṁśasya Yūndarikanayanākhyasya 
upari dveshānubandham atitarāṁ cha kāraṁ |) and was in consequence slain by him;
SANJAYA, IN OPPOSITION TO DURYODHANA,

Duryodhana, the son of Dhritarāṣṭra, and the principal leader of the Kurus, is represented as manifesting a similar disbelief of Kṛṣṇa's divine character, or at least as maintaining a proud and contumacious resistance to his claims. In the Udyoga-parvau (vv. 2527 ff.), Sanjaya unfolds the divine nature of Kṛṣṇa, "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" (prthivin-chāntarikshancha dyāṁ chaiva Purushottamaḥ | manasaiva visishtātmā nayaty ātma-vāsāṁ vaśi) | He then goes on to say, vv. 2529 ff.:

Ekato vā jagat kṛitnam ekato vā Janārdanaḥ | sārato jagataḥ kṛitnād atirikto Janārdanaḥ | bhasma kuryād jagad idam manasaiva Janārdanaḥ | na cha kṛitnaṁ jagad cīhaktam bhasmikartuṁ Janārdanaṁ | yatoḥ satyam yato dharmo yato hrir ārjavāṁ yataḥ | tato bhavati Govindo yataḥ Kṛṣṇas tato jayaḥ | prthivīṁ chāntarikshancha divanca Purushottamaḥ | vicheshtayati bhūtātmā kriḍann iva Janārdanaḥ | sa kṛtvā Pāṇḍavān satraṁ lokaṁ sammohayann iva | adharmā-niratāṁ mūḍhān dagdhum ichhati te sutān | kāla-chakraṁ jagadh-chakraṁ yuga-chakranca Keśavaḥ | ātma-yogena bhagavān parivartayate 'niśam | kālasya cha hi mrityośsa jangama-sthāvarasya cha | iśate bhagavān ekaṁ satyam etad bravimi te | iśann api mahāyogī sarvasya jagato Hariḥ | karmāny ārabbate kartuṁ kināśaḥ iva vardhanaḥ | tena vanchayate lokāṁ māyāyogena Keśavaḥ | ye tam eva prapadyante tena muhyanti mānāvāḥ | Dhrita-rāṣṭrāḥ uvācha | kathaṁ tvām Mādhavaṁ vedhā sarva-loka-mahēśvaram | katham enaṁ na vedāhaṁ tad mahāchakṣuḥ Sanjaya | Sanjayaṁ uvācha | śiśu rājan na te vidyā mama vidyā na hīyate | vidyā-hīno tamo-dhvastra nābhijānāti Keśavan | vidyāyā tāta jānāmi triyugam Madhusūdanam | kartāram akrītaṁ devam bhūtānāṁ prabhavāpyayam | Dhīrattāḥ

but as his thoughts were "constantly engrossed by the supreme being," Sīśupāla 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 Kṛṣṇa as an object of hatred was ever present to Sīśupāla'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 being slain by him, 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, Sīśupāla's brother, king of the Sālvas (whose capital was Saurāṅga), to repense his death, his assault on Dvārakā, his desire to slay Kṛṣṇa, and the destruction which he thereby drew upon himself, are narrated in the Vana-parvau, vv. 615-890.
uvâcha | Gâvalgâne 'tra kâ bhaktir yâ te nityaṁ Jânardane | yathâ trai am abhijânâsi iva yugam Madhusûdanan | Sanjayaḥ uvâcha | mâyâṁ na seve bhadram te na vrithau dharmaṁ âchare | suddha-bhâvaṁ gato bhaktyâ sâstrâd vedmi Janârdanam | Dhritarâshâtraḥ uvâcha | Duryodhana Hrishi- keśan prayâdayasa Janârdanam | âpto naḥ Sanjayas tata śaraṇaṁ gachha Keśavam | Duryodhanaḥ uvâcha | Bhagavân Devaki-putro lokâṁ ched nihanishyati | pravaddâ Arjune sakhyâṁ nāhaṁ gachhe 'dyā Keśavam | 2529. "On the one side the whole world, on the other Janârdana,—in his essence Janârdana 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 Krishṇa, he is therefore victory. The chief of males (or spirits), Janârdana, the soul of beings, imparts activity to the earth, air, and sky, as if in sport. He having made for the Pândavas a sacrifice, deluding, as it were, the world, wishes to burn up thy (Dhritarâshâtra'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 immovable,—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. Dhritarâshâtra said: How dost thou know Mádhava, 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 Madhusûdana, who exists in the three ages (yugas), the maker, the unmade, the god, the source of beings, and the cause of their destruction. Dhritarâshâtra asks: O, Gâvalgâni (Sanjaya), what is this devotion of thine to Janârdana, 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 Janârdana from the scripture (śâstra). Dhritarâshâtra said: Duryodhana, do thou seek Hrishikesâ, Janârdana: Sanjaya is to us an authoritative teacher: resort to Keśava as thy
refuge. Duryodhana said: If the divine son of Devakī should destroy the worlds, I should not, declaring friendship for Arjuna, resort today to Keśava.”

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 (nihato Bhimasenena smartāśi vachanam pituh).” After some further conversation, Dhṛtarāṣṭra asks to be further instructed about Krīṣṇa, when Sanjaya proceeds as follows (vv. 2560 ff.):

Sanjayaḥ utācha | śrutam ma Vāsudevasya nāma-nirvachanaṁ subham |
| yavat tatārābhijāne 'ham aprameyo hi Keśavaḥ |
| vasanāt sarva-bhūtānāṁ |
| vasutvād deva-yonitāḥ |
| Vāsudevasa tato vedyo viṛhatvād Vishnur uchyate |
| maunād dhyānāṁ cha yogāccha viddhi Dhārata Mādhavam | sarva-tattvamayatvāḥ cha Madhūḥa Madhusūdanaḥ |
| krishir bhū-vācchakāḥ sabdo nascha nirvṛiti-vācchakāḥ |
| Vishnus tad-bhāva-yogāccha Krīṣṇo bhavati Sāttvataḥ |
| pūndarikakam paraṁ dhāma nityam akshayam avyayam |
| tad-bhāavat Pundarikākṣo dasyu-trāsāj Janārdanaḥ |
| yataḥ sattvād na chyavate yach cha sattvād na hīyate |
| sattvataḥ Sāttvatas tasmād ārsha-bhād Vṛishabhkeśaḥaḥ | na jāyate janitrā 'yam Ajas tasmād anikajit |
| devānāṁ sva-prakāśatvād damād Dāmodaro vibhuḥ |
| harṣat sukhāt sukhaśvāryād Hṛishiḥkeśatvam aśnute |
| bāhubhyām rodasī bibhrad mahābuh iti smṛitaḥ |
| adho na kshiyyate jātu yasmāt tasmād adhokṣajāḥ |
| narānāṁ ayanāḥ chāpi tato Nārāyahāṁ smṛitaḥ |
| pūranāt sadānāṁ chāpi tato 'sau Purushottamanāḥ |
| āsante cha sataś chaiva sarvasya prabhavyayaḥ |
| sarvasya cha sadā jnānāt Sarvam etam prachaksate |
| satye pratishṭhitāḥ Krīṣṇaḥ satyam atra pratishṭhitam |
| satyāt satyanācha Govinda tasmat Satyo 'pi nāmataḥ |
| Vishnur viṃkramāṇād devo jayanaṁ Jīṣhṇur uchyate |
| śāśvatavād Anantaśca Govindō vedanād gavām |
| atattaṁ kurute tatvāṁ tena mohayate prajāḥ |
| evamvidho dharma-nityo bhagavān Madhusūdanaḥ |
| āgantu hi mahābuhūr ānṛṣāṁśyārthah achyutaḥ |

“Sanjaya says: Thou hast heard from me the auspicious explanation of Vāsudeva’s names, as far as I understand the subject; for Keśava is immeasurable. He is to be known as Vāsudeva from his dwelling (vasanā) in all beings, from his issuing as a Vasu from a divine womb. From his greatness (viṛhatvāt) he is called Vishnu. From his silence, (maunā) contemplation, and abstraction, do thou know him to be Maṇḍhava. From his possessing the nature of all principles, he is
SANJAYA EXPLAINS KRISHNA'S NAMES.

Madhuhan, and Madhusūdana. The word krishi denotes 'earth,' and na denotes 'cessation'; Vishnu, 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 Puṇḍarikākṣa. From terrifying the Dasyus he is Janārdana. Inasmuch as he does not fall from, or fail in, existence (sattva), therefore, from his existence, he is Sāttvata, and from his excellence (ārshabhat) he is Vṛṣabhekkṣaṇa. 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 Dāmodara. 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 kṣhīyate) he is Adhokshaṇa. From movement among men (narāṇām ayanat) he is called Nārāyaṇa. From filling (pūranāt) and from abiding (sadāt) 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 (satya), and truth is based on him, and Govinda is truer than truth, therefore he is also called Satya. The god is called Vishnu from striding (vikramanāt), Jīshnu from conquering (jayanāt), Ananta from his eternity, and Govinda from the possession of cattle (vedanād gavām). He makes the reality an unreality, and so deludes creatures. Of such a character, constant

213 Perhaps the true reading is nāroṣam, "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.: Nashaṁ cha dharaṇīṁ purvaṁ avindaṁ vai guhāgatāṁ | Govindāḥ iti tenāham devaṁ vāgghir abhisthitāḥ | "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 Adi-parvan, v. 1216, the word Govinda is thus interpreted: Gāṁ vinaṁ bhagavatā Govindānāṁitajñāsā | varāha-rūpyānā chaṁtar vikshobhita-jalāvīlam | "[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-prādha-kṣaya-vāsād udvittormi-samākulanā | "[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 Dhṛitarāśtra: ‘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 Vṛṣṇis, 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-
scendant of Sūra [Krishna] 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 Sādhyas, Vasus, Aśvins, Maruts, and all the gods along with Indra were produced, and also the forms of the Yakshas, Gandharvas, and Rākshasas. Sankarshanā and Dhananjaya also were manifested from his arms, Arjuna armed with a bow from his right, and Rāma holding a plough from his left, Yudhisṭhirā and Bhīma, the sons of Mādrī, from his back. Next Andhakas and Vṛishnis, 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 Kṛishṇa."

In the next passage, taken from the Karna-parvan also, Duryodhana, and other warriors on his side, put themselves on the same level as Kṛishṇa (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 (Kṛishṇa) (v. 1302: Sārathis tasya Govindo mama tādṛṣṭa na vidyate); while in other respects he regards himself as having the advantage (v. 1304). As, then, Kṛishṇa, creator of the world, preserves the car of Arjuna (Kṛishṇaṣ cha srashtā jagato ratthaṁ tam abhirakshati\(^{216}\)), if, in like manner, Sālya, king of the Madras, the ornament of the battle-field, who is equal to Sauri (Kṛishṇa) and, as well as Dāśārha, (Kṛishṇa) 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: Ayam tu sadṛṣaḥ S'auṣeḥ S'alyaḥ samiti-sobhanaḥ | sārathyam yadi me kuryād dhruras te vijaya bhavet | . . . 1311 : Evam abhyadhikaḥ Pṛthāt bhavishyāmi guṇair aham | S'alyo 'py abhyadhikaḥ Kṛishṇād Arjunād api chāpy aham | yathā 'śva-hridayaṁ veda Dāśārhaḥ para-

\(^{216}\) If the words srashtā jagatoḥ, "creator of the world," are not an interpolation, it is not easy to perceive how Karna could have regarded Kṛishṇa as his equal, as he would never have thought of calling S'alya, or any other oṣ his brother warriors, the creator of the world.
vīra-hā | tathā S'alyo 'pi jānite haya-jnānaḥ mahārathaḥ |) Duryodhana then goes to Salya, and asks him to act as charioteer to Karna, saying that he (Salya) was equal to Krishṇa, 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.: Sārathyāṁ rathināṁ śresṭhitam pranayāt kartum arhasi | tvayī yantari Rādhya vidvisho me vijeshyate | abhīshūnāṁ hi Karnasya grahitā 'nyo nā vidyate | rite hi tvāṁ mahābhāga Vāsudeva-samaṁ yudhi | sa pāhi sarvathā Karnaṁ yathā Brahmā Mahēśvaram |). Salya, 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 smile 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-saṇhanopamā | . . 1363: Dārayeyam mahaṁ kṛitsnāṁ vikireyāṁ cha parvatān | S'ośhayeyāṁ samudrāṁs cha tejasā svena pārthiva |). He will not brook to undertake the inferior office of driving a person who is his own inferior

(v. 1365: Kasmād yunakshi sārathyō nichasyādhīrathre rāne | na mām adhuri rājendra nīyotum tvam iḥārhasi | na hi pāpiyasaḥ śreyān bhuṭvā preshayatvam 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 Karna 'bhyadikas tvattaḥ), but considered Karna to be superior to Arjuna; while the world regarded him (Salya) as superior to Krishṇa, whom he excelled in strength, as well as in knowledge of horses and their dispositions, (v. 1384: Manye chābhhyadhikaḥ S'alya guṇaiḥ Karṇaṁ Dhananjayāḥ | bhavantāṁ Vāsudevāḥ cha loko 'yam iti manyate | Karna hy abhyadhikaḥ Pārthād astrair eva naraśabha | bhavān abhyadhikaḥ Krishṇād aśva-jnāne bale tathā | yathā 'svahārdayāṁ veda Vāsudevo mahāmanadāḥ | dvignaṁ tvam tathā vetsi Madrārājeśvarātejāya |). Salya is flattered by his being reckoned superior to Krishṇa, and agrees to act as charioteer to Karna, vv. 1387 ff.: Yad mām braviṣṭi Gāndhāre

217 He regarded Karna as what he was generally supposed to be, a Sūta, or charioteer, by caste (sūta-putrasya, v. 1374).
madhye sainyasya Kaurava | viśīṣṭaṁ Devakiputrāṁ pritimāṁ asmy ahaṁ tvayi | esha sārathyaṁ ātishṭhe Rādheyasya yaśasvinah | yudhyataḥ Pāṇḍavāgyeṇa yathā teṁ vira manyase | samayaś cha hi me vira kaśchid Vaikartanam prati | utsrijeyam yathā-śraddham ahaṁ vacho 'syā sannidhau | Sanjayah uvācha | tatheti rājan putras te saha Karṇena Bhārata | abhavīd Madra-rājasya matam Bharata-sattama | “I am pleased with thēe, Kaurava, since in the midst of the army thou declardest me to be superior to the son of Dvākapī. I undertake to be charioteer to the renowned Karṇa 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 Karṇa, let me candidly excuse to him the words I have used.” Sanjaya proceeded: “Thy son (i.e. Duryodhana) having assented, declared to Karṇa the resolution of the king of the Madras (Salya).”

Though he had thus gained his point, by persuading Salya to act as charioteer to Karṇa, 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 Salya an ancient story, telling how Brahmapī 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 Brahmapī to grant them a boon (1397). They asked that they might become indestructible by any being whatever, which, however, Brahmapī 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 purāṁ tīṇy eva samāsthāya mahīṁ imāṁ | vicharisyāmloke 'śmin . . . tato varṣa-sahasre tu sameshyāmah parasparam | ekibhāvaṁ gamish-yanti purānī etāni chānagha | samāgatāṁ chaīrāṇi yo hanyād bhagavāṁś tadā | ekeshūnā deva-varah sa no mrityur bhavisyati |). Brahmapī 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 Hari, the son of Tārakaśā, obtained as a boon from Brahmā 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 Brahmā about the means of overthowing the titans (1429 ff.). Brahmā replied that the castles could only be destroyed by a single arrow, and that this could only be effected by Mahādeva (1434), to whom they should apply. The deities, then, headed by Brahmā himself, went to supplicate Mahādeva, 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 “sāṃkhya” of himself, (or of spirit,) and whose spirit is always in subjection,—(they went to supplicate him) practising rites of austerity, repeating the eternal Veda, and uttering awful or fierce hymns, (1437 ff.):

\[ Tapo-niyamam āsthāya grīṇanto brahma sāsvatam | . . . . tuṣṭtvur vāghbir ugrāhār bhayeshv abhaya-daṁ nīpa | sarvātmānam mahātmānaṁ yanāptaṁ sarvam atmanā | tapo-viśeshair vividhāir yogān yo veda chātmanāḥ | yah sāṃkhyaṁ atmano vetti yasya chātmaṁ vaśe sādā ].

They beheld Mahādeva, 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-bhūtāmayām dṛiṣṭvā tum ajāṁ jagatāḥ patim[)]. Mahādeva received them smiling, and invites them to state their wishes (1444). They then recite a number of his epithets (1445 ff.), and Brahmā replies on their behalf (1455 ff.) that he himself, who had obtained from Mahādeva his rank of Prajāpati, had bestowed a boon on the Dānavas, that they had in consequence transgressed all bounds, and that now there was no one but Mahādeva who could destroy them,—which he was therefore implored to do. Mahādeva 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 (vibharti tavam tejo ’radhān 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,” (ardham ādāya sarvēhāṁ tejasā 'bhyadhiko’bhavat | sa tu ṛeva balenāsit sarvebhyo balavattaraḥ | Mahādevaḥ iti khyātās tataḥ prabhṛiti 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: mṛṭiḥ sarvāḥ sāmādhāya trayālokasya tatas tataḥ | ratham te kalpayishyāmāḥ). The composition of the ear, formed by Viśvakarman and the gods, is then described at great length (vv. 1471-1492). 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 vashāṭkāra, the gāyatrī, etc., formed portions of the ear, or of its appurtenances. Mahādeva’s weapons and equipments are then specified (1495 ff.). At verse 1503 it is repeated that “Viṣṇu, 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 Viṣṇu, and Viṣṇu 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 Bṛigu 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.”

\[ (iṣuḥ chāpy abhavad Viṣṇur jvalanaḥ Somaḥ eva cha | Agni-Somaṁ jagat kritisnāṁ Viṣṇuvaṁ chochye jaga) | Viṣṇuṁ chātmā bhagavato \]

Can these words be a Vaishnava addition to the passage?
Bhavasyāmitu-tejasāḥ | tasmād dhānuḥ jyā-saṁsparśaṁ na vishekur
Harasya te | tasmin śreṣṭaṁ māṇyaṁ mumochāsahyam Īśvarāḥ |
Bṛighu-Angiro-maṇyau-bhavaṁ krodhāṅnim atiś-dussaham | sa nila-lohito
dhūmrāḥ krittivāsāḥ bhayankaraḥ | . . . 1507: Nityāṁ trātā cha
hantā cha dharmādvarmārūtāṁ naṁ | pramāthibhir bhīma-balair bhīma-
rūpair manojaivaḥ | vibhāti bhagavan Sthāṇyaṁ tair evātma-guṇair eṛitaḥ |
tasyāṅgāni samāśṛitya sāḥitaṁ viśvam idaṁ jagat | jangamājangamanāṁ
rājan susubhe 'dbhuta-darsānam | }

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 (mattah
śresṭhataro hi yaḥ) should be made his charioteer. The gods next
goes 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,220 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 being fitted 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

220 In vv. 1545 ff. it is said that the rishis praised Mahādeva, and increased his
strength (rishayas tatra deviśaṁ stuwaṁ bahubhiḥ stuvaṁ | tejas chāsmai vardha-
yanto rājam āsan punah punah). This is a pure Vedic touch, the same power of im-
parting 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 Brahman 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-sadrisam mrigi vyaghran 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 Kaunteya' Suta-putra' kathanchana | drishyam PArthama hi nihatatam svaya'm yotsyati Kesava'h | shanka-chakra-gada-paini dhakshyate tava va'vikam | na chapi tasya kruddhasya Varshneyasya mahatmanah | sthasyate pratyanikesu kashchid atra nipas tava). Duryodhana in reply expatiates on the eminent prowess of Karna, and of Salya himself: (1643) Tvam salya-bhuta' satrunam avishayya' parakrame | tatas tvam uchyase raja' salya'h ity ari-sudana | tava bahu-balam purya' na seku' sarva-Satvata'h | tava bahu-balad raja' kintu Krishno baladhika'h | yathah hi Krishyena bala'm dharya'm vai Phalyune hate | tathah Karna-
tyayibhave tvaya dhāryam mahad bālam | kimarthāṁ samare sainyam|
Vāsudevo nyavārayet (sic) | kimarthāṁ cha bhavāṁ sainyam na ṇa ṇānīṣhātyi
Mārisha | “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 Sātvatās could not resist. But [it is said that] Kṛishṇa is superior in force to the strength of thy arm. Just as great strength is to be exhibited by Kṛishṇa, if Arjuna were killed; so is great strength to be put forth by thee, if Kṛna were slain. Why should Kṛishṇa withstand [our] army? and why shouldst not thou slay the [enemy’s] host?” Salya then answers (1648 ff.) in nearly the same words which had formerly been assigned to him in vv. 1387-9: “I am pleased with thee, bestower of honour, since before the army thou declaredst me to be superior to the son of Devakī. I undertake to be charioteer to the renowned Kṛna,” etc.

This repetition of the same speech of Salya at the close of the episode regarding Mahādeva’s conquest of the Asuras with Brahmap for his charioteer, and Paraśurāma’s acquisition of celestials 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 Kṛna’s charioteer, it was quite unnecessary to detail at great length the legend of Brahmap 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 Kṛna and Duryodhana.

IV. In various parts of the Mahābhārata Kṛishṇa and Arjuna are singularly represented as having formerly existed in the persons of two rishis, Nārāyaṇa and Nara, 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 saṭrūṇāḥ yasmāḥ tvam yuddhi mānāda | tasmāḥ S’alyo hi te nāma kathya prthiv-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 āgre sainyasya mānāda, “before the army, conferrer of honour,” are substituted for madhye sainyasya Kaurava, “in the midst of the army, O Kaurava.”

223 In the Vāmana-pūraṇa, sect. 6, quoted in Prof. Aufrecht’s Catalogue, p. 455, it is stated that Dharma with a divine body was the heart-born son of Brahmā, that his (Dharma’s) wife was Śhīmā, and that she bore to him Hari and Kṛishṇa, 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 Pándus 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 Pándus), 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.):

Yugaṁte sarva-bhutāni sankshipya Madhusūdana | ātmanāvātmasāt kṛitvā jagad āśiḥ parantapa | yugādau tava Varshneya nābhi-padmād ajayata | Brahmā charāchara-gurur yasyedaṁ sakalaṁ jagat | taṁ hāntum udyanau ghorau Dānavaḥ Madhu-kaitabhau | tavor vyātikramāṁ drishtvā kruddhasya bhavato Hareḥ | lalāṭaj jātavāṁ Sambhuḥ śīla-paṁis trilochanāḥ |

| itthāṁ tāv api devesau tvac-cchārīra-samuddbhavau | tvan-niyoga-karāv etāv īti me Nārāyaṇa purā kratubhir bhūri-dakshināiḥ | ishtavāṁs tvam mahāsatraṁ Krishna Chait-rarathe vane | naivam pūrve nāpare vā karishyanti kriṭāni vā | yāni karmāni deva tvam bālaḥ eva mahābalaḥ |

| kriṭavāṇ Purāṇikākṣha Bala-deva-sahāyavān | Kailāsa-bhavane chāpi brāhmaṇair nyavasaḥ saha | Vaiśampāyanaḥ uvācha | evam uktvā mahātmānāṁ ātma Krishnaśya Pāṇḍavaḥ |

| tūṣṇīṁ āsīt tataḥ Pārtham ity uvācha Janārdanāḥ | mamaiva tvam tavaivāḥyam ye madiyās tavaiva te | yas tvāṁ dveshtī sa māṁ dveshti yas tvām anu sa māṁ anu | "Naras tvam asi durdharsha Harir Nārāyaṇo hy aham |

| kāle lokam īmam prāptaḥ Nara-Nārāyaṇaḥ rishi | ananyāḥ Pārtha mattas tvāṁ tvattaś chāhaṁ tathauvā ca | nāvayor antaram sākyāṁ veditum Bharatarshabha |

"At the end of the mundane period (yuga), thou, O Madhusūdana,

(Ḥrīḍhavo Brahmano yo 'sau Dharmō divyavapūh sade | tasya bhūryi te Aḥiṁśā tu tasyāṁ ajanayat sutu | Hariṁ Krishnaṁ cha devarshe Nara-Nārāyaṇam tathā | yogābhāya-s-ratnau nityāṁ Hari-Krishṇau babhūvaṁ)."

221 See also the extract from the Droṇa-parvan, translated above, p. 185.
225 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 Vārṣhṇeya (Kṛṣṇa), 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 Kaiṭabha, 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 (Kṛṣṇa's) body, and they execute thy commands,—this Nārada declared to me. So, too, O Kṛṣṇa, 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, Puṇḍarikākṣa, 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 Pāṇḍava (Arjuna, who was) the soul of Kṛṣṇa, became silent. Then Janārada (Kṛṣṇa) thus addressed the son of Prīthā: '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 Prīthā, 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

225 The mutual attachment of Nara and Nārāyaṇa, or Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa, 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.
Danava, 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 Danava, 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 (na hy esho mrigayā-dharmo yas tvayā 'dya krito 'mayi), and that he should therefore kill him. The Kirāta replies that he had aimed first, and had killed the Danava, 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.): Tato devam Mahādevaṁ Giriśaṁ śūlapāṇinam | dadarśa Phāḷgunaś tatra saka devyaḥ mahādyutim | sa jānubhyām mahimāgateśa śirasā praṇipatya cha | praśādayimāsa Haraṁ Pārthaḥ para-purān-jayaḥ | Arjunaḥ uśāḥ ‘Kapardin sarva-deveśu Bhaga-netra-nipātana | deva-deva Mahādeva nīla-griva jaṭā-dhara | kāraṇānānca paramaṁ jāne tvāṁ Tryambakaṁ vibhum | devānānca gatiṁ deva tvat-prasūtam idaṁ jagat | ajeyas tvam tribhir lokaiṁ sa-devāsura-mānushaiḥ | Śivāya Vishnu-rūpāya Vishnave Siva-rūpiṇe | Dakshayajna-vināśaya Hāri-Rudrāya vai nāmaḥ | lalāṭākshāya Śarvāya mālhushe śūla-pāṇaye | pināka-goptre sūryāya mārjaśāya vedhase | praśādaye tvām bhagavān sarva-bhūta-mahēśvara | gaṇeśaṁ jagataḥ śambhum loka-kāraṇa-kāraṇam | pradhāna-purushātitaṁ paraṁ sūkṣmataram Haraṁ |

"Then Phāḷguna (Arjuna) beheld the god Mahādeva, Giriśa, 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 of 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 Siva in the
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,227 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 transcendent Pradhana and Purusha (matter and spirit), the supreme, most subtle, Hara.'"

Mahadeva then embraces Arjuna, and says to him:

1637 ff.—Devadevaḥ uvaca | Naras tuḥam pūrva-dehe vai Nārāyaṇa-sahāyavan | Badaryāṇāṃ taptavān ugraṃ tapo varshāyutāṃ bahān | tvayi vā pāramāṇe tejo Viṣṇu vā purushottame | yuvāhāyaṃ puruṣa-kāryāḥ hyān tejasā dhārayate jagat | S'akraḥhisheke samahad dhanur jalada-niḥsvanam | pragrihyā dānavaḥ śāstās tvayā Krishnena cha prabhō iḥādi | "Thou wast Nara in a former body, and with Nārāyaṇa for thy companion, didst perform dreadful austerity at Badari for many myriad of years. Either in thee is the highest power, or in Vishnu the supreme Purusha. By you twain, the chief of men (or Purushas), through your power, the world is upheld. At the inauguration of Sakra (Indra), the Dānavas were chastized by thee and Krishṇa, when thou hadst grasped a great bow resounding like the clouds.'"

Mahadeva then offers Arjuna the choice of a boon. Arjuna asks the Pāṣupata 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 Bhishma informed Duryodhana that on one occasion the gods of different classes came to Brahmā, and the narrative then proceeds (vv. 1920 ff.):

Namakrityopajagnus te loka-vṛiddham Pitāmaham | parivṛtya cha viśveśam paryāṣata divaṁkasaḥ | teṣām manas cha tejaschāpy ādādaṁav ieva jāṣā | pūrva-devau vyatikrāntau Nara-Nārāyaṇe rishi | Vihaspatiś

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 Sayana'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 | tatra hi pātrāṇi prakshaṁyante).

"Doing obeisance, the gods approached the Progenitor, the chief (or ansient) 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 Brahma, ‘Tell us, O Progenitor, who these two are who do not approach thee.’ Brahma 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 Vṛīhaspati, 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,228 who was swallowing up Arjuna in battle. He demolished Hiraṇyapura (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 Kṛishṇa, 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 (Kṛishṇa) 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 Kuruw to adopt moderate counsels by showing the great power of Arjuna and Kṛishṇa, 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 Gandhamadana, 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 Kṛishṇo’py ātmā Kriśitānaḥ | Arjune vijayo nityām Kṛishṇe kirtiścha śāvati | sarvesv apī cha lokeshu Bibhatsur aparājītalḥ | prādhānynaiva bhūyishṭham ameyāḥ Kesave gnanāḥ | mohad Duryodhano Kṛishṇaṁ yo na vettīhā Kesavam | mohito daiva-yogena mrityu-pāśa-puraskritāḥ | na veda Kṛishṇaṁ Dāśārham Arjunan̄ chaiva Pāṇḍavam | pārva-devaḥ mahātmānau Nara-Nārāyaṇāu ubhau | ekātmānau dvidhā-bhūtāu dṛṣṭyete mānushair bhuvi | manasā ’pi hi durdhārau senām etāṁ yāsavanau | nāsāyetām ihechhantau mānushatvāḥ cha nechhatah |  

“Arjuna is the soul of Keśava (Kṛishṇa), and Kṛishṇa too is the soul of Kriṣṭin (Arjuna). Victory abides perpetually with Arjuna, and eternal renown with Kṛishṇa. And even in all worlds Arjuna is unconquered. Through his pre-eminence there are infinite virtues in abundance in Keśava. [The reason why] Duryodhana, through infatuation, does not know Kṛishṇa, is that, deluded by destiny, and involved in the bonds of death, he does not recognize Kṛishṇa the
Dasartha, and Arjuna the Pandava. The former gods, the two mighty ones, Nara and Narayana, 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 Bhishma-parvan, vv. 2932 ff., Bhishma exhorts Dur-yodhana to come to terms with the Pandavas, who, he says, are invincible, in consequence of Krishnas protection. To illustrate Krishnas divine greatness, Bhishma goes on to tell a story of his being celebrated by Brahma 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.). Vishnu assents to Brahma’s request, and disappears. Being then asked by the attendant gods and rishis who it was that he had just worshipped, Brahma replies as follows (2978 ff.):

Yat tat param bhavishyancha bhavitā yachha yat param | bhūtātmā yaḥ prabhuḥ chaiva Brahma yach cha parson padam | tenāsī kṛita-śarīravaśaḥ prasannena surarshabhāḥ | jagato ‘mprahārthāya yāchito me jagat-patiḥ | “mānushaṁ lokam ātisṛtha Vāsudevaḥ iti śrūtaḥ | asurāṇām badhārthāya sambhavasva mahitale | sangrāme nihatāḥ ye te daitya-dānavara-kshasaḥ | te ime nṛishu sambhūtāḥ ghora-rūpāḥ mahābalaḥ | teshāṁ badhārtham bhagavān Nareṇa sahito bali | mānushim yonim āsthiṣṭa cha-risyasi mahi-tale” | Nara-Nrāyaṇau tu tu purāṇāṁ rishi-sattamaṇau | ajevau hi rane yau tu sametaṁ anarair api | sahitau mānushe loke sambhūtāṁ amita-dyutiḥ | mūḍhās te tau na jāṇanti Nara-Nrāyaṇāv rishiḥ | yasyāham ātmajo Brahma sarvasya jagataḥ patiḥ | Vāsudevo ’nuneyo vah sarva-loka-maheśvaraḥ | tathā maṇuṣhya ’yam iti kadačit sūra-sattamaḥ | nāravajneyo mahāvīryaṁ śankha-chakra-gadā-dharaḥ | etat paramakaṁ guhyam etat paramakaṁ padam | etat paramakaṁ Brahma etat paramakaṁ yaṣaḥ | etad aksharam avyaktam etach chhāśvatam eva cha | etat Purusha-sanjno vai giyate jñāyate na cha | etat paramakaṁ tejaḥ etat paramakaṁ sukham | etat paramakaṁ satyaṁ kirtitaṁ Viśvakarmanā | tasmāt surāśuraiḥ sarvaiḥ sendrais chāmita-vikramaḥ | nava-jsoneyo Vāsudevo mānushaḥ ’yam iti prabho | yaś cha mānusha-mātṛo ’yam iti brhyāt sa manda-dhiḥ | Ṣrīshikēṣam avjnāṇat tam āhūḥ purushadhamam | tam yogenār māhāṁnam pravishṭam mānushīṁ tanum | yo ’camanyed Vāsudevaṁ tam āhūs tāmasaṁ jauḥḥ | devaṁ charaḥcharatmā-
naṁ śrīvatsānkaṁ svarchasam | padma-nābhaṁ na jānāti tam aṁhus
tāmasaṁ janāḥ | kirīṭa-kaustubha-dharam mitrāṇām abhayankaram |
avajānaṁ mahātmānaṁ ghore tamasi majjati | . . . 3002: Vārīto 'si
pūrā tāta munibhir bhāvītātmabhājīḥ | mā gachha saṁyugam tena Vāsu-
devena dhanvinā | Pāṇḍavaiḥ sārdham iti yat tat tvam mohad na budh-
yase | manye tiṁ Rākṣaṁśān krūraṁ tathā chāśi tamo-vṛitaḥ | tasmād
dvīhastā Govindam Pāṇḍavancha Dhananjayam | Nara-Nārāyanaṁ devau
ko 'uyo dvishyād hi māṇevarḥ |

"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, cele-
brated 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, Brahmā, 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 Brahmā, 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 Vāsudeva 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 com-
prehension: from his contempt of Hrīshīkeśa they call such a person
the lowest of men. Whoever despises Vāsudeva, that great con-
templator 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.”

Bhīṣma 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 Dhananjarā (Arjuna). For what other man could hate the gods Nara and Nārāyaṇa?”

The next passage is from the Sānti-parvan, where Krishṇa, after describing many of his own other forms and functions, is introduced as saying (vv. 13265 ff.):


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 Krishṇa.
KRISHNA REFERS TO HIS OWN FORMER HISTORY.

vedah na pratibhantii sma rishiñam bhñaratmanam | devañ rajas tanañ chaiva samàvivitis tadä | vasudhã sanchakampe cha nabhãs cha vipañphala ha | nishprabhâñi cha tejämsi Brahman chaivasana-chyutañ | agãch chhosaham samudrañs cha Himavãmsi cha vyañëryata | lasminn eva samutpanne nimitte Pãndvanandana | Brahman vrito deva-gañair rishibhiñ cha mahãtmabhiñiñ | ãñagãmasubhañ dosañ yatra yuddham avartata | so njanipragraho bhûtã chatur-vakto nirukta-gañ | uvãcã vachanañ Rudrama "lokûnäm astu vai śivãm | nyasyàyudhãni viñveśã jagato hitakãmyayä | yad aksharam athãvyaktam īsãñ lokasya bhãvanam | kutãsthãñ kartri nirdevamcam akarteti cha yañ ñiduñ | vyakti-bhãva-gata-syäsa ekã mûrtir iyãñ shrubhã | Naro Nárayanañ chaiva jãtau Dharmakuloçanañ | tapasã mahata yuktat deva-srñshthau mahã-vratañ | ãham prasåda-jas tasya kutaschit kûrãñntare | tvãñ chaiva krodha-jas tatu pûrva-sàrge sunåtanañ | mayã cha sàrdhañ varadañ vibudhañsa cha maharshibhiñ | prasådayásu lokûnäm ñántir bhavatu mã chiram" | Brahmanã tv evam uktam tu Rudrañ krodhãgnim utsrijan | prasådayämäsa tato devañ Nárayanañ prabhum | saranãñi cha jagãmnäyanã vareñyañ varadañ prabhum | tato 'tha varado devo jita-krodhojitendriyah | prãtimän abhavat tatra Rudrena saha sangatañ | rishibhir Brahmanã chaiva vibudhañsa cha supûjitañ | uvãcã devam Ísànam ísãñ sa jagato Harîkñ | "yas tvãñ vetti sa mãñ vetti yas tvãm anu sa mãñ anu | nâvayor antarañ kinchid mã te bhûd buddhir anyathã | adya-prabhûrîti śivatâñ śûlãntko me bhavatay am | mama páñy-ankiñsã chãpi śrûkãnthas tvam bhavishyasãi" | evam lakshañam utpâdyã paraspara-kritañ tado | sakhyañ chaivaítulañ krîñvã Rudrena sahitav riñi | tapas tapatuar avya-grau vîrîjya tridivañkasãsañ | esha te kathitañ Partha Nárayana-jayo mîrdeñ | nâmãni chaiva guhyãni niruktãni cha Bhãrata | rishibhîk kathitûñha yãñi sankîrtanãnti te | evam bahu-vidhañ rüpâñ charãmiñhã vasundharãm | Brahma-lokanaã Kaunteya golokanañ sunåtanañ | mayã tvãñ rakshito yuddhe mahãntam prãptavãn jayam | yas tu te so 'grato yãti yuddhe sampraty upasthite | tãµ vãdhã Rudrañ Kaunteya deva-devam kapardinañ | kãlañ so evã kathitañ krodhajeti mayã tava | nihatãs tena vai pûrvañ hatavãn asi yãn ripuñ | aprameya-prabhûvañ tãµ deva-devam Umã-patinn | namasya devam prayato viñveśãn Haram akshayam | ityádi | 13265. "Formerly, son of Prithã, most excellent of the Kurus, I was celebrated on another occasion as the son of Dharma: and hence I was
called Dharma. In former times Nara and Narayana, mounted on the chariot of righteousness, performed an undecaying penance, on the mountain Gandhamadana. 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 Dadhichi, 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 Narayana. The hair of Narayana, penetrated by its glow, became of the colour of grass (munja): from which I am called Munjakesavat. The trident being repelled by the great being with a yell went back into the hand of Sankara, when struck by Narayana. Rudra then ran up to those austere rishis, when Narayana, 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 Sitiikantha. 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 (khandana), from which shattering of the axe, he is called Khandaparasu." Arjuna here interposes to ask who was victorious in this conflict; when Krishna proceeds: 13278. "When Rudra and Narayana 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; Brahma fell from his seat; the ocean became dried up, and the Himavat wasted. When this prodigy had arisen, Brahma, surrounded by the host of gods, and the magnanimous rishis, came to that disastrous place where the battle was raging. The four-faced god (Brahma), 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.
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, 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 Nārāyaṇa, 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 Īśāna (Mahādeva): 'He who knows thee knows me; he who loves (lit. favours) thee loves me. 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 śrīkanṭha 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 Nārāyaṇa 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 Svetā Divpa, saw the two saints, Nara and Nārāyana (v. 13337):

231 See verses 13140 and 13145 of the S’anti-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, Nārā and Nārāyaṇa next ask him if he had seen in the Śveta Dvīpa the supreme Spirit, their own highest substance (avayoh prakṛitiḥ parā). 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 (vv. 13351 ff.: Adyāpi chainam paśyāmi yuvāṃ; paśyan sanātanau | yair lakṣaṇaṁ upeṭaḥ sa Harir avyakta-rūpa-dhrik | tair lakṣaṇaṁ upeṭaḥ hi vyakta-rūpa-dharau yuvāṃ | dṛṣṭau yuvāṃ mayā tatra tasya devasya pārśvataḥ). Some further conversation ensues; and it is then related (v. 13397 f.) that Nārāda 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. 621 ff., and note, p. 622; 2nd ed., pp. 768 ff.) Krishna 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 Kurus had of vanquishing the Pândus, aided as the latter were by Krishna, Dhritarashtra gives an account of the exploits of the Yádava chief:

His remarks are as follows:—"The history of Krishna 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 Yádavas 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, insomuch as he strangled with his arms a Dānava which in the form of a bull slaughtered the cattle. 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 goddess of Nárāyaṇa. These take no share in the battle, and are very seldom mentioned.—See Udyoga-parvan, v. 130 ff.; and Drona-parvan, 2355 ff., where the Nárāyaṇas, the cowherds, are spoken of along with the Kambojas, etc., as having been conquered by Karṇa, etc. (Nárāyaṇaḥ cha gopātāḥ Kāmbojānānaḥ ye gaṇāḥ Kavyena vijitāḥ.)

The Nárāyaṇas are also mentioned in Dropan. 752 and 759 (see Böhtlingk and Roth, s. v.).

Krishna, 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.—Mat-saṁhanana-tulyānāṁ * gopīnām arbudam mahat | Nárāyaṇaḥ iti khyātāḥ sarvās saṅgrāmā-yodhinaḥ | te vā yuddhi durādharśāḥ bhavaṇte kalyanāṁ saṅgīrīteḥ | ayukhyamānāḥ saṅgrāme nyasāstasastro 'ham ekaṭaḥ | ābhyyān anyataram Pārtha yat te khyātārañ matam | tad evaṁ bhañvān agra praśvāraṁ tvāḥ hi dharmatāḥ | "Let one of you either take those invincible soldiers, the great hundreds of millions of herdsmen called Nárāyaṇas, 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 Pṛthiś, first choose the one of these two things which is most acceptable to thee; for thou art justly entitled to the preference."

Arjuna selects Krishna himself, "the unborn Nárāyaṇa, destroyer of his foes, who had been at his will born among men" (Nárāyaṇam, amitrāyahnām kāmāyājan ājān nṛshu), though he was not to fight. Duryodhana chose the army of warriors.

* The word saṁhanana occurs also in the Drona-parvan, v. 147.
Droṇa-parvan, 382.—Dhritaṛṣṭrāḥ uvāca | śrīṇu divyāni karmāṇi
Vāsudevasya Sanjaya | kriṭavān yāṇi Govinda yathā nānyāḥ punāṃ
kvachit | saṁvardhata gopa-kule bālēnaiva maḥātmanā | vikhyāpitam
bālam bāhvoś triśu lokeshu Sanjaya | Ucchahlaiḥśrasavas-tulya-bālam vāyu-
vṛega-sāman jāve | jaghāṇa Haya-rājānāṁ Yamanā-vana-vāsīnām | Dāna-
vaṁ ghora-karmāṇaṃ gavāṃ mṛityum gṛothitam | vṛśa-vṛū-pa dharam
bālye bhūja-bhyān niṣaṅgāṇa ha | Praḷambhāṁ Nārakaṁ Jambham
Pīṭhān vā 'pi mahāsūram | Muraṁ chaṁma-ran-kāśaṁ abadhit pushka-
rekaḥśaṇāḥ | tathā Kaṁso maḥātejāḥ Jarāsanḍhena pātalāḥ | vikramenaiva
Krīṣṇena sāgaṇaḥ pātito rane | Śunāma rava-vikrāntaḥ samagraśravha-
hīṇi-paṭiḥ | Bhūja-rājaṃsya maḥhya-stho bhrātā Kaṁsaṣya vīrya-vān | 
Baladeva-devitiyaṃ Krīṣṇenāmītrāḥ-ghātīṇa | tarasṭī samare dagdhaḥ sa-
saṇyāḥ Śūrasena-raṭḥ | Durvāśaḥ nāma viprarṣhis tathā para-
kopānaḥ | ārādhitāḥ sadāreṇa sa chāsmai pradaṇḍaḥ varān | tathā Gāndhāra-
rājaṃsya sūtaṃ vīraḥ svayānvara | nirjītya prithī-pālān evahat pushka-
rekaḥśaṇaḥ | amṛtishyāmāṇāḥ rājāṇo yasya jātyāḥ hayāḥ īva | rathe vai-
vāhike yuktāḥ pratodeṇa kṛita-vraṇāḥ | Jarāsanḍham maḥābāhum upā-
yena Janārdanaḥ | parena ghatayāmāśa samagraśravhaḥiṇi-paṭiḥ | Chedi-
rajanācha vikrāntaḥ rāja-senā-paṭiḥ bālī | arghe vivaḍamānanaḥ ca jaghāṇa
paśu-vat taddā | Saubhāṁ daitya-puraṃ svasthān S'āl va-guptān dvā-
sadām | samudra-kukshau vikramaḥ pāṭayāmāsa Maṇḍharaḥ | . . . . . . 

v. 400: Praviṣya makaravāsaṁ yādobbhir abhisauṣkram | jīgāya Varu-
ṇaṁ sāṅkhya salāntārtaṃ purā | yuddhi Paṅchajānaḥ hatvā pātalā-
tala-vāsīnām | Paṅchajānayāṁ Hṛiṣiḥkeśo divyāṁ sankhaṃ avāptavān | 
Khāṇḍave Pārtha-saḥitas toshayītva Hūtāsanām | āgneyam astraṁ dur-
dharṣhāṁ cakrabhāṁ lebhe maḥbalaḥ | Vainayeṣaṃ samāruḥā trāyayītva
'maṇuḥvaṭam | Mahendra-bhavanād vīraḥ pārjātam upānayat | tacheha
marśhitavān S'akro jānaṁs tasya parākramān | rājāṁs chāpy ajitaṁ
kanchit Krīṣṇenēna na śūrma | yacheha tād maḥaḥ āścharyāṁ sabhāyāṁ
mana Sanjaya | kriṭavān Purdaṇḍikākṣhakāḥ kas tad-nya āhārhi | labdha-
bhaktyā prasannaḥ adṛkshaḥ Krīṣṇam iśvaram | tad me suviditaṁ
sūrman pratayakshaṃ iha chāgamaṇ | nāntāṁ vikrama-yuktasya buddhyā
yuktasya vā punaḥ | karmanā śakyaṭe gantuṁ Hṛiṣiḥkeṣaṣya Sanjaya | 
tathā Gadaś cha Saṁbaḥcha Pradyumo 'tha Vidiardēḥaḥ | . . . . .

410: Ete 'nṛye balavantaḥ cha Vṛishi-vīraḥ puraḥārānaḥ | kathanchit
Pūḍvaṇikaṁ śrayeyuḥ saṁare sthitāḥ | āhātaḥ Vṛishi-vīreṇa Keśavena
maḥātmanā | tathā saṁśayitaṁ sarvam bhaved iti matir mana | nāgāyuta-
balo viraḥ Kailāsa-śikhara-pamah | vapa-māli halī Rāmas tatra yatra
Janārdanaḥ | yam āhuḥ sarva-pitarrām Vasudecaṁ dvijatayah | aprī va hy
esha Pāṇḍānāṁ yotsaye 'rthaya Sanjaya | sa yada tata saṁnabhyyet Pāṇḍava-
vārthāya Sanjaya | na tada pratisaṁyoddhā bhavitā tasya kāśchana | yadi
smā Kuravaḥ sarve jayeyur nāma Pāṇḍavaṇā | Vārshneyo 'rthaya teṣhāṁ
vai grihimyāt śaśtram uttamam | tataḥ sarvān sarvāyaghro hatvā nara-
patin rane | Kauravaṁś cha maḥābāhuḥ Kunyai dadyāt sa mediniṁ |
yasya yantaḥ Prishkeśo yoddhā yasya Dhananjayah | rathasya tasya kaḥ
sankhye pratyaniko bhaved rathah | na kenachid upayena Kurūnāṁ driṣyate
jayah | tasmād me sarvam ācakshvṛv ātthā yuddham avartata | 234

"Dhūrtraśṭra says: Hear, Sanjaya, the divine acts of Kṛṣṇa,
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 Hayas [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 Pra-
lambha, Nara, Jambha and Piṭha, the great Asura, and Mura,
resembling the immortals. So, too, Kansa, of great force, supported by Jarā-
sandha, was, with his hosts, overthrown in battle by Kṛṣṇa, 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 Śūrasenas, was, with his army, burnt up in battle
by Kṛṣṇa, destroyer of his enemies, seconded by Balarāma. And a
Brāhmaṇa rishi called Āruvāsas, extremely irascible, was worshipped
by him (Kṛṣṇa), 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 Gāndhāras at the Swa-
yamvara: 236 and the princes, being unable to endure him, were

234 Towards the close of Dhūrtraśṭra’s speech the following verse of a proverbial
character occurs:—v. 429: Pakviṁśāni hi badhe Śūta vajraśyaman triṁsany api | “When
meq are ripe for destruction, even straws smite like thunderbolts.”
235 See the Anusāsana-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
Gāndhāras, 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. Janárdana, by a clever device, caused Jarásandha, 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 krishnA]. Assailing Saubha, the self-supporting (i.e. flying) city of the Daityas, on the shore of the ocean, protected by the Sálva (king), and difficult to destroy, Mádhava overthrew it. [Then follows a list of numerous tribes, Angas, Bangas, etc., etc., conquered by krishnA.] . . . . . . . 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 Panchajana dwelling in Pátála, Hrishíkeśa obtained the divine shell Panchajanya. Having, along with Páthra (the son of Prithá, Arjuna), propitiated Agni in Khāñdava, this mighty being acquired the irresistible fiery weapon, the discus. Mounted on Garuḍa, and terrifying Amarāvatī (the city of Indra), this hero brought back the pārijāta from the abode of the elder Indra. And to this Sakra submitted, knowing his prowess. And we have not heard of any of the kings who has not been conquered by krishnA. Then who but Puṇḍaríkāksha could have performed that very wonderful act which he did in my assembly? Through the faith which I had attained, I beheld krishnA, 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 Hrishíkeśa who is distinguished by valour as well as by wisdom. And Gada also, and Sāmba, and Pradyumna, and Vidūratha, [here follows a list of other warriors] these, and other powerful martial heroes of the VrishnI tribe, summoned by the great VrishnI 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 Janárdana is, there is also the hero Rāma, in strength equal to ten thousand elephants, resembling the summit of Kailísa, wearing a garland of wild flowers, and carrying a plough. Or Vāsu-deva, he whom the Brahmans call the universal father, will fight for

237 See the story as told in the Sábhā-parvan, vv. 848 ff.
238 Compare note 189, p. 191; and see Ádi-parvan, v. 8196, where the story is told.
239 See Wilson’s Vishnu Purāna, pp. 585 ff. (vol. v., pp. 97 ff., of Dr. Hall’s ed.).
the Pândavas. When he shall arm [for battle] on their behalf, no one shall then stand up to encounter him. Even if all the Kurus were to overcome the Pândavas, Várshñeya (Krishña) 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 Kuntí. What chariot can stand in the conflict against that chariot of which Hrishikesa is the driven, and on which Dhananjaya (Arjuna) fights? By no contrivance does the victory of the Kurus 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, Arjuna Kesavasydtma, "Arjuna is the soul of Kesava," etc.

Another account of Krishña's exploits is given in the Udyoga-parvan. It is there related that Sanjaya had been sent on an embassy to the Pandus, and that on his return he reported to the chiefs of the Kurus the defiant answer which Arjuna had given. The latter chief prophesied that Duryodhana would certainly repent having engaged in conflict with himself and Krishña (vv. 1863 ff.). He then enlarges as follows on the prowess of Krishña (vv. 1875 ff.):

Pûrvâhne māṁ kriţa-japyāṁ kadācchid vipraḥ pravéchokante manojaṁ | kartavyam te dushkaraṁ karma Pārtha yodhayāṁ te satrubhīḥ Savyasāchīṃ | Indro vā te harimān vajra-hastaḥ purastād yatu samare 'rīṁ vinighnāṃ | Sugrīva-yuktenā ratheṇa vā te paśchāt Krishṇo rakshatu Vāsudevāḥ | vare cha-hum vajra-hastād Mahendraḥ asmin yuddhe Vāsudevāṁ sahāyam | sa me labdho dasyu-badhāya Krishṇo manye chaitād vihitaṁ daivatair me | sa bāhubhyāṁ sāgaram uttitirshed mahadādhīṁ salilasyāprameyam | tejaśvināṁ Krishṇaṁ atyanta-sūraṁ yuddhena yo Vāsudevāṁ jīgiseth | girinā sa ichhet tu talena bhettum śilochehaṁ śvetam atipramāṇaṁ | tasyaiṁ pāṇiḥ sa-nakho viśtryped na chāpi kinchit sa gires tu kuryāt | agnīṁ samiddhaṁ samayed bhujabhāyāṁ chandrañcha sur-yančha nivārayeta | hāred devānaḥ amṛtam prasahya yuddhena yo Vāsudevaṁ jīgiseth | yo Rukminīṁ eka-rathena Bhogān utsādyā raṁjnaṁ samare prasahya | urbha bhāryāṁ yasasā jvalaṁtiṁ yasyāṁ jayne Ruk- mineyo mahātmā | ayaṁ Gándhārāṁs taṛasā sampramathyā jīte purān Nagnajitāṁ samagrāṁ | baddham mumocha vinadantam prasahya Sudar- śanaṁ vai devatānāṁ lalāmam | ayaṁ kapāṭena jaghāna Pāṇḍyaṁ tathā
Kalingā Dantakūre mamarda | anena dagdhā varsha-puṅgān anāthā Vārāṁsāi nagārī sambabhūva | ayām śma yuddhe manyate 'nyair ajeyaṁ 
tam Ekālayaṁ nāma Nīśāda-rājamt egevema śālam abhihātya Jambhāṅ 
śete sa Krishnena hatāḥ paraśuḥ | tathogrāmesa yutaṁ sudushtām 
Vṛṣṇi-Andhakāntān madhya-gataṁ sabhā-stham | apātayad Baladeva-
dvītya hatvā dadau chograsenāya rājyam | ayām Saubhāṁ yodhayāmāsa 
vastham vibhīṣhāṃ mayāyā Sālva-rājam | Saubhā-dvāri pratyag-
rihṇāt sataghnāṁ dharbhīṁ kaḥ enaṁ visaheta martyah | Prāggyotishāṁ 
nāma babhūva dvrgam purāṁ ghoram Asurāṁn asahyam | mahābalo 
Narakas tatra Bhaumo jahārādityāṁ maṇi-kundale śubhe | na tam devāḥ 
saha S'akrenā śekuḥ samāgataḥ yuddhi mṛtyor abhitāḥ | drishtvā cha tam 
vikramaṁ Kesāvasya balaṁ tathāvāstram avārāṇiyan | jānanto 'syā 
prakṛitiṁ Kesāvasya nyayoṛyaṁ dasyu-badhāya Krishnam | sa tat karma 
pratīṣuṛrāva dushkarmātiśvāravān siddhīshu Vāsudevaḥ | nirmochane 
śat sahārasāṁ hatvā sanchhidya pāśaṁ sahasā kshurāntān | Muraṁ 
hatvā vinihātyaughha-raksho nirmochanaṁ chāpi jagāma vīraḥ | tatraiva 
tenāsya babhūva yuddham mahābalenātibalasya Vīṣṇoḥ | sete sa Krishnena 
hatāḥ parāsura vāteneva mathītaḥ karnikāraḥ | ākṛitya Krishno maṇi-
kundale te hatvā cha Bhaumāṁ Narakam Murancha | śīryā vṛito yāsasa 
chaiva vidvān pratyājagāmāpratima-prabhāvāḥ | asmai varān adadāṁns 
tatra devāḥ drishtvā bhīmati karma kriṭaṁ raṅe tatu "śramaṁ cha te 
yudhyamānasya na syād ākāśe chāpsu cha te kramaḥ syāt | sastrāṇi 
gātre na cha te kramaṁ " ity eva Krishnas cha tataḥ kriLRarthah | 
evaṁ-rūpe Vāsudeve 'prameye mahābale guna-sampat sadaiva | tam asa-
hyāṁ Vīṣṇun ananta-vīryam āśāṁsate Dhārtarāṣṭro vijetum | 

"Once, in the forenoon, when I had muttered my prayers, and con-
cluded my ablutions, a Brahman addressed to me these pleasant words: 
'Son of Prithā, thou hast a difficult work to do; thou hast to fight 
with thine enemies, O Savyasāchīn (a name of Arjuna). Shall Indra 
with his steeds, and wielding the thunderbolt, go before thee in battle, 
smiting thy foes, or shall Krishṇa, the son of Vāsudeva, with his car, 
to which Sugrīva (one of Krishṇa's horses) is yoked, protect thee from 
behind?" I elected to have in the combat Vāsudeva for an ally, rather 
than Mahendra, wielding the thunderbolt. Krishṇa was obtained by 
me as a helper in slaying the Daśyus, and I think that this was effecte 
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 **Krishṇa**. If any one should attempt to split with his hand the white mountain (viz. Kailāśa), 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 **Vāsudeva** in battle,—[**Vāsudeva**] who having boldly destroyed in battle the Bhoja kings, carried off on the same car with himself Rukmiṇī his bride, shining in renown, of whom the great Raukmiṇeya was born. He (**Krishṇa**) having by his prowess destroyed the Gāndhāras, having conquered all the sons of Nagnajit, forcibly released [king] Sudarśana, renowned even among the gods, who had been bound [by the sons of Nagnajit], 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 Eka-lavya 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 **Krishṇa**.²⁴¹ Seconded by Baladeva, he also prostrated [**Sunāman**] the wicked son of Ugrasena standing in the midst of the assembly of the Vṛishṇis 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 Sālavas, 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 Sudarśana was a certain king, and explains *devatānām laṭāmam* by *devatānām maḍhye prākṣaṭom*, “approved among the gods.” Another commentator says *laṭāmam = śiroṇāmim*, “a head-jewel or ornament.” The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 34, 8 ff., tells a story of a Vidyādharas also named Sudarśana, who in consequence of a curse had been changed into a serpent, but who renewed his former shape on being touched by **Krishṇa**’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 (kāmagā) 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. **Krishṇa** splits the city with his discus Sudarśana (v. 883), and kills the king of the Sālavas 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 Naraka 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 (aśeṣaṣṭa-vān sīdchīṣhu), 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 Rākshasa Ogha, he proceeded to Nirmochana. There Vishṇu of surpassing strength had a fight with the powerful foe; who, smitten by Krishṇa, sleeps lifeless, like a karnikāra tree overthrown by the wind. Having captured the jewelled earrings and slain Naraka, 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 Vishṇu, of infinite power, whom the son of Dhṛitarāṣṭra 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 Harivamśa, 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 Phānsigars or Thugs, who murder their victims by throwing a noose. The writer refers in illustration to the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 29, 9 (Schlegel's edition), where three kinds of nooses are mentioned, the dharma-pāsa, the kāla-pāsa, and the Vāruṇa-pāsa. In the Vana-parvan, 879, the epithet kṣurānta, sharp as a razor, is applied to Krishṇa's discus.
245 See verse 4407 of this same parvan; Nirmochane shaṣṭaḥ hasaṇāḥ pāsaṁ baddhāḥ mahāsuraṁ | 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. Bōttlingk and Roth sv. do not recognize this signification.
246 Pterospermum acerifolium.
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 Pândavas 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, Kṛṣṇa, thou didst roam for ten thousand years on the mountain Gandhamadān, where the muni Śāyana 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 Prabhasa, a sacred spot fit for holy men, thou stoodest glorious, Kṛṣṇa, for a thousand years of the gods, on one foot, practising self-restraint, for the benefit of the world,—this Vyāsa 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 Dānavas. And then, having conferred the lordship of the universe on Indra, thou, O great-armed, didst become manifested among mankind. Thou, being Nārāyaṇa, wert Hari, O vexer of thy foes. Thou, O Purushottama (or chief of Spirits, or Males), art Brahmā, Soma, Śūrya, Dharma, Dhātri, Yama, Anala (Fire), Vāyu, Kuvera, Rudra, Time, Sky, Earth, the Regions, the unborn, the lord of the world, the creator. Thou, Madhusūdana, Kṛṣṇa, 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 nihatāḥ satāso ’surāḥ]. The nooses of Muru were destroyed; Nisunda and
Naraka were slain; the way to the city Prāgjyotisha was again rendered safe. On the Jāruthi Āṇvriti, Krātha, Siṣupāla with his men, Jarāsandha, Saivya and Satadhanvan 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 Kārtavīrya 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 Bhogavati and the Rishikā to flow to the ocean. Neither anger, nor envy, nor falsehood, nor cruelty, abides in thee, Dāśārha (Krishṇa): how then canst thou be deceitful? The rishiis 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 Yugānte sarva-bhūtāni sankhipya, etc.]

VI. Although, as we have already seen from various passages of the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, Krīṣṇa is generally identified with Viṣṇu, and Viṣṇu with Brahma, or the supreme deity, yet in a text quoted above (p. 49) from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 33, 27, Krīṣṇa 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 Viṣṇu, the creator and soul of all things, who became partially incarnate (tatrāṁśenāvatirṇasya Viṣṇor viṛyāṇi saṁsa naḥ | avatīrya Yador vaṁśe bhagavān bhūta-bhāvanāḥ | kritavān yāni viśvātmā tānī no vada vistarāt). 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 Viṣṇu. Brahmā hears a voice in the sky:

247 See Wilson’s Viṣṇu 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.
Having, while in a state of contemplation, heard a voice uttered in the sky, Vedhas (Brahma) said to the gods: 'Hear from me, immortals, the voice of Purusha, and then speedily act so [as it enjoins]. 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 Vasudeva, in order to gratify Hari. The divine Delusion of Vishnu, by which the world is deceived, being commanded by the lord, shall be born in a portion of herself to effect the desired objects.'

In the Vishnu Purāṇa, also, the incarnation of Vishnu is spoken of as that of a part, or even a part of a part. At the commencement of the fifth book of that work the following lines occur:

Nṛpiṇāṁ kathitaḥ sarva bhavatā vaṁśa-vistarāḥ | Vaṁśānuḥcharitaṁ chaiva yathāvad anuvartitam |
| Aṁśāvatāro brhmaṁshe yo 'yaṁ Yadu-
| kulodbhavah | Vishnos tāṁ vistareṇaḥ ēśres tum ičeḥhāmy aśeshaṁ |
| Chakraṁ yāṁ karmāṇi bhagavāṁ Purushottamaṁ | Aṁśaṁśenaḥ hatyoryor-
| vyāṁ tatra tāṁ mune vada | Parāśaraṁ uvācha | Maitreyo śrīyatatām |
| etat yat prishṭa 'ham iva tvayā | Vishnoraṁśaṁśa-sambhūtī-charitaṁ |

"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 Vishnu which took place in the tribe of the Yadus. Tell me, Muni, what acts
EARTH COMPLAINS OF THE LOAD OF DEMONS.

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. Etasminn eva kāle tu bhūri-bhūrā-vapiḍītā | jagāma dharaṇi Merau samāje tridivaukasām | . . . . . . 25 | akshawhuṇyo hi bahulāh divya-mūrtī-dhritāṁ suruḥ | mahābalānāṁ driptānāṁ daityendrānāṁ mamopari | tad-bhūri-bhūrā-piḍārta na śāknoṣy amāraścarṣāḥ | vibhartum atmānā "tmānam iti vijnāpayāmi vah | kriyātanat mahābhāgāḥ mama bhāravatāraṇam | yathā rasātalaṁ nāḥaṁ gachheyam ativihvalā").

Brahmā 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: Пλέμων γὰρ εἰσήγετεν Ἑλλῆνων χεριν Καὶ Φρυζὶ δυστήροις, ὡς ἤχλων βροτῶν Πλῆθους τε κουφίετε μητέρα χθῶνα, Γιατὸν τε θείᾳ τὸν κράτιστον Ἑλλάδος. “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: Ἐπεὶ θεό τῷ τήσει καλλιστεύματι Ἑλλήνας εἰς ἐν καὶ Φρύγας συνῆγαγαν, θανάτως τῷ ἐθναίαν, ὡς ἀπαντλοῖεν χθῶνας "Τῇρβιςα θητῶν ἀφθόνον 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 Minora on the Iliad, i. 5 (quoted in Heyne’s Homer, Oxford, 1821), we read: Ἀλλοι δὲ ἀπὸ ἱστορίας τυρός ἤτοι εἰρήκειν τὸν "Ομηρόν φασὶ γὰρ τὴν γῆν βαρομένην ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων πολυπληθείας, μηδειμὰς ἀνθρώπων ὄσης εἰσέβελα, αὐτὴς τὴν Δία κοὐφισθῆναι τοῖς ἱκέσιοι. Τὸν δὲ Δία, πρῶτον μὲν ἐνθῆς ποίησις τῶν θηβαϊκῶν πόλεμοι, δὲ ὁ πολλὸς πάνω ἀπωλέσει. ὕστερον δὲ πάλιν συμβώλῳ τῷ Μάριῳ ἐχρῆσατο, ἢν Δίος βούλῃ "Ομηρός φησιν. ἐπεὶ δός οἶος τῇ ἡ κεραυνῶι ἢ κατακλυσμῶι πάντας διαφθείαι, τοῦτο τοῦ Μάριον καλύσατο, ὧποδεμένου δὲ αὐτῷ γνώμας διὸ, τὴν Θετίδος θυτογαμίαν, καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ γῆν γένη, ἐς δὲ ἀμφοτέρων πόλεμος "Ελληνι οἱ καὶ Βαρβάροις ἐγένετο, οὕτω συμβῆναι κοινῷ σήμα τῇ γῆ, πολλῶν ἀναφερθέντων. ὡς δὲ ἱστορία παρεις Σταυροῦ τῷ τὰ Κύπρια πεποιηκότι, εἰπόντι οὕτω: "Ἡν ὅτε μυρία φύλα κατὰ χθῶνα πλαζόμενα Βαθυστέρου
resort to Vishṇu, "who is the spirit of all, and of whom the universe consists," and "who constantly, for the sake of earth, descends in a very small portion of his essence, to establish righteousness below" (v. 32. sarvadaiva jagaty-arthe sa sarvātmā jāganmayah | svatpāṁśena-vatiryoryayāṁ dharmasya kurute sthitim). The gods accordingly went to the milky sea, and lauded Vishṇu in a long hymn. Vishṇu was gratified by their praises, desired them to state their wishes, and assured them that these should be accomplished. Brahма renewed his praises; and we are then told what happened when they were concluded:


πλάτος αἰτῆς. Ζεὺς δὲ ἵδων ἔλεησε, καὶ ἐν πυκναῖς πραπίδεσσι Σῶμετο κονίσαι ἄνθρωπον μαμβάτορα γαῖαν, 'Ὑπῖκας πολέμου μεγάλην ἐριν Ιλίκοιον. "Οφρα κενώ- σεϊν θανάτῳ βάρος· οἷ δ' ἐν Τρῳ Ἡρως κτεῖνοντο. Δίὸς δὲ τελείετο βουλή.

"Others have declared that Homer used the expression (Δίος δὲ τελείετο βουλή) '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 burden; and that he had first caused the Theban war, whereby he destroyed 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. But 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 burden: and the heroes were slain in the Troad. And the counsel of Zeus was fulfilled.'" See also above, p. 215, note 212; and Droṇap., 2051 f.

250 Another MS. reads mahītalam.
251 Another MS. reads esha garbho 'ṣhtamas tasyāḥ.
252 Another MS. reads tatrāham.
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 burthen 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 Devaki, the wife of Vasudeva who (Devaki) resembles the goddesses. And this [hair] descending there, shall destroy Kansa, the Kālanemi 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 Purāṇa, makes on the first of the preceding passages (p. 254), and which have reference to the sequel also:


VOL. IV. 17
"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=Brih. Aranyaka 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;' 253 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 [Balā]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 Balarāma 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 Satapatha Brahmana, p. 1157 of Weber's edition, may also be consulted. The Atharva-veda has the following verse; x. 8, 29: Purṇat pūrṇam udachati pūrṇam pūrṇena sicyatē | uta tad adya; idyāma yatats tat parishichyatē | "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."
eight 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:

Ujjahara | utpatitavan | aham bhara | mama duskkaram ched yush-mabhik sahayaan karyaam syat | na tv etad asti bha-bharaapaharanadau mahaty api kurye mat-keasa-matraasyaiva samarthatvad iti | na tu kesa-matraavatara iti mantavyam | "mad-drik-pata-vicharnitah" "krish-nashtamyam aham uttpasyami" ityadishu sakshat svavataratvokteh | sita-krishna-ke sodduranaa cha sobhartam eva | "Ujjahara 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 Balarama and Krishna from two hairs is also told in the Mahabharata, Adi-parvan, 7306 ff.:

Tair eva siradhaya tu tatah sa deva jagama Narayanaam aprameyam | anantam avyaktam ajam puraanaam sanatanaam visvan ananta-rupaam | sa chapi tad vyadbhat sarvam eva tatah surve sambahuurvah darayaam | sa chapi keasa Harir udvavah sukam ekam aparamah chapi krishnam | tau chapi keasa nivisetama Yadvanaa kule striyau Devakii Rohiniir cha | tayor eko Baladevo babhava yo 'sau svetas tasya devasya keasa | Krishna dvitiyaya Kesavan sambahvaca keeso yo 'sau varnatah krishnaa uktaah |

"Along with them (viz. four preceding Indras and a fifth deity sprung from Indra) the god (Indra) went to Narayana, immeasurable, infinite, undiscernible, unborn, primeval, everlasting, universal, endless.

254 The preceding copy of the text, and commentary on the text, from the Vishnu Purana, have been kindly copied, and carefully collated, for me by Professor Monier Williams.

255 I am indebted to Professor Goldstucker for copying this passage for me.

256 See Professor Wilson's notes on these passages of the Vishnu Purana, 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 Nilakaṭha, one of the commentators on the Mahābhārata:

• Atra kesā eva reto-rūpau Pāṇḍavānām iva Rāma-Krishnayor api prakaraṇa-sangaty-arthaṁ sākṣhād deva-retasaḥ upatāt avakta-yavat 257 | atah eva Devakyāṁ Rohinyāncha sākṣhāt kesā-pravēśāḥ uchyaite na tu Vasudeva | tathā sati tu "devānāṁ reto varshaṁ varshaṣya retaḥ oshadhayah" ityādi-srauta-pranādyā ’smad-ādi-vat tayor api vyavādhānena deva-prabhavatvam syāt | tathā cha "etan nānā-vaṭārānāṁ nidhānaṁ vijām avayavam" iti bhagavataḥ sākṣhād matsyādy-avatāravijayatvam uchyaite na tvam virudhyota | apicha kesā-retasor deha-jatve samāne ’pi retaḥ-prabhavatvem vāksrotastvenā manushyatvam putratrāṇaḥ cha syāt | tathā cha "Krīṣṇas tu bhagavān svayam" iti śrimad-bhagavatotkītaḥ sangachhate | na cha kesoddhāraṇāt Krīṣṇasyāpya aṁśatvam pratiyate iti vācyam | kesāsyā dehāvayavatvābhāvāt | tasmād Namuchi-badhe kartavye yathā apām phene vajrasya praveṣāḥ evāṁ Devaki-Rohinyor jāthare pravēṣe kartavye kesādecayena dvāra-bhūtena bhagavataḥ karttyenyena eva avirbhāvah eshtavyah iti yuktam |

"Here the two hairs are of the nature of seed productive of Balarāma and Krīṣṇa, just as in the case of the Pāṇḍavas, [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 Krīṣṇa) 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,' 258—it would be opposed to that

257 The MS. in the E. I. Office Library reads avaśya-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, so when an entrance

259 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: Apām phenena Namucheḥ sīrāḥ Indrodavartayaḥ | visvāḥ yad ajayaḥ spṛṣṭaḥ | "Thou, Indra, didst strike off the head of Namuchi with the foam of the waters, when thou didst vanquish all opponents." On this Sāyana tells the following story: Purā kila Indro 'sirān jītvā Namuchim asuraṁ grahitum na āsāka | sa cha yudhyamānas tenāsarvāṇa ja-grihe | sa cha grīhitam Indram evan avocah "tvāṁ visṛṣṭāṁ rātrāv ahī cha sūkhena chāyudhena yadi māṁ na hīṁṣir" iti | sa Indras tena visṛṣṭaṁ sam ahorātraṁ sandhau sūkhārdrā-vilakṣhaṇena phenena tasya śīrasa chiccheda | ayam arthe 'syāṁ pratipōdyate | He Indra apām phenena vajrībhūtena Namucher Asurasya sīrāḥ udavartayaḥ | "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: 'I release thee if thou wilt not-smite me by night, or by day, with a dry or a wet weapon.' 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.: Indro Vṛitraṁ hatvā asuraṁ parahārīya Namuchim āsuraṁ na alabhata | tām S'achyā 'grīhṇāt | tāv samalabhetām | so 'smād abhiśūnataro 'bhavat | so 'bravit "sandhāṁ sandadāhavahat | aha tvā vaḥ (ava?) srakshyāti | na mā sūkhena na ārdreṇa hanah na divā na naktam" iti | sa etam apām phenena asinchat | na vai esha sūshko na āvdraḥ | vyuṣṭā āśīd anuditakā sūryaḥ | na vai etad divā na naktam | tasya etasmin loke apām phenena sīrāḥ udavartayaḥ | "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: '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-viṇyā (published by Holtzmann), vv. 185 ff.; Mahābhārata, Udhyoga-parvan, vv. 320 ff.

This story of Indra destroying Namuchi with foam is again told in the Mahābhārata, S'alya-parvan (vv. 2434 ff.): Namuchir Vāvāvād bhitah śūrya-raśmiṁ samivisat | tenendrah sakhyam akarot samayanehadam abravat | "na cārāṇe na sūkhena na
was to be made into the wombs of Devaki and Rohini, the manifestation of the deity in all his multitude 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 Brahma and Siva; but afterwards declared to be the highest form of Brahma:

"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 S'iva are his chief energies. The deities are inferior to them; the Yakshas, etc., to the deities; men, cattle, wild animals, birds and reptiles to the Yakshas, 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 Śrīvatsa, 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 Rākshasas, 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 Mahābharata. In the Sāntiparvan, vv. 1500 ff. Yudhishthīra says to Krīṣṇa:

_Tava Krīṣṇa prasūdena nayena cha balena cha | buddhyā cha Yadusārdūla tathā vikramaṇa cha | punaḥ prāptam idāṁ rājyaṁ pitri-"
264 PASSAGES IN WHICH KRISHNA IS

paitāmaham mayā | namas te Pundarīkākṣha punah punar arindama | tvāṁ ekaṁ āhuḥ Purushaṁ tvāṁ āhuḥ Sāttvatāṁ gatim | nāmabhis tvāṁ bahuvidhaiḥ stuvanti prayatāḥ dvijaḥ | viśvakarman namas te 'stu viśvat- 

man viśva-sambhava | Viṣṇo jīśno. Hare Krishna Vaikuṇṭha Purushottama | Adityāḥ saptadāṁ tvāṁ tu purāne garbhataṁ gataḥ | Priśni- 

garbhas tvam evaikas triyugaṁ tvāṁ vadanty api | S'uchisravāḥ Hṛishi- 

keśo ghritāchir haṁsāḥ uchyase | trichakṣuḥ Sambhur ekas tvāṁ vibhur Dāmodaro 'pi cha | Varāho 'gnir vṛihadbhāṇur vṛishabhās Tārkṣhya- 

lakṣaṇaḥ | . . . . 1514. Yonis tvam asya pralayaścha Krishna tvam 

evedaṁ srijasi viśvam agre | viśvanchadaṁ tvad-vaśe viśvayone namo 'stu te śārnga-chakrāśi-pāne |

"By thy favour, Krishna, 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 Purusha: thee alone they call the refuge of the Satvats. 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, Vishnu, conqueror, Hari, Krishna, Vaikuṇṭha, chief of spirits (or males). Of old thou didst become the sevenfold offspring of Aditi. Thou alone art Priśni-garbha: they also call thee [him who exists in] the three ages (yugas). Thou art called Suchisravas, Hṛishikeśa, Ghritāchī, and Hansa. Thou alone art the three-eyed Sambhu (Mahādeva) and Dāmodara, the pervading, the Boar, Agni, Vṛihadbhāṇu, the Bull, he whose sign is Tārkṣhya (Garuḍa)." A long list of other titles then follows, concluding with these words: "Thou art the source and the destruction of this universe, Krishna: 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 Bhīṣma to Krishna is given, in which the following lines occur:

1609 | Yasmin visvāni bhātāni tisṭhanti cha viśanti cha | gurabhātāni bhātese sūtre mani-gaṇaḥ iva | yasmin nitye tate tantau drīḍho 

srāg iva tisṭhāti | sad-asad grāhitaṁ viśvāṁ viśvāṁ viṣva-karmanī. |

260 This, I suppose, refers to the Adityas being in the Veda spoken of as only seven in number. See above, pp. 114 ff.

261 A name of Agni.
Hariṁ sahasra-tirasaiṁ sahasai-charantekshaṭam | sahasai-bāḥu-nukuṭaiṁ sahasra-vadanojñivalam | prāhur Nārāyaṇaṁ devaṁ yaṁ viśvasya
aparāyaṇam | aniyāsaiṁ aniyāṁsaṁ sthavistham cha sthaviyasām | garīyasaiṁ garishtham cha āreskhaṁ cha āryasām api | yaṁ vākeshv anuvākeshu nishatsu-paniṁshatu cha | grinanti satya-karmāṇaṁ satyaṁ satyeshu sāmasu | ityādi | . . . . . . 1616. Sarvāṭmā sarva-vīt sarvaḥ sarvajñaḥ sarva-bhāvanaḥ | yaṁ devaṁ Devaki devī Vasudevād ajījanat | Bhauṃasya Brahmano guptyai diptaiṁ Agnim ivāraṇiḥ | . . . . . . 1622. Yasmin lokāḥ spohurtime jale šakunayo 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 Devakī 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 Upapūrāṇas do to the Purāṇas. Nilakanṭha, one of the commentators (whether conjecturally, or on good grounds, I cannot say), explains nishatsu as meaning 'karmāṅgādy-avabaddha-devatādi-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" (kevalatma-jñāpaka-vākyeshu). Vākas, according to the same authority, "make known ceremonies generally" (sāmānayataḥ karma-prakāśakeshu); while anuvākas are "texts of the Brahmana, explanatory of the sense of the mantras, or Vedic hymns" (mantrārtha-vivaraṇa-bhāteshu brahmaṇa-vākyeshu).

263 See the 5th vol. of this work, pp. 208 ff.
In the following passage, also from the Śānti-parvan, Kṛṣṇa 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 Kṛṣṇa 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 Kṛṣṇa to interpret the different appellations which had been applied to him in the Vedicas and Purāṇas; and this Kṛṣṇa accordingly proceeds to do, remarking, by the way that Arjuna had already been declared to be his own half

(tvaṁ hi me 'ṛdhāṁ smrītaḥ purā). Nārāyaṇa (i.e. Vishnu), he says, was the source of all things, and from him Brahmā and Siva were produced; the one from his good pleasure, the other from his anger (13140. Yasya prasādajaye Brahmā Rudrasya krodha-sambhavati). He then goes on (13144): Brāhma rātri-kshaye prūpte tasya hy anītā-tejasāḥ | prasādāt prādūrabhavat padmam padmanibhekshaṇa | tato Brahmā samabhavat sa tasyaica prasādajaye | ahnoḥ kshaye latātācheha suto devasya vai tathā | krodhāviśhyataḥ sanjagnye Rudrayaśaṁhāra-kāraṇāḥ | ētāu ēva均已 vibudhā-nīrshēthaḥ prasāda-krodhāyā vīnaḥ ubhau | tad-ādēśita-panthānāṁ sṛṣṭi-saṁhāra-kāraṇāu | nimittamātram tāv atra sarva-prāṇi-vara-pradāu | kaparā jataḥ muṇḍaḥ śmaśāna-grihasevakaḥ | ugra-vrata-dhāro Rudroyoḥ parama-dāruṇaḥ | Dakṣa-kratu-haraśchaiva Bhaga-netra-haraśe tathā | Nārāyaṇātmako jneyaḥ Pāṇḍaveya yuge yuge | tasmin hi pūjyamāne vai deva-deve Mahēśvare | sampūjito bhavet Pārtha devo Nārāyaṇoḥ prabhuh | aham ātmā hi lokānāṁ visveshām Pāṇḍu-nandana | 13152. tasmād ātmānam evaṁre Rudrāṁ sampūjayāmy aham | yady aham nārāhaṃ vai Īśānām varadāṁ Sivam | ātmānāṁ nārachayadāsā svāh | kaścīd iti me bhāvāttamanāḥ | maya pramāṇaṁ hi kṛitaṁ lokāḥ samanuvartate | pramāṇāni hi pūjāni tatas tām pūjayāmy aham | yas tāṁ vetti sa māṁ vetti yo 'nu taṁ sa hi mām anu | Rudro Nārāyaṇoḥ chaiva sattvam ekaṁ dvīdāhākritaṁ | loka charutī Kauṭeyāja vijaktu-sthāṁ sarva-karmaś | na hi me kenachid deyo varaḥ Pāṇḍava-nandana | iti sanchintya manasā purāṇam Rudram śva-ram | putrārthham ārādhītavān aham ātmānam ātmanaḥ | na hi Vishnuḥ

See the other passages about their identity, or intimate union, above, pp. 228 ff.
praṇamati kasaṁcīchit vitaḍhāya cha | rite ātmānam eveti tato Rudram
bhajam yah samabhakāh sarudrāscha sendraḥ devaḥ sahariṣṭīḥ |
archayanti sura-śresṭ̄hān devāṁ Nārāyaṇam Harim | bhavishyatāṁ
varatāṃcha bhūtānamchaiva Bhārata | sarvēṣaṁ agraṇīr Viśṇuḥ
sevyah pūjyaścha nityāsaḥ 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 offspring of his (Viṣṇu'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, have their

265 I quote the following from the Maitrī Upanishad, 5th Prapāṭhaka: Tamo vai
idam agrē āśīd ekam | tat pare syat | ttx tat pareṇa ēritaṁ viṣhmatvam prayati |
etad rūpāṁ vai rajaḥ | tad rajaḥ khalī ēritaṁ viṣhmatvam prayati | etad vai
sattvasya rūpam | tat sattvam eva ēritaṁ rasah sampravratav | so ‘ṁo 'yaṁ yaś
chetā-mātraḥ pratipurushāḥ khetrajah sankaḷpāḥavyavāśyāḥ kimāna-lingah | Prapā-
patir Viśvā ity asya prāg uktah ētās tavaḥ | atha yo ha khalu vāva asya tāṁ
tasmā ‘ṁo ‘sau sa brahmācārīṇo yo ‘yaṁ Rudraḥ | atha yo ha khalu vāva asya rājas
‘ṁo ‘sau sa brahmācārīṇo yo ‘yaṁ Brahmā | atha yo ha khalu vāva asya sāttvika
‘ṁo ‘sau sa brahmācārīṇo yo ‘yaṁ Viṣṇuḥ | sa vai eṣa ekas triḍāḥ bhūto śhāḍhā
ekūḍāśadāḥ dvādaśadāḥ aparviraśadāḥ vā udbhūtāḥ udbhūtātūvā bhūtām bhūtesu
chārati pravīṣṭāḥ sa bhūtānām adhipatīr babhūva | ity asa ētāṁ 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, ascen-
tainment, and consciousness. Prapāṭati, Viśvā—these and the like, before mentioned,
are its forms. As for its darkness-characterized" [tāmasah] "portion, that, O
ye students, is the same as Rudra; and for its activity-characterized" [rajasah]
"portion, that, O students, is the same as Brahma; and as for its goodness-charac-
terized" [sāttvikaḥ] "portion, that, O students, is the same as Viṣṇu. 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 Viṣṇu-purāṇa, sect. 66, as quoted by Professor Aufrecht in his "Catalogus
Sōdium Sanscriticorum," p. 566, it is declared by Śūta that there is but one God,
who assumed three forms (rājasī, sāttvikā, tāmasī tāṇis) for the creation, preservation,
and destruction of the world. In the Devā-Īhāgavata Purāṇa, book i., sect. 4,
v. 46, quoted in the same Catalogue, p. 80a, Nārāda tells Viṣṇu that Viṣṇu had once
spoken to Brahmā as follows: Svaṁṣhī tvam pālakaṁ chāhaṁ Harah saṁhāra-kurakāḥ |
courses prescribed by him, [and are] the accomplisher 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 Mahēṣvara is worshipped, then, son of Prithū, 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.²⁶⁶ Authoritative examples are to be reverenced: hence I reverence him (Śiva). He who knows him knows me; he who loves him loves me.²⁶⁷ 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 Viṣṇu 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. Viṣṇu 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

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, Kṛṣṇa is described as performing a ceremony to obtain a son, at the same time that he is represented as the supreme deity. Bhīṣma, at the request of Yudhishṭhira, tells him a story illustrative of the glory of Kṛṣṇa. He states that Kṛṣṇa had performed a ceremonial (vrata) of twelve years’ duration (6397), which many rishis came to witness. In presence of these rishis flame issued from the mouth of Kṛṣṇa, 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, Kṛṣṇa 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 Vishnu 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). Kṛṣṇa 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 Kṛṣṇa’s praises, appoint Nārada to describe the wonders which had been witnessed by the rishis on the Himalaya 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 Himalaya. 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 sacrificial cord (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 Bhishma tells us, she accordinglydoes (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 Vāsudeva (Krishṇa). At the close of Mahādeva's discourse, Nārāda 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 Nārāda'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. Bhīshma then relates that, after completing the rite on which he had been engaged, Krishṇa returned to Dvārakā, where a son was born to him (6889), and goes on to explicate yet further on his divine character. Yudhishṭhīra, however, is still unsatisfied, and inquires as follows (6937 ff.):

"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? Bhīshma 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, Vishṇu, 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 Vishṇu, 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 Vishṇu are then detailed, among which the following occur, all, or most of them, ordinarily appellations of Mahādeva, viz. Sarva, Sarva, Siva, Sthāṇu (v. 6953), Īśāna (v. 6957), Rudra (v. 6962).

Again, we are informed in the Ānuśāsana-parvan, that the rishis requested Mahādeva to expound to them the greatness of Vāsudeva (Krishṇa), which he accordingly does in vv. 6806 ff.:
devah pratapavān | drishte tasminn ahāṃ drīṣṭo na me’trāsti vichāraṇā |
pitāmaha vā devesah iti vitta tapodhanāḥ |

"Superior even to Pitāmaha (Brahma) is Hari, the eternal Purusha, Kṛishṇa, 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, Hṛishkēśa, 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, Hṛishkēśa, 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 Brahmans, 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 Ānakadundubhi, the prolonger of his race, known as Vasudeva. To him shall be born a four-armed son, Vāsudeva, liberal, a

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benefactor of Brähmans, one with Brahma, a lover of Brähmans. . . .

6842. You (the gods) should, as I said, worship this deity, like the eternal Brahmā, approaching him with reverential and excellent garlands of praise. For the divine and glorious Vasudeva 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 Brähmans, refers him to Krishṇa, whose divine greatness he then proceeds to set forth as follows (vv. 7360 ff.):

Krishṇaḥ prithvīm asrijat kham divanchara Krishṇasya dehād medini sambabhūva | varāho 'yam bhūma-balaḥ purāṇaḥ sa parvatān evasrijad vai diśāsaḥ | asya chādho 'thāntarikshāṁ divanchara diśāṁ chatasro vidīśāṁ chatasraḥ | sriśīṣṭā tathāiveyam anuprasūta sa nirmame viścam idam purāṇaṁ | asya nābhīyām pushkaraṁ samprasūtaṁ yatropannāḥ svayam evāmitanjaḥ | yena chhinnaṁ yat tamaḥ Pārtha ghoraṁ yat tat tishthaty arṇavam tarjayānam | . . . . . 7388. Vāyur bhūtvā vikshipate sa viścam agnir bhūtvā dahate viṣva-rūpaḥ | āpo bhūtvā majayate sa sarvam Brahmā bhūtvā ēṣijate sarca-sanghān | vedyanca yad vedayate cha vedyaṁ vidhiśca yaś chāśrayate vidheyam | dharme cha vede cha bale cha sarvāṁ charācharaṁ Keśavaṁ śrī prattīḥ | jyotir-bhūtaḥ paramo 'sau purastāṭ prakāśate yat prabhāyā viṣva-rūpaḥ | apiḥ sriśīṣṭā sarva-bhūtātma-yoniḥ purā 'karot sarvam evātha viścam ityādi |

"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 f.) could reduce this world to ashes, and create new ones, and rulers of worlds, (bhasma kuruyur jagad idaṁ kruddhāḥ prayakṣha-darśīnaḥ | anyān api srijeyuś cha lokān lokesvarāṁs 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 added 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 Dwārakā, he fell in with the muni Uttanga, who asked him whether he had reconciled the Kuruś and Pāṇḍuś 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 became 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 rajaś cha sattvām cha viiddhi bhāvān mad- āśrayān | tathā Rudrān Vasūn vā 'pi viiddhi mat-prabhāvān duījaḥ | mayi sarvāṇi bhūtāni sarva-bhūteshu chūpy aham | sthitāḥ ityādi | . . . .

1567. Sad asachehaiva yat prāhur avyaktam ṣvyaktam eva cha | aksharaṁ cha kṣaranchaiva sarvam etad mad-ātmaṁ | ye chāṣvameshu vai dharmāḥ chaturdhāḥ viditāḥ mune | vaidikani cha sarvāṇi viiddhi sarvam mad-ātma-
KRISHNA DECLARES HIS OWN NATURE.


bhūta-grāmasya sarvasya srushṭāḥ sāṁhāraḥ eva cha | adharme vartamaṇānāṁ sarvashām ahum achyutaḥ | dharmasya setum bhadnāmi chalite chalite yuge | tās tāḥ yonīḥ praviśāhām prajānaṁ hitakāmyāyāḥ | yadā tv ahāṁ deva-yonau vartāmi Bṛṇigū-ṇandana | tadā 'haṁ deva-rat sarvam uchāṁ na sāṁsayaḥ | ... 1582. Mānushye vartamaṇe tu kṛipanāṁ yācitaṁ maya | na cha te jāta-sammohāḥ vaco 'grihanta moḥitaḥ | bhayaṁca mahad uddisya trūṣitaḥ Kuravo maya | kruddhena bhūtvā cha punar yathāvad anudarśitaḥ | te 'dharmeṇeṇa saṁyuktaḥ paritāḥ kāla-dharmanā | dharmena nihaṭāḥ yuddhe gataḥ svargāṁ na sāṁsayaḥ | ... Uttaṁaḥ uvācha | abhiyāmāṁ jagataḥ kartāraṁ tvāṁ Janaīranda |

"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 munī, 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 ōmkāra, [that I am], the sacrificial post,

270 See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, under apyaya; and Ud yoga-parvan, v. 2569.
the soma, the charu, the homa, which satiates the immortals, tridaśa-pyāyana in the sacrifice. 

He, Professor Aschol, hatsya tvaram Tina priests present have and pyayana I to annihilator (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, Brahmā, 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 Kṛṣṇa, the sage Uttanga breaks out: “I recognize thee, Janārdana, as the creator of the world,” etc. Kṛṣṇa then shows him his divine form.

271 See Mahābhārata, Śānti-parvan, v. 3655 ff., where Indra says: Āhave tu hataṁ śūraṁ na śocheta kathuchane | aṣoṣhya hi hataḥ śūraḥ svgara-loke mahiṣyate | na hy annaiṁ nodakaṁ tasya na svānaṁ napū aṣaukham | hātasya kartum icchanti tasya lokāṁ śṛṇushva me | varōpsaraṁ-sahasrāṇi śūram āyodhane 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 ablutions, 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 Mahādeva 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.272 Another passage of this description occurs in the Harivānśa, vv. 10660 ff. It had been related in the preceding section that Siva had come to the assistance of Bāṇa and the Dānavas in tions about Hūrīs in the Coran. So also in vv. 3591 ff., it is said: Abhī ṭ vikir an satrūn pratigṛhya śārūmī tathā | na tasmat tridāsāḥ śreyo bhūmi paśyanti kīñchana | tasyaa satrūgī yāvanti tvacham bhindanti samyuge | tāvataḥ so 'ānte lokān sarvā-kūnā-duhu 'kṣa ṣyāḥ | yad asya rudhirān gūtrād āhave samparvartate | aha tengaiva pāpena sarva-pāpeḥ pramukhāyate| “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 (abhūṛgūṇam ime lokāḥ bhāsāvato khe ta paśyata | pūrṇāh gandharva-kanyābhīḥ sa rva-kūmā-duhu 'kṣa ṣyāḥ); and the hells prepared for such as fled from battle. In the same way Krisnā says to Jārāsandha (Sabhā-parvan, v. 869): Ko hi jīnān abhiṣJanamātmanān kshatriya nṛripāḥ | nāvīsāt svargam atulaṁ ravānāntaram asmāyaṃ | svargaṁ hy eva samāsthāya rava- yajnesu dīkṣitāḥ | jayanti kshatriyāḥ lokānām tu dvid āhi manvijrashāha | svarga- yonir mahād brahma svarga-yonir maḥād yaśāḥ | svarga-yonir tapo yuddhe vriyāyāḥ so vyabhichāravān | 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 Vāyu Purāṇa, as quoted in Aufrecht's Catalogue, p. 56, col. 2 (partly referred to above, p. 267, note); Varāhāpi, ibid., p. 58, col. 2, note 2, and p. 59, col. 2; Devībhāgā, ibid., p. 81A; also Padmap, ibid., p. 16, note 1. The last text is as follows: Krisnā speaks: S'āvīḥ Sourās cha Gānēsāh Vaishnavāḥ S'akti- pujakaḥ | mām eva prāppnunīhā sarvāpuḥ sāgarā yathā | eko hi panchehādā jātāḥ svarūpānām nāmābhiḥ kilā | Devadatto yathā kaśchit putrādy-ākhvānā-nāmābhiḥ | “The worshippers of Śīva, Śūra (the Sun), Gānēśa, Vishnu 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.'
OF KRISHNA AND SIVA.

their conflict with Krishna (v. 10587 f.), when a terrible combat ensues between the latter and Siva, which causes the earth to tremble, and throws the whole universe into disorder (v. 10601 f.). Siva is at length paralyzed by a weapon of his adversary called jrimbhana, which causes him to yawn incessantly (v. 10632 f.). The earth is distressed (v. 10641 ff.) and appeals to Brahma for assistance. Brahma (v. 10647) remonstrates with Siva against his conflict with Krishna, who, he says, is in reality one with himself. Siva perceiving by yoga (mental union with the object contemplated) the truth of what Brahma had stated, says to Brahma that he will no longer fight against Krishna, and the two combatants embrace (v. 10648 ff.). Brahma then says to the sage Markandeya (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 (Siva) 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 Markandeya to explain this phenomenon which had occasioned him great astonishment. Markandeya replies (vv. 10660 ff.):


273 See the same words above, p. 231.
274 The MS. in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society reads darśitaḥ.
parataram guhyam kathitam te Pitamaha | yaś chainam pathate nityam
yaś chainan śrīnyād naraḥ | prāpnoti paramāṁsthānāṁ Rudra-Viṣṇu-
prasāda-jam | devau Hari-Haraḥ stoshye Brahmanā saha sangatau | etau
cha paramau devau jagataḥ prabhavāpyayau | Rudrasya paramo Viṣṇur
Viṣṇoścha paramaḥ Śivah | ekaḥ eva dvidhā-bhūta loke charati nityaśah |
na vinā Sankaraṁ Viṣṇur na vinā Keśavaṁ Śivah | tasmād ekatvam
āyatau 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-
maha (Brahma): 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, movable and immovable, possesses the
nature of Agni and Soma.275 The lords, Viṣṇu and Mahēśvara, are
the makers and destroyers of things movable and immovable, and
the benefactors of the world. The gods Nārāyaṇa and Mahēśvara
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 Brahma; and
these two are the supreme deities, the originators and destroyers of the

275 See above, pp. 204 and 225.
DIFFERENT REPRESENTATIONS OF KRISHNA.

281

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 Krishna 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 Krishna.

A second class of texts has been brought forward in pp. 205 ff., in which his superiority is represented to have been denied by Siśupāla, Duryodhana, Karṇa, and Salya. Of course we are not to imagine that any claim to a superhuman character was ever advanced on behalf of the Yādava 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 Krishna's behalf may be indicated in the verses I have quoted in p. 237 ff., 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 Krishna 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 Yādava 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 Kṛishṇa 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 Aṭi-
parvan, v. 8196, quoted or referred to in pp. 244 ff., and the Udyoga-
parvan, quoted in p. 247).

The identification of Arjuna and Kṛishṇa with the saints Nara and Nārāyana (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 Vishnu and Kṛishṇa, was, in the fanciful spirit of Indian mythology, and in consonance with the tenet of metempsychosis, declared to have been an earlier manifestation of Kṛishṇa,—when Arjuna, the bosom friend of the latter, would naturally be regarded as the same with Nara, the inseparable companion of Nārāyana); or whether the whole legend was originally invented for the glorification of Kṛishṇa and Arjuna.

In the passages above adverted to, where Kṛishṇa 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.), Kṛishṇa, as Vishnu, is asserted to be one with the supreme God, while Mahādeva is represented as springing from, and dependent on, Vishnu. 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 Kṛishṇa, and that in another place Kṛishṇa is exalted above Mahādeva? Must we assume the one set of passages to be older

277 In Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary the word Nārāyana 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 "pri-
meval man."

278 Even in the parts of the Vīṣṇu Purāṇa and Mahābhārata (see pp. 49 and 253 ff.), where Kṛishṇa 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 complexion 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 Vaishānavas 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 Viṣṇu is but seldom280 mentioned—a fact which he

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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 Viṣṇu. 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 Mahādeva in different parts of India. In the Tīrtha-yātra, or section on visiting places of pilgrimage, in the Vana-parvāṇ, 6054 ff., it is said of the Vaitaraṇi river, in the country of the Kalingas: 

_Tatas Tripishtapaṁ gachchhet trishu lokeshu viśrutam | tatra Vaitaraṇi punyā nadi pāpa-praṇāśini | tatra snātva 'rchayitvā cha S'ālapāṇiṁ 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 (Mahādeva), 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 ādattavān makhe | paśum ādāya rājendra bhāgo 'yam iti chābrańt | hrite paśau tādā devās tam ṝcchur Bharatarshabha | mā para-svam abhidroḍhāḥ mā dharmān sakalān vaśīḥ | tataḥ kalyāṇa-rūpābhā vāgḥiṣ te Rudram astućaran | ishṭāy chānaṁ tarpayitvā mānayāncekāri tādā | tataḥ sa paśum utsriyā deva-yānena jagmīvān | tatrānucāṣmo Rudrasya tam nibodha Yudhisṭhirā | ayātayāmaṁ sarvebhyo bhāgebhyo bhāgam uttamam | devaḥ sankaḍpayaṁ-māsur bhayaṅ Rudrasya śāsvatam | imāṁ gāthām-astra gāyān apaṁ spṛśati yo naraḥ | deva-yāno 'syā panthās 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 ayātayama (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:

**Athā Gokarnam āśādyā triśu lokeshu viśrutam | samudra-madhye rājendra sarva-loka-namaskritam | yatra Brahmādayo devaḥ rishayaś cha tapodhanāḥ | . . . . .** 8169: Saritah sugaroḥ sailah upāsanta Umā- patim | ityādi | "Then having reached Gokarna, renowned in the three worlds, standing in the sea, adored by all worlds, where Brahmā 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 | daḍāraṁ makarāvāsaṁ gambhirodam mahodadhim | tam atityātha Gokarnam abhyagachhat Dāśānanaḥ | dayitāṁ sthānam avyagraṁ Sālapūner mahātmanaḥ |** 8169: "Having passed Trikūṭa, and the Black Mountain, he (Rāvana) 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-yātra, however, from which the passages preceding the last are taken, contains the following lines celebrating Krishṇa:

Vāna-parvan, v. 8349 f.—Punyā Dwāravatī tatra yatrasau Madhuśūdanaḥ | sākṣhād devaḥ purāṇo 'sau sa hi dharmah sanātanaḥ | ye cha veda-vidvo vipraḥ ye chādvyātma-vidvo janāḥ | te vadanti mahātmānaṁ Krishṇaṁ dharmāṁ sanātanan | pavitramīṁ hi Govindaḥ pavitram param uchyate | punyānam api punya 'sau mangalāniṁ cha mangalam | trailokyे Punḍara-rīkṣako deva-devaṁ sanātanaḥ | avyāyatma vyayātma cha kṣhtrajñaḥ parameścarah | āste Harir ucintyātma tatraiva Madhuśūdanaḥ |"There is the holy Dwāravatī 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.—Erāṇi teshāṁ vilapatāṁ viprānāṁ vividhāḥ giraḥ | Arjuno dhanuṣho 'bhāye āsthaṁ girir ivāchalāṁ | sa tad dhanuḥ parikramya pradakṣiṇam athākarot | prāṇamya sīrasā devam Īśānaṁ varadāṁ prabhūm | Kṛishṇaṁ cha manasā kriyāḥ jagrihe chārjuno dhanuḥ | yat pārthirāḥ Rukmi-Sunītha-Vaktraiv Rādheya-Duryodhana-S'alya-S'alvaiv | tadā dhanu-veda-parair nriśiñhāḥ kriyai na sajyam mahato 'pi yatnāḥ | tad Arjunaḥ 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 Kṛishṇa,231 Arjuna seized the bow. And that bow which the lion-like kings Rukmin, Sunītha (S'isupāla), Vaktra, Rādheya, Duryodhana, S'alya, and S'alva, 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 Yudhishthira, went to worship Mahādeva (v. 15801):

Jagāṇa rājau duḥkhārto Gangādāryāya Bhārata | sa devaiḥ saranaṁ gatvā virūpāksham Umāpatim | tapas chachāra vipulaṁ tasya prito


231 Lassen (Indian Antiquities, vol. i., p. 646, first ed.; p. 794, second ed.) regards this reference to Kṛishṇa as a later interpolation in the older story.
"He went, O king, distressed with grief, to Gangādvāra (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 Vishnū, 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 Vishnū, 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 Vishnū, though the latter is represented as being magnified by the rival deity. But this part of the story may be interpolated.

In the Śanti-parvan also (vv. 1748 ff.), it is related how Paraśurāma worshipped Mahādeva on the mountain Gandhamādana, and obtained his celebrated axe, by which he became renowned in the world (toshayitvā Mahādevam parvate Gandhamādana | astrūni varayāmāsa paraśuṁ chāti-tejasam | sa tenākuntha-dhāreṇa jvalitānala-varchasā | kuthāreṇā-prameyena 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 Rajasūya sacrifice, which presupposed that he was the most powerful of contemporary monarchs; but Kṛishṇa in the following words tells him that he cannot do so while Jarāsandha lives:

Sabhā-parvan, v. 626.—Na tu śakyaṁ Jarāsandhe jīvamāne mahābale |
288 JARASANDHA WISHES TO SACRIFICE CAPTIVES TO MAHĀDEVA.

"But whilst the powerful Jarasandha 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 Jarasandha 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 Jarasandha, deserted Mathurā, and went to the city of Dvāravatī."

Kṛishṇa returns, a little farther on, to Jarasandha’s cruelty to the kings:

Sabhā-parvan, v. 653.—Ratna-bhājo hi rājāno Jarasandham upāsate | na cha tushyati tenāpi bālyād anayam āsthitāḥ | mūrdhābhishiktāṁ nṛpatim pradhāna-purusho balāt | ādatte na cha no ṇriṣṭo 'bhāgoḥ puruṣāhataḥ kvachit | evaṁ sarvān vāse chaṅke Jarasandhāḥ satāvarān | taṁ durbala-paro rājā katham Pārtha upaishyati | prakshītănām pramṛişṭānāṁ 282 rājām Paśupate grihe | paśūnāṁ ivā kā pṛtit jīvite Bharat-arshabha | "For jewelled kings wait upon Jarasandha; 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: Pramṛişṭānāṁ | Rudra-dāiva-atyo ’yam iti pratyekam abhinirṣṭānāṁ |

283 These words are explained by the commentator in the above sense: Jarasandhena abhāgaḥ asvikṛitaḥ | puruṣāhataḥ mūrdhābhishikteshu puruṣeshu | tena sarve vaśik- 

ritāḥ ity arthāḥ | “Abhāgaḥ means ‘unappropriated’ by Jarasandha. Puruṣāhataḥ means ‘among anointed kings.’ The sense is, that ‘all have been subdued by him.’"
Jarāsandha has reduced to subjecting all in 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 Brahmans, and after some conversation, Krishṇa says to Jarāsandha:

Sabhā-parvan, vv. 861 ff.—Tvayā chopahritāḥ rājan kshatriyāḥ lokā-
vāsināḥ | tad ōgaḥ krūram utpādyā manyaye kim anōgasan | rāja rājnāḥ
dhān śūnyd nṛpati-sattama | yad rājnāḥ saṅnigrihya tvām
Rudrāyopajihirhasi | asmāṁ sad etopacachhet kritaṁ Vārhadratha
tvayā | vayaṁ hi saktāḥ dharmasya rakṣaṇe dharmachārināṁ | manushya-
āṁ samālambho na cha drīṣṭāḥ kadāchana | sa kathām mānasah ādain
yashūtum ichhasi S'ankaram | savarno hi savarnāṁ 284 paśu-sanjñāṁ

284 On this the commentator remarks: Nanu "Brahmāne brāhmaṇam āldheta" ityādāṁ sarva-jātyānāṁ sarva-karmāṇāṁ manushyāṇāṁ ālambo devatārdham ba-
dhāḥ śūyate ity āsanksya āha savarno 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 these here quoted by the commentator occur in the Taitt. Br., iii. 4, 1, 1 ff. (Brahmāne brāhmaṇam āldhaṁ ityādā | "He sacrifices a Brāhmaṇa to Brahman,"
etc., etc.) and in the Vājasanayi Sanhitā, xxx. 5 ff. (Brahmāne brāhmaṇam ityādā). 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 Sūnaśēpa, 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: Purusahāṁ vai devāṁ paśūn ālabbhānta | tasmād
ālabbhāḥ madhāḥ udakāraṁ | so śvam prāvīṣāt | tasmād aśvo medhyo 'bhavat | atha
enam utkraṇa-madhān aṭyārjanta | sa kimpurusho 'bhavat | te śvam 'ālabbhānta | so
śvād ālabbhāḥ udakāram | sa gām prāvīṣāt | tasmād gaur medhyo 'bhavat | atha
enam utkraṇa-madhān aṭyārjanta sa gauramṛgo 'bhavat | te gām 'ālabbhā | sa
gor ālabbhāḥ udakāram | so 'eim prāvīṣāt | "The gods sacrificed a man as a victim.
After he had been sacrificed, the sacrificial element went out of him. It entered into
the 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 Bühlingk and Roth's Lexicon, vol. ii., p. 228, and
vol. v., p. 1296; with whom Weber agrees, Ind. Stud., ix., 246. "The author very
karishyasi | ko 'nyaḥ evaṃ yatha hi tvam Jarāsandha vr̥thā-matiḥ | yasyām yasyām avasthāyāṃ yat yat, karma karoti yah | tasyāṃ tasyāṃ avasthāyāṃ tat-phaḷaṁ samavāpyuṣṭ | te tvāṁ jñāti-kiṣaya-karaṁ vayaṁ ārtānusārīṇaḥ | jñāti-vr̥iddhi-nimittārthaṁ viniḥantum ihāgatāḥ | ....

Jarāsandha uvācha. 882: Devatārtham upākārya rājnah Krishṇa katham bhayāt | aham adya vinneḥyeyāṁ kṣattraṁ vratam anusmaṇar |

"Thou, king, hast devoted [to Mahādeva] Kṣhatriyas dwellers in this world. Having devised this cruel iniquity, dost thou regard thyself as guiltless? How should a king slaughter virtuous kings? Inasmuch as thou hast confined kings, and seekest to offer them up to Rudra, the guilt committed by thee, son of Vṛihrathra, would attach to us. For we who practise righteousness are able to protect righteousness. And [such a thing as] the immolation of men has never been seen. How [then] dost thou seek to sacrifice to the god Śaṅkara with human victims? For thou, belonging to the same tribe [as those

likely means a dwarf," Hang's transl. of the Ait. Br., p. 90, note; Müller 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. Müller 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 S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, i., 2, 3, 6, is as follows: Purusāh ha vai devāḥ agrer paśuṁ āḥbhire | tasya ālabhasya medho 'paḥkraṁ | so 'śvam praviveṣa | te 'śvam ālabhanta | tasya ālabhasya medho 'pachakraṁ sa gām praviveṣa | te gām ā—— | so 'vim praviveṣa | te 'vim ā—— | so 'jam praviveṣa | te 'jam ālabhanta | tasya ālabhasya medho 'pachakraṁ | 7 | sa imāṁ prithivīṁ praviveṣa | tam khanantaḥ ita anvishuk | tam avavīndāṁ tāv ināṁ vṛihi-yavau | .........

sa yuvad-virya-yad ha vai asya ete sarve paśavah ālabhaḥ syus tīvad-virya-yad ha asya havir bhavati yah evaṁ 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 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.” Krīṣṇa, 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, Krīṣṇa, can I, who have devoted the kings to the god, remembering my duty as a Kṣatriya, to-day release them through fear?” He then accepts the challenge, and is killed by Bhīmasena.

The birth of Jarāsandha is thus related in the Sabhā-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 (Rākṣasī) 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 Rākṣasī 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 Rākṣasī kāma-rūpiṇī | tava vēsmani rājen-dra pūjitā nyavasaṁ sukham | grihe grihe manushyānāṁ nītyāṁ tīṣṭhāmi rākṣasī | griha-deviṁ nāmā vai purā srishtā Svayambhūvā | dānavānāṁ vināśaya sthāpītā divya-rūpiṇī | yo māṁ bhaktāṁ likhet kudye saputrāṁ yauvanāṅcītām | grihe tasye bhaved vṛīḍhir anyathā kṣayam āpnyāt | tvad-grihe tīṣṭhamānā tu pūjitā 'haṁ sadā vibho | likhitā chaiva kudye 'ham putair bahubhir ārjita | gandha-pushpais tathā dhūpair bhakṣhayair bhojyāṁ supūjitā | sā 'ham pratyupakārārthāṁ chintayāṁ aniśan tava | tvam eva putra-sakale dṛiṣṭaraviṣyati asmi dhārmika | saṁśeṣhite mayā daivaṁ kumāraḥ samapadyata | tava bhāgyād mahārājā hetu-mātram ahaṁ tv iha | Meru vā khaḍitaṁ saktā kim punas tava bālakam | grihe-sampū-janāt tushtyā mayā pratyarpitas tava |

“I am, bless thee, a Rākṣasī named Jarā, who can change my shape
at will. Worshipped in thy house, I have dwelt there in comfort. Named the house-goddess, I dwell constantly in every separate house of men, having been created of old by Svayambhū; and placed [there], of celestial form, for the destruction of the Dańavas. 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, 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 Jarā (v. 738. Ājnāpayach cha rākshasyāḥ Magadheshu mahotsavam | tasya nāmākaro chaiva Pitāmaha-samāḥ pitā | Jaryā sandhito yasmāj Jarāsandho bhavatu ayam). The rishi Chaṇḍakausika arrives on a certain occasion in the country of the Magadhās, and prophesies the future greatness of Jarāsandha (vv. 745 ff.). He ends by saying that this mighty prince of Magadhā should have a manifest vision of Rudra, Mahādeva, Hara, the destroyer of Tripura (v. 753. Esā Rudram Mahādevaṁ tripurānta-karaṁ Haram | sarvalokesu atibalo sakshād 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 Rājasūya sacrifice which Yudhishṭhira sought to celebrate, we find (as Lassen, i. 673, first ed.; p. 821, second ed., remarks) the Pāṇḍavas represented as the partisans of Krīṣṇa; and this legendary narrative may perhaps

285 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 Mahādeva. In the story of Sīṣupāla, 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 Sīṣupāla, 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 Yudhishṭhira lives, and while his own father, Dhritarāśtha, survives (15285 ff.); but he suggests that there is another great sacrifice which Duryodhana may offer (15287 ff.):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Aasti tv anyad mahat坐着yo-सत्राम राजसुया-समम prabho | tena tvam yaja} \\
\text{rājendra śrīnu chedaṁ vacho mama | ye ime prithivi-pālāḥ kara-dāś tata} \\
\text{pārthiva | te karān samprayachhantu suvarṇanca kriyākritam | tena te} \\
\text{kriyatām adya lāṅgalaṁ nṛpa-sattama | yajna-vājaśya te bhūmiḥ} \\
\text{krihyatāṁ tena Bhārata | tatra yajno nṛpa-śreshṭha prabhūtām} \\
\text{susāsākriṭāḥ | pravartatāṁ yathāyāyaṁ sarvato hy anivāritāḥ | esha te} \\
\text{Vaiśānavo nāma yajnah.satpurushochitaḥ | etena neshtvān kaschid rite} \\
\text{Vishnum purātanaṁ | rājasūyaṁ kratu-śreshṭhaṁ spardhaty esha} \\
\text{mahākratuḥ | “But there is another great ceremonial equal to the} \\
\text{Rājasūya, with which, O great king, do you sacrifice: and hear this} \\
\text{which I have to say. Let those princes who are your tributaries}
\end{align*}
\]

See above, p. 211, note 210.
present to you their contributions, and gold both wrought and un-
-wrought. 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 f.),
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,
Māndhāti, and Bharata, had celebrated this rite, and had in con-
sequence gone to heaven (15327 ff.): Apare tv abruvans tatra vātikās
tam mahipatim | Yudhisṭhirasya yajnena na samo hy esha te kratuḥ |
naiva tasya kṛatōr esha kālāṁ arhati shoḍaśīṁ | evaṁ tatrābruvan
kechid vātikās tam janesvaram | suḥṛdas tv abruvans tatra ati sarvān
aṇaṁ kṛatur ityādi |

*I am not aware of any passage of the Mahābhārata in which Dur-
yodhana is represented as a special worshipper of Mahādeva; but in a
passage in the Kṛṇa-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 Rākṣhasa named Chārvāka, and is re-
presented as his friend (Sānti-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.

Sālīya-parvan, v. 3619: Yadi jāṇāti Chārvākāḥ parivrād vāg-visā-

²⁶⁷ It must, according to this, have been very uncommon. Further on, however,
it is said to have been celebrated by Yayāti and others.
The passage from the *S'anti-parvan*, v. 1414, is as follows:

> Nis'sade cha sthite tatra tato vipra-jane punah | rājanām brāhmaṇa-chhadāma
> Chārvāko rākshaso 'bravit | tatra Duryodhana-sakāh bhikṣhu-rūpeṇā
> saṁvritatāḥ | sākṣaḥ śiṅkhi trīdāndi cha dhriṣṭo vīgata-sādhuvaḥ | vriṇāḥ
> sarvaiḥ tathā viprair āśīrvāda-vivakshubhīḥ | paraṁ sahasraṁ rājendru
> tapo-niyama-saṁśrītaḥ | sa dusṭaḥ pāpam āṣaṁśuḥ Pāṇḍavaṁān maṁ-hātmanām
> | anāmantryaiva tān viprāṁs tam uvāca mahipatim | Chārvāko uvāca | ime prāhar dviṁḥ sarve saṁāropya vacho maḥi | dhig bhavaṁtaṁ kūrṇipatīṁ jñāti-gātānām astu vai | kiṁ tena syād hi Kaunteya
> kṛiteṇuṁ jñāti-sankshayam | ghātayītā guṇāṁs chaite maṛitaṁ śreyo
> na jīvitam | iti te vai dviṁḥ śrutva tasya dusṭtasya rakṣhaṁ | vivyathuṁ
> chukṛuṁs chaiva tasya vākyā-pradharaśītāḥ | tatas te brāhmaṇaṁ sarve sa
> cha rāja Yudhishthirāḥ | vṛdditāḥ paramodvijnāṁ īśuṁ nāḥiṁ śaṁpātīḥ |
> Yudhishthirāḥ uvāca | prāśīdantu bhavanto me prāṇaṁtasyābhiyāḥcaḥāḥ |
> pratyāśaṁ-cayaṁnaṁ ca na maṁ dhiḥkarte aryatha | Vaiśampāyaṇaḥ
> uvāca | tato rājan brāhmaṇaṁ te sarve eva viśāṃpate | uvāca naitad
> vacho śmaṁkaṁ śṛīr astu tava pāṁthīc | jauṇuṁ chaiva maṁ-hātmanāṁ taṭas
> tu jñāna-chakshuśaḥ | brāhmaṇaṁ veda-viśrūṁsas tapobhir vimālakṛitāḥ |
> brāhmaṇaṁ aĉuḥ | esha Duryodhana-sakāh Chārvāko nama rakṣhaṁ |
> parivṛjaka-rūpeṇā hitaṁ tasya chikārshati | na vayam brahma dharmatman viyutet te bhayaṁ śrīsaṁ | upatīṣṭhatu kalyāṇam bhavaṁta brāhmaऋb hiṁśa sa|
> Vaiśampāyaṇaḥ uvāca | tatas te brāhmaṇaṁ sarve hunkāraṁ krodha-mūrčhitāḥ |
> | nirbhartaṁyantaḥ suḥcayo niḥjaṅkuḥ pāpārakhaṁ | su paṭaṁ vinirdagyadhas tejasā brahma-vādpinām |
> māhendṛaṅ-sāṁ-nirṇādadhaṁ paḍapōnkuravāṇaṁ | pūjitāṁ cha yayaṁ viprāṁ raṁjanaṁ
> abhinandya tamil | rajā cha harshaṁ śāpe Pāṇḍavaṁ sa-suḥṛj-jaṇaṁ | tatas tatra tu rājanāṁ tisṭhantam brāṭtṛbhiḥ saha |
> uvāca Devaṁputraṁ sarvadārśi Janārdanaḥ | Vāsudevaṁ uvāca | brāhmaṇaṁ tātā loka
> 'smīn archanāyāḥ saḍaṁ yamaḥ | ete bhūṁcihaṁ devaṁ vāg-viśaḥ suprabuddaḥ |
> | purā Kṛitayuge rājaṁś Chārvāko nāma rākṣhaṁ | tapas tepe
> mahābāho Vādaryāṁ bahucarṣikam | vareṇa chhandyamanāṁ cha |
> Brahmana cha punaḥ punaḥ | abhayāṁ sarva-bhūtebyo varayāṁśa |
> Bhārata | dvijārmanānd anyatra prādād evram anuttamam | abhayāṁ sarvabhuṭtebyo dādau tasmai Prajāpatiḥ |
> | sa tu labha-varaḥ pāpo devaṁ amita-vikramaḥ | rākṣhaṁ tāpayaṁśa tīvekaraṁ maṁ-hābalaḥ | 1414.
"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 Yudhishṭhira, being ashamed and extremely vexed, remained silent. Then Yudhishṭhira 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 Devakī, 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 Brahmans. But
the wicked Rākshasa 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 Brahma, 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 Pândus or Panchālas of the Indra (=Vishnu)-
worship," and this supposition seems to derive support from the con-
siderations which have just been adduced.

The following passage from the Sabhā-parvan (where Kṛishṇa is de-
scribing to Yudhishṭhira the different partisans of Jarāsandha) appears
as if it contained a tradition indicating some struggle, at a period ante-
cedent to that of the writer, between the worship of Vishnu, and that
of some local deity who was venerated in the provinces east of Magadha.

Jarāsandhaṁ gataś tv eva purā yo na mayā hataḥ | Purushottama-
vijnāto yo 'sau Chedishu durmatiḥ | ātmānam pratijānāti loke 'smin
Purushottamam | ādatta satatam mohād yah sa chhānaṁ cha māmakam |
Vanga-Pundra-Kirāṭeshu rājā bala-samanvitaḥ | Paundrako Vāsudeveti
yo 'sau loke 'bhiviśrutaḥ | "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 pro-
fesses himself to be Purushottama, who through infatuation continually
assumes my mark—He who is a powerful king among the Bangas,
Pundras, and Kirātas, and is celebrated in the world as the Vāsudeva
of the Pundras.289 He is mentioned also Adi. 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. 349, 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 Viṣṇu 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 Śūrya, 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 Śiva. By the side of Vāyu, the wind, stands his companion Indra, the lord of the light, clear, heaven; and with him again Viṣṇu, 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 Viṣṇu to Indra is far from being estimated by the author in its full significance. Viṣṇu 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 Viṣṇu, 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 Viṣṇu."
CHAPTER III.

RUDRA AND MAHADEVRA, AS REPRESENTED IN THE VEDIC HYMNS, AND, THE BRAHMAÑAS.

In the preceding chapter I have quoted a variety of passages from the Mahābhārata, which, though primarily adduced to illustrate the ideas entertained of Krishṇa'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 Atharvaveda, 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 Rigveda 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).—Jarābodha tad vividhī viśe viśe yajnīyāya stomaṁ rudrāya dṛiśkam | "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.—Agni api rudraḥ uchyate | tasya esha bhavati. . . .

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.
(the one before us). Jarā means ‘praise.’ One who perceives it, or awakens [another] by it, is jarābodha. ‘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 “tricha,” 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 Aśvins, respectively. Roth also quotes from Jayatirtha the following short itihāsa in reference to this verse, which, however, applies it to Rudra: Agniḥ stūyamāṇah Sunaśsepham uvācha “Rudraṁ stuhi raudrāḥ hi paśacaḥ” iti | Sa tam pratyuvācha “nāhāṁ jānāmi Rudraṁ stotum tvam eva etam stuhi” iti tad idam uchyate “He jarābodha Rudra-stuti-vettas tat kuru” ityādi | “Agni, when he was being praised, said to Sunaśsepha, ‘Praise Rudra, for cattle (or victims) belong to him.’ He (Sunaśsepha) 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 prachetase milhushāmaya tavyase | vochema śantamāṁ hyide | 2. Yathā no Aditiḥ karat paśce nṛibhyo yathā gave | yathā tokāya rudriyam4 | 3. Yathā no Mitro Varuno yathā Rudraś chiketati | yathā viśe sajosahasā | 4. Gātha-patim medha-patim | Rudraṁ jālāśa-bheshajam | tat śaṁyōḥ sumnam imahe | 5. Yāḥ śukraḥ iva sūryo hiranyam iva rochate | śreshtho devānāṁ vasuḥ | 6. Saṁ naḥ karaty arvate sugam mṛṣyāya mṛṣye | nṛibhyo 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 jagunjire diveḥ rishvāsah ukshano Rudrasya maryaḥ asurāṁ arepasah | pāvakāśāḥ suchayāḥ sūryāḥ iva satrāno na drapsino

3 See also R.V. viii. 22, 14, which will be quoted further on.
4 “Rudra’s favour” (Benfey). Compare māṛutasya bheshajasya in R.V. viii. 20, 23.
ghora-varpasah | 3. Yuvåno Rudrâh ajarâh abhoggano vavakshur.adhire-
gâvah parvatâh ivâ | dãlña chid eiswâbhuvanâni pârthivâ prachâvâyanti
divâñi majmanâ | 12. Ghrishum pâvakañ vaninâñ vicharsha-
nâñ Rudrasya suññu havassa grîññâsi | rajasturañ tavasam mûrtañ
ganam rijishinâñ vriññâñ sañcchata 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
dow set 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 janaño ya sañtayo yâman Rudrasya
suññarâh sudâmsasañ | rodasâ hi marutaś chakrire vridhe madanti vîrâh
vidatheshu ghrishvayañ | “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. (Vâj. S. 16, 48; Taitt. S. iv. 5, 10, 1).—Imâñ
Rudrâya tavase kapardinâ. kshayad-vîrâh prabharâmahe matiñ | yathâ

5 See Prof. Max Mûller’s version of this hymn, and of that next quoted, in his
Translation of the R.V., vol. i.
6 See Prof. Max Mûller’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
Mûller, p. 112
7 Kapardin is also an epithet of Pûshan in R.V. vi. 55, 2: Rathitamanâ ka-
pardinam istanañ vâshaso mahåñ | vâyañ sakñäyam imåhe | “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: Avistä no ajûñvah Pûshâ
yâmanâ yâmanâ | abhâkshat kanyâsu nañ | 11. Ayañ somañ kapardinâ ghrîntäñ na
pavatâ madhuv | ä bhakshat kanyâsu nañ | “Pûshan, who has goats for steeds, is
our protector on every journey. May he make us possessors of damsels. 11. This
soma is purified for the god with spirally-braided hair, like sweet butter. May he
make us possessors of damsels.” The word is also applied to the Tritsus in R.V.
vii. 83, 8. . . . . . . S’vityaneho yatras namasä kapardinâ dihû dhânto asapanta
Tritsavanâ | . . . . . . . “Where the white-robed Tritsus with braided hair have
worshipped you with obeisances and prayers.” With this compare daksîhntatas-
kapardëñ 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 Bôhtlingk 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 asminn anāturam | 2. (=T.S. iv. 5, 10, 2) Mrīla no Ṛudra uta no mayas kṛdiḥ kshayad-virāya namasā vidhema te | yat saḿ cha yoschu Manur ā yeje pitā tad āsyāma tava Ṛudra pṛanitisuḥ | 3. Āsyāma te sumatiṁ deva-yajyā kshayad-virāṣya tava Ṛudra mīdhvāḥ | sumnāyann id viśo āsākam uchāra arishta-virāḥ juhavāma te ṛavī | 4. Tveshaṁ vayaṁ Ṛudraṁ

viii. 19, 10: Yasya tvan urydheo adhvarāya tishṭhasi kshayadvīraṁ sa sādhate | so arvadbhī sanītā sa vipānyūbhiḥ sa śūrail sanītā kṛitam | "The man to whom thou hovest over the sacrifice, prospers 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 Rudrā 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 specially 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 ṛṣṇād asya bhūvanasya bhūreḥ, "lord over this manifold creation," in R.V. ii. 33, 9; and compares sed u rājā kshayati charṣhaṁnāṁ in i. 32, 15, and the similar phrases in i. 112, 3, and x. 9, 5. Kshayadvīra is, he believes, nothing more than the usual nṛpati. 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 nṛihan; 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 kshayadvīra. Sayana renders the word variously. On the passage above referred to, viii. 19, 10, he interprets it: nivasadbhī itavarāḥ vā virāḥ putrādhibhā putrāt | 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-balānāṁ | yasmin saṛce virāḥ kshiyante, 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 vinaśyanto virāḥ yasmin tūḍriśāya | yadhā kshayatīr aśvavyakarnā | kshayantāḥ prāptaiśvaryaḥ virāḥ Marudgānāḥ 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 Mahiḍhara interprets the phrase: Kshayanto nivasanto virāḥ šūraḥ yatra sa kshayadvīras tasmāi śūra-yudāya iti arthāḥ | kshayanto nāśyanto virāḥ ripavo yasmāḥ iti vā | "He in whom heroes dwell is kshayadvīra; to him who is possessed of heroes. Or, he through whom heroes perish." On the second and third verses of i. 114, Sayana repeats in different words the explanations he had given on the first verse (Kshayita-sarva-virāṇa prāptaiśvaryaṁ marudbhī yuktāṁ vā | kshayita-pratīṣṭhāsaṁ Marudbhīr yuktāsya vā). On verse 10, he confines himself to the one explanation, Kshayita-sarva-satru-jana. In R.V. i. 125, 3, the same epithet is applied to Indra; where Sayana expounds it thus: Kshiyanto nivasanto virāḥ putra-bhṛityādayo yasya tapā tādriśām tavd-īśha-sādhana-bahu-dhana-pradaṭāram | "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-

SAYANA’S ETYMOLOGIES OF THE WORD RUDRA. 303

9 Sayana, 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:

16. "He is called Rudra (1) because he makes every one weep (rodaya)."
TRANSLATION

304 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 fulfiller 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 roar 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, quoted by Böhllingk and Roth, s.v. kar+upa+a: upa te gāh ivā ṛkaram vṛtjishva duhitai divah | Rātri stomaṁ na jigyushe | “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.” Sāyaṇa (on R.V. i. 114, 9) explains the comparison as follows: Yathā paśūnāṁ pālaṁītā gopāḥ prātaḥkāle svassai samarpitān paśūn sāyaṁkāle śāmibhyāḥ pratyarpayati evaṁ tevat sakāsāt labdhān stutirīpyān maṇtraṁ stuti-sūdhanaṭatyā tuḥhyam pratyarpayāmi | “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 Sāyaṇa's annotations on the sixth verse, he quotes the following later story to explain how Rudra (here identified with the later Mahādeva) came to be called the father of the Maruts:

Rudrasya Marutām piśācitaṃ evam akhyāyate purā kadāchid Indro surāṃ jīgāya tadāntiṃ Ditir Asura-mātā Indra-hanana-samartham putrāṃ kāmayaṃnā tāpasaḥ bhartuḥ sakāśad garbhāṃ lebeḥ | imāṃ vṛttāntam avagachhann Indro vajra-hastaḥ san sūkṣma-rūpo bhūtvā tasyāḥ udaraṃ pravīṣya taṁ garbhāṃ saptadāhā bibheda | punar apy ekaikāṃ sapta-khaṇḍaṃ akaroḥ | te sarve garbhaika-deśāḥ yoner nirgatyārundan | etasminn uvasare lilārthāṃ gachhantau Pārvatī-paramēśvarāv imāṃ daśīsatuḥ | Mahēśam prati Pārvatī evam avocat | "ine māṃsa-khaṇḍāḥ yathā prayakam putrāḥ sampadyantām evam tvayā kāryam mayi chet prīṭīr āsti" itī | sa cha Mahēśvaras tān samāna-rūpāṇ samāna-vayaśaḥ samānālakārān putrān kriṣvā Gaurīyai pradadau "tavem putrāḥ santv" itī | aตาGTK sarceshu Māruteshu sūkteshu Maruto Rudra-putrāḥ iti stāyante Raudreshu cha Marutāṃ pitā Rudraḥ itī |

"The story of Rudra being the father of the Maruts is thus recounted. 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 foetus into seven parts, and again made each of these parts into seven. All these being in one part of the foetus, issued from the womb and wept. At this conjuncture, Paramēśvara (Mahādeva) and Pārvatī were passing by for amusement, and saw them. Pārvatī spoke thus to Paramēśvara, '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, Sāyaṇa has the following note: Atra purātanā kathā | Indra-sāmanam putram icchhantyāḥ Aditer garbhasya kenachit kārayaṃ Indrenā saptadāhā bhinnatvāt sa garbhāḥ saptagayātmako 'bhavat | tato Marutāḥ sampānamāḥ |
R.V. i. 122, 1.—Pra vaḥ pāntāṁ ravgu-manyavo 'ndho yañnaṁ
Rudrāya mitḥushe bharadveṣam | dīvo astoshi asurasyaś
dvair ishudhyā īva Maruto rodasyoh | "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 vrishaṇam pînvaṣṭ tvachaṁ kaṁ chid
yāvīr aruruṁ śūra manṭryam pariverṇakshi manṭyam | Indrota tubhyam
tad Dīve tad Rudrāya sva-yaśase | Mitrāya vochaṁ Varunāya sapratathan
sumrīlikāya saprathath | "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 prikṣaḥā iśishe | tvam vātair aruṇair yāṣi śaṅgayas tvam Puṣhā
vidhataḥ 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] Puṣhan, by thyself protectest
those who worship thee."

"saptā-gaṇāḥ vai Marutāḥ" iti śruteḥ | "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
Prīṣni; and the sons of the Sky and Ocean. See the fifth volume of this work,
p. 147 f.

Compare with dīvo asurasya, R.V. i. 131, 1, and iii. 53, 7, where the phrases
Dyauṁ asurah, "the divine Sky," and Divas putrāṁ 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 ishudhy. See Dr. Bollensen's 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.

307

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:

1. Rud dūkhaṁ dūkkha-hetur vā pāpādih | tasya dṛāvayitā etan-nāmako deve' si | “Rudro vai esaḥ yaḥ Agnir” ity ādishv Agnēḥ Rudra-śabdena vyavahārat | yadvā tvām Rudrāḥ | rauti | mām anishtvā naraḥ dūkhē patishyanti | Rudras tādṛśo ’si | “Rut means suffering, or sin, etc.; which causes suffering. Thou (Agni) art the god so called, who drives this away (rud-ḍrāvayitā); 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.


"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 avert (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 Vishnu, Indra, Varuṇa, etc., above, p. 69 and note 18.
16 See in the note to Roth's Illustrations of the Nirukta, 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 [wearest] 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, granitest 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.—Dyävo na stribhiś chitayanta khādino vi abhriyāḥ na dyutayanta vrishṭayaḥ | Rudro yad vo Maruto rukma-vakshasov vrishā 'jani priśnyāḥ sukṛē udhāpi | "Adorned with armlets, [the Maruts] have shone like the skies with their stars, they have glittered like showers from the clouds, at that time when the prolific Rudra generated you, O Maruts, with jewels on your breasts, from the shining udder of Priśi."
tāraṁ namodbhiḥ | “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 summāya dadhire puro janāḥ vāja-śravasam19 iha vṛkta-barhishāḥ | yata-srucaḥ suruchāṁ viśva-deyaṁ rudraṁ yajñānaṁ sādhad-istīm 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 rājānam adhvarasya rudraṁ hotāraṁ satya-yajaṁ rodasyoh | Agnim purā tanayitnor achittād hiranya-rūpam avase krīṇudhvan | 6. Kad dhishnyāsu vridhasāno Agne kad Vātāya pratavase śubhaṁyeva | parijmane nāsavyāya kshe bravaḥ kad Agne Rudrāya nri-gheṇeva20 | (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 Sāyaṇa in this place as = manushye bhyaḥ pravitānnum, “who has sent food to men,” and on R. V. vi. 35, 4, as = vājaṁ balaṁ prasiddhāḥ, “famed for force.” In the Nighantu (ii. 7, 17) two senses are assigned to vāja, “food,” and “battle,” and to śravas 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. xi. 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-śravas, “contending in a race,” comparing it with vāja-srīt, to which they ascribe the same meaning, and which is explained by Sāyaṇa in R. V. ix. 43, 5, as = sangrāma-saranāḥ, “moving in battle.”

Prof. Aufrecht sees no reason why vāja-śravas should be interpreted differently from vasu-śravas, and translates it “renowned for power or wealth,” comparing gomad vāja-śravas, R. V. i. 9, 7; vāja-śravas iske cha, vi. 17, 4 (vi. 1, 11); ix. 67, 5; iv. 36, 9; maṁ śrava vājam, vi. 70, 5; sa vājam darshi sa iva śrava dhāḥ, x. 69, 3; vājam ukthnym, x. 140, 1; abhi vājam uta śravaḥ, ix. 1, 4; ix. 6, 3; vājam jeshi śravā brihat, ix. 44, 6; ix. 63, 12; ix. 87, 5.

20 Comp. pūrushingnam 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 Varuṇo Aryamā "yur Indraḥ Ribhukshāḥ
Maruto jushanta | namobhir vā ye dadhate surākṣitaṁ stomaṁ Rudrāya
mithushe sajosāḥ | "May Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Āyu, Indra, Ribhukshan, the Maruts, be favourable to us, [and to those] who, united together, offer with obeisances hymns and praises to the bountiful Rudra."

R.V. v. 42, 11.—Tam u shtuhi yah svishuḥ sudhanvā yo visvasya
kshayati bhesajasya | yaksha mahe saumanasāya Rudraṁ namobhir
devam asuraṁ ducasya | . . . . 15. Esha stomo mārūtāṁ 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 devāḥ no adya svastaye vaisvānaru vavur
Agniḥ svastaye | devāḥ avantu Ribhavaḥ svastaye svasti no Rudraḥ pātu
aṁhasah | "May all the gods, may Agni, the beneficent, worshipped
by all men, may the divine Ribhus, preserve us for our welfare. May
Rudra bless and preserve us from calamity."

R.V. v. 52, 16.—Pra ye me bandhvesvā gām vochanta sūrayaḥ Prīṣniṁ
vochanta mātaram | adha pitaruṁ iṣhmīnaṁ Rudraṁ vochanta śikvasah |
"These wise and powerful [Maruts], who, when I was inquiring after
their kindred, declared to me that the Earth, Prīṣni, was their mother,
and that the rapid Rudra was their father" (see above, p. 306, note 11).

R.V. v. 59, 8.—Māṁatu Dyaur Aditiṁ vitaye nāḥ saṁ dānu-chitraḥ
ushaso yatantāṁ | āchuchyaṁ divyaṁ kosaṁ ete rishī Rudrasya Maruto
griṇānāḥ | "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.—Ajyeshthāso akanishthāsaṁ ete sam bhrātaro vārvikduḥ
saubhagāya | yuvaḥ pīṭaḥ svapāḥ Rudraḥ eṣaṁ sudugha Prīṣniṁ 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 Prśnī, [have created] fortunate days for the Maruts.”

R. V. vi. 16, 39.—Ya ugraḥ īva śarya-hā tigma-śringo na vaṁsagah | Agne puro rurojitha | “Thou, Agni, who art fierce (usra), like an archer, like a sharp-horned bull, hast broken down castles.”

On this the commentator remarks: “Rudrā vai esha yad Agnir” iti śruteḥ | Rudra-kritam api Tripura-dahanam Agni-kritam eva iti Agniḥ stūyate | “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).—Prajāvatīḥ sūyavasān rikantiḥ śuddhāḥ aparā suprapāṇe pibantīḥ | mā vah stenaḥ isata mā ’ghaṣaṁsaḥ pari vo hetiḥ Rudrasya vṛijyāḥ | “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 gīrbhir ābhīḥ Rudraṁ divā vardhaya Rudram aktau | bṛihantam ṛishram ajarama sushumnam riḍhag hucena kavineshitāsaḥ | “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 undecaying, the beneficent.”

R. V. vi. 50, 4.—Āno Rudrasya sūnavo namanāṁ adya hūtāśo Vasavo adrhīṣṭāḥ | 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 mālhusaḥ santi ṛturāḥ yāṁ caho nu dādhīvir bharadhyai | yide hi mātā maho mahī sā sā it Prśnīḥ subhe garbham ā adhāt | . . . 11. Tam vrīdhantam mārumāṁ bhrajad-ṛishṭiṁ Rudrasya sūnūṁ havasā 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 Prśnī was
pregnant for an illustrious birth. . . . . 11. I worship with invocation this growing race of the Māuts, with shining weapons, the offspring of Rudra,” etc.’

R.V. vi. 74, 1 ff.—Somā-Rudrā dhārayethāṁ asuryam pra vāṁ ishitayo’ram asnuvantu | dame dame stupta ratnā ādhānā śaṁ no bhūtaṁ dvipade śaṁ chatushpade | 2 (A. V. 7, 42, 1). Somā-Rudrā vi vihataṁ visvūcchāṁ amīvā āya no gayam āciveṣa | āre bādhetāṁ Nirṛtitam paraṁchāir asme bhadrā sausravaśāṁi santu | 3 (A. V. 7, 42, 2). Somā-Rudrā yuvaṁ etāṁ asme visvā tanūśu bhesajāṁ dhattam | ava syatam muni-
chataṁ yad no asti tanūśu bāddham kṛitam eno asmāt | 4. Tigmāyudhau tigma-heti suseva Somā Rudrāv iha su mṛīṣṭataṁ naḥ | pra no muniḥchataṁ Varunasya pāśād gopāyataṁ naḥ suvanasyamānā | “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 Vasubhiḥ sajōṣhāh Rudraṁ Rudrebhir ā vaha bṛihantam | Ādityebhīr Āditiṁ visvā-janyāṁ Brihaspatim rikvabhir visvā-vāram | “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.— . . . Saṁ no Rudro Rudrebhir jalāśah . . . . “May the healing Rudra, with the Rudras, be favourable to us,” etc.

R.V. vii. 36, 5.—Tajante asya sakhyāṁ vayaś cha namāsvinaḥ sve rītasva dhāman | vi priksho bābadhenrihīṁ stavānāḥ idaṁ namo Rudrāya prəshtham | “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
REMARKS ON THE EPHET “SVAPIVATA.”

prātaṁ Indraṁ havāmahe prātaṁ Mitrā-Varuṇā prātaḥ Aśvinā | prātaḥ Bhagam Pūshaṇam Brahmaṇaspatiṁ prātaḥ Somam uta Rudrāṁ hucena |

“In the morning we invoke Agni, in the morning Indra, in the morning Mitra and Varuna, in the morning the Aśvins; in the morning let us invoke Bhaga, Pūshan, Brahmaṇaspati, Soma, and Rudra.”

R.V. vii. 46, 1 (Nirukta x. 6).—Imāḥ Rudrāya sthira-dhanvane giraḥ kshiprashave devāya svadhāvne | ashālāya sahamāṇāya vedhase tigmā-yudhāya bhārata śrīnotu naḥ | 2. Sa hi kshayena kshamyasya jamanah sūmrājyena divyasya chetati | avann avantir upa no duraś chara anamīvo Rudra āsu no bhava | 3 (Nirukta x. 7).—Yā te didyud avasṛiṣṭā divas pari kshmayā charati pari sā vṛiṇaktu naḥ | sahasraṁ te svapivātā

22 Prof. Roth (Illustr. of Nir., p. 135) considers the word svadhāvat to signify “independent,” “whose glory is inherent,” etc., and refers to R.V. vii. 20, 1; vii. 87, 2; vii. 86, 4. At p. 40 f. of his Illustrations Roth assigns to svadhām anu, etc., the sense of “according to one’s own determination,” “according to pleasure,” and quotes the following passages where it has this sense, viz.: R.V. i. 6, 4; i. 33, 11; i. 81, 4; ii. 3, 11; iii. 47, 1; vii. 78, 4; and vii. 20, 7. On svadhā see also Prof. Müller’s Transl. of the R.V., pp. 19–25.

23 This word is not explained in the printed text of Sāyaṇa; although in the “Varietas Lexicon,” appended to his preface, Prof. Müller notes that in one MS., B. 4, svapivāta is rendered by jīta-prāṇa, “he by whom life (or breath) is conquered.” In the Nirukta, x. 7, it is explained by svāpta-vachana, “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: “Swapivāta in the Pada text is divided into su+apivāta, 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 kratuṁ suchetasaṁ vatena; vii. 60, 6, api kratuṁ suchetasaṁ vatantah; i. 128, 2, tāṁ yajna-sādham api vatayamasi; i. 165, 13, manmāṁi chitrāḥ api vātayantah; x. 25, 1, bhadrām no api vātaya mano daksaham uta kratum; x. 13, 5, pitre pūrāno api avivatam rītam | It has the signification of ‘learning to understand,’ ‘appropriating 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 (svapivāta) thus means ‘readily understanding, hearing, accessible, gracious.’ Yāṣk’a’s explanation appears right, and Durga has misunderstood it, when he explains the word by anatikramanāyāja (‘thou whose command cannot be transgressed’).” I have to remark, however, that if Yāṣk’a’s phrase svāpta-vachana 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, a.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 bhadrām 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
bhešajā mā nas tokeshu tanayeshu ririshāh | 4. Mā no vadhīḥ Rudra mā parā daḥ ma te bhūma prasitauḥ hūlisyāḥ | ā no bhaja barhiṣhi jīva-śāme24 yūyam pata svastibhiḥ sādā naḥ | “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 ṵī m vyaktāḥ naraḥ sanīlāḥ Rudrasya maryāḥ adha svāsvāḥ | 2. Nakār hi ṛṣaṇī janūṁshi veda te anga vidre mitho janītram | “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.—Ṭaṅ ā Rudrasya milhusho vivāse ityādi | “I worship these [sons] of the bountiful Rudra,” etc.

svapi-vāta the sense “possessed of great knowledge,” from su- api-vāta, “intelligence, knowledge,” which again comes from api- vat, 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 kratum karma yajñānāṁ kartāraṁ vā sauetasam śobhāna-prajña-a-yuktāṁ suprajñānam puraṇāṁ vā vataṇa sambhajenaḥ | vanateḥ sambhajānārthasya varṇāntarāgam sati rūpaṁ | “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 vat by the alteration of a letter.”

He interprets vii. 60, 6, thus: *Apy sauetasam prakrīšta-jñānavantam purusham kratuṁ kartāraṁ karmānushtāṇavantam vantaṁ gachhantah | “going to a man, a performer of rites possessed of eminent intelligence.” The verb in R.V. i. 128, 2, is thus expounded: *ā pariśīlāṁ sevāmahe “we serve till we are satisfied”; and in i. 165, 13, thus: sampūraṁ prāpayantah, “completely bringing to us”; in x. 20, 1, by āgama, “cause to come”; in x. 25, 1, by māna, “cause to go”; in x. 13, 5, by sangamayanti, “cause to go together.”

1 This word appears from Böhtlingk 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 kāmasyaṁ, “to be desired”; and here āśaṁsanti, which means the same.
R.V. viii. 13, 20.—Tad id Rudrasya hetati yahvam pratneshu dhāmasu | mano yatra vi tad dadhur vichetasaḥ | “That great (manifestation) of Rudra [or the terrible (Indra)25] is perceived in the ancient abodes, and on it the wise have therefore fixed their minds.”

R.V. viii. 20, 17.—Yathā Rudrasya sūnavo dīvo vaṣantī asurasya vedhāsaḥ | 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.—. . . . Tā u namobhir īmahe | 14. Tāv id dosḥā tāv ushasi śubhas paṭi tā yāman rudra-vartani26 | mā no martāya ripave vājini-vasū paro rudrāv ati khyatam | “We invoke them (the Āśvins), with adoration, (14) at evening and at dawn, and on their path, the two lords of splendid, proceeding on terrible roads. Do not, O terrible (rudra) lords of swift horses,27 abandon us to our mortal enemy.”

R.V. viii. 29, 5. (quoted and translated above, p. 90).

R.V. viii. 61, 3.—Antar ichhanti taṁ jane rudram paro manīshayā | griḥnānti jīhvāyā sasam28 | “They entreat the god (Agni), who is terrible (rudra) beyond all thought,29 [to enter] among the people. With their tongue they take food (or seize him) sleeping.”

R.V. x. 64, 8.—Triḥ septa sasṛāḥ nadyo māhir apo vanaspatīn parvatān Agnim ītyaye | Kṛiṣānum astrīn Tishyaṁ sadhasthe ē 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, Kṛiṣānu, the archers, Tishya, and Rudra, among the Rudras, and possessing their character.”

25 Bōhtlingk and Roth, s.v. rudra, hold the word to be here an epithet of Indra. The rest of the hymn is addressed to him.

26 This word rudra-vartani is also applied to the Āśvins in the first verse of this hymn, and in R.V. x. 39, 11. Compare kṛishnavartani and kṛishṇādhan as applied to Agni. See the fifth vol. of this work, p. 212.

27 This is the sense assigned by Bōhtlingk and Roth to vājini-vasū. Sayana renders it by annavaṣu (R.V. v. 74, 6), annadhanā (x. 40, 12) “rich in food.” Elsewhere he also takes vājini for food or oblation.

28 This word is given in the Nighanṭus, 2, 7, as signifying food. Sayana takes it to mean “sleeping,” and renders the last clause “men through praise sprung from their tongue, catch Agni with their fingers” (jīhvā-pradhāvavā stutīyā griḥnānti grihyanty angulibhīḥ). See Roth’s Illustrations of Nirukta, pp. 55 and 85 f.; also R.V. i. 51, 3 (where Benfey renders sasena “in sleep”); iii. 5, 6; iv. 5, 7; iv. 7, 7; v. 21, 4; x. 79, 3.

29 This interpretation is confirmed by Bōhtlingk and Roth, s.v. manīshō, who refer to R.V. v. 17, 2, as another passage where the phrase occurs.
REGARDING RUDRA AND OTHER DEITIES.

R.V. x. 65, 1 (quoted and translated above, p. 95).

R.V. x. 66, 3.—Indro Vasubhiḥ-paripaṭu no gayām Ādityair no Aditiḥ śarma yaḥchatu | Rudrō Rudreḥhir devo mrīlayati nas Tvasaṭā no gnābhīḥ suvītaya jīn샤tu | "May Indra with the Vasus preserve our habitation; may Aditi with the Ādityas grant us protection. May the divine Rudra with the Rudras be gracious to us; may Tvasaṭri with the wives (of the gods) advance us to prosperity."

R.V. x. 92, 5.—Praś Rudraṇa yāyinā yānti sindhavas tiro mahīm aramatiṅ30 dadhanvīre | yebhiḥ parijmā pariṇyam uru jrayo vi roruṇy jāṭhare viśam ukshate | . . . 9. Stomaṁ vo adya Rudraṇa śikvase kṣhayad-virāya ṃamāśa didishtana | yebhiḥ śivaḥ svavān evayāvabhir dīvaḥ sīhakti31 svā-yaśaḥ nikāmahbhiḥ | "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.—Te gha rājano amṛitasya32 mandrāḥ Aryamā Mitro Varunāḥ parijmā | kad Rudro nrinām stuto Marutāḥ Pāśano Bhagāḥ | . . . 7. Uṭa no rudrā chid mrīlatām Aśvinā ityādi | "These are the

30 This word occurs in different parts of the R.V., where it is variously interpreted by Sāyaṇa. On ii. 38, 4, he explains it by amuparatiḥ, "never resting," as an epithet of Savitri; on v. 43, 6, as an epithet of gna (a goddess), ā samantād ranamā-yām sarvatra gantuṁ vā, "sporting all round, or, going everywhere"; on vii. 36, 8, similarly, uparati-rahiṁ, "having no rest," as an epithet of mahī, the earth; on vii. 42, 3, as meaning the earth (bhūmin); on vii. 1, 6, as signifying brilliancy (diptiḥ); on v. 54, 6, as aramaṇām dhanādikam, "object of enjoyment, wealth," etc.; on vii. 34, 21, as denoting a being "of perfect intelligence, or whose intelligence reaches to all objects," (paryūptā-buddhiḥ ārva-vishaya-vyāpi-buddhir vā) spoken of Tvashtri; and on viii. 31, 12, as equivalent to alammatāḥ paryūptā-stutiḥ, a god "who obtains full, or complete, worship," said of Pūshan. I have not access to his commentary on x. 64, 15, and x. 92, 4, 5. Böhtlingk and Roth regard Aramatī 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 Aramatī may here be an epithet of the earth.

31 From the root sakh. See R.V. i. 18, 2; i. 56, 4; and v. 41, 20.

32 Compare amṛitasya gopāṁ, R.V. viii. 42, 2; and amṛitasya patnīḥ, iv. 5, 13.
kings of immortality who gladden us: Aryaman, Mitra, Varuna the circumambient, what (shall we say) of Rudra celebrated by men, the Maruts, the Pushans, and Bhaga? . . . . 7. May the terrible (rudra) Asvins be favourable to us," etc.

R.V. x. 125, 6 (A. V. 4, 30, 5).—Aham Rudraya dhanur a tanomi brahma-dvishe sarave hanavai u ityadi | (Vâch? speaks): "I bend the bow for Rudra, for an arrow to slay the hater of the priest," etc.

R.V. x. 126, 5. — . . . . Ugram Marudbhih Rundaṁ huvema ityadi | "Let us invoke the terrible Rudra with the Maruts," etc.

R.V. x. 136, 1 (Nir. xii. 26).—Kesi agnim Kesi vishaṁ Kesi bibharti rodasi | Kesi viśvam srar drīse34 Kesi idaṁ jyotir uchyaṭe | 2 Munayo vātarasanāṁ piṣangā vasate malā | vātasyānu dhṛajīṁ yanti yad devāsa avikshata | 3 Unmadītāṁ mauneyana vātān a tashimā vayam | saṁrised (i.e. saṁrīd id) asmākaṁ yūyāṁ martāso abhi pasyatha | 4 Antarikṣeṇa patati viśvā rūpā 'vachākāsat | munir devasya devasya saukṛityāya sakā hitaḥ | 5 Vātasyāve Vāyoḥ sakā atha deveshito muniḥ | ubhau samudrāv a kshetī yaś cha purvaḥ utāparah | 6 Apsarasāṁ gandharvāṇām mrigāṇāṁ charane charan | Kesi ketasya vidvān sakā svādūr madintamaḥ | 7 Vāyur asmai upānanthāt pinashṭi sma kunannāma | Kesi viśhasya yātreyā yad Rudreṇāpiḥ satā | "The long-haired [being] sustains fire, water, and the two worlds; he is to 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 Apsarasas, 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 (viśa) 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 Kesī idāṁ sarvam idam abhivipāsyati | —Nir. xii. 26.
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 Vayus, 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\'ubho va\'ah sushma\'ah krudhm\'ah man\'am\'si dhunir munir iva sardhasya dhris\'ah noh, where S\'ya\'ana explains the word manan\'adh munih stot\'\'a ('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 S\'ya\'ana'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 muni\'h ('the god-impelled muni'), v. 5, and what is related in the Aitareya Br\'ahmana vi. 33, of the Muni Aita\'sa, whom his son regards as mad. Ind\'ro munin\'am sakha, 'Indra is the friend of munis,' R. V. viii. 17, 14." I subjoin the passage of the Aitareya Br\'ahmana vi. 33, here referred to:

Aita\'sa-pral\'apa\'n\'a sa\'nasati | Aita\'sa ha vai munir "Agner \'ayur"\textsuperscript{35} dadar\'sa yajnasya ayatayamam iti ha eke \'ahu\'h | so' brav\'it putr\'an "putrak\'ah 'Agner \'ayur' adar\'sam | tad abhilapishyami | yat kincha vadami tad me \'am k\'aryate | iti | sa pratyapadyata "et\'\'a as\'vah \'apvante pratipam

\textsuperscript{35} The words Agner \'ayur asi tasya te occur in the K\'\'占有aka, 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 Aitaśāyanah aitya akāle bhīhāya mukham apyaṃghrīnād “adripat nah pītā” iti | taṁ ha urācha “apehy alaso bhūr yo me vācham avadhīḥ | satāyuṇām gām akarishyāṃ sahasrāyūṃ purusham | pāpisēthāṃ te prajām karomī yo mā ittham asaktāh” iti | tasmād āḥur “Abhyagnayāḥ Aitaśāyanāḥ Aurvāṇām pāpisēthāḥ” iti | “He repeats the Aitaśa-pralāpa. The Muni Aitaśa beheld (i.e. received a revelation of) the ‘Agni’s life,’ etc.), which, some say, renders the sacrifice efficacious. He said to his sons, ‘Sons, I have seen “Agni’s life;” and will speak of it. Do not fail to attend to what I say.’ He then obtained (by revelation) the verse beginning etāḥ āsvāḥ, 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, 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 Auarvas.’

Compare Professor Kuenen’s remarks on the possible original sense of the Hebrew word nabi, “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 Rudra drinking water (visha) may possibly have given rise to the legend of his drinking posion (visha).—See above, p. 50.

R. V. x. 169, 1.—Mayobhūr vāto abhivātu usrāḥ ārjasvatir oshadhir ārīṣantām | pivasvatir jīva-dhanyāḥ piṃantu avasāya padvate39 Rudra mrīla | “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 ayōtayānām, “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 parīgāta by “do not scorn me,” and translates übergehet (überhören mir dies nicht) was ich auch sagen mag, which is also the sense assigned in Bötttingk and Roth’s Lexicon; and has been given by me.


39 Pavad aurasam āsvah | —Nir. i. 17.
Sect. II.—Passages relating to Rudra in the Vājasaṇeyī recension of the white Yajur-Veda.

I now proceed to quote from the Vājasaṇeyī Sanhītā the principal texts which it contains relative to Rudra.

Vaj. S. 3, 57 ff.—Esḥa te Rudra bhūgaḥ saha svasṛā Ambikāya taṁ jushasva svāhā | esha te Rudra bhūgaḥ ākhus te pūṣḥ 58. Āva Rudram adimāhy ava devam tryambakam | yathā no vasyasas karad yathā naḥ śpeyasas karad yathā no vyavasāyāt | 59. Bheshajam asi bhesajāṁ gave 'śvāya purushāya bhesajam | sukham mēṣhaṁ meshyai | 60 (=R. V. vii. 59, 12; Taitt. S. i. 8, 6, 2). Tryambakaṁ yajāmahe sugandhim pushṭi-vardhanam | urvāram ieva bandhanād mṛtyor muksṛiṣya mā 'mṛitat | tryambakaṁ yajāmahe sugandhim pativedanam 41 | urvāram ieva bandhanād ito mukṣiṣya mā 'mutaḥ | 61 (T. S. i. 8, 6, 2). Etat te Rudra avasaṁ tena paro Mūjavato atiḥi | avatata-dhanvā pīṇākāvasaḥ kṛiti-vāsāh ahimsan naḥ śivo 'tiḥi | 62. Tryāyushaṁ Jamadagnēḥ Kaśyapasya tryāyushaṁ | yād deveshu tryāyushaṁ tad no astu tryāyushaṁ | 63. S'īva nāmā 'si svadhitis te pīṭā namas te astu mā mā hīṁśiḥ | nivartayāmy āyushe annādyāya praṇaṇādyā rāyasposhāya suprajaṭvaṁ svir-vyāya |

"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

40 The Taittirīya Br. i. 6, 19, 4, has only the first part of this verse: Esḥa te Rudra bhūgaḥ saha svasṛā Ambikāya: then follow the words: ity āha | S'arad vai asya Ambikā svasā | tayā vai esha hināsti | "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-rūpaṁ pṛyāya jār. [qu. ? jvar.] ādikam u ṣṭiṇaṁ taṁ nirodhinaṁ hanti).


42 S. P. ii. 6, 2, 9.—Ambikā ha vai nāma asya svasā | tayā 'syā esha saha bhūgaḥ | tad yad asya esha strīyā saha bhūgaḥ tasmāi 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. Stryambaka).

"V.S. TEXT REGARDING RUDRA AND AMBIKA."
death, not [severed] from immortality. We worship Tryambaka, the sweet-scented, who bestows on us husbands. 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. 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 (śiva) 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."

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.

Vājasaneyi Samhitā, xvi. 1 ff. (=Taitt. S. iv. 5, 1, 1 ff.).—Namas te Rudra manyave uto te ishave namah| bāhubhyām uta te namah | 2. Yā te Rudra śivā tanur aghora 'pāpa-kāśini | tayā nas tanvā (tanvā, T. S.) santamaya griśantābhichākaśi | 3. Yām iśuṃ girisanta haste bibharshi astave | śivām giriṣṭa tāṃ kuru mā hīṃśiḥ purushāṃ jagat | 4. Śicena vachasā tvā girirāccha vadāmasi | yathā nāh sarvam īj jagad ayakshmān sumanāḥ| asat | 5. Adhy avocadh adhivaktaḥ prathamo dāivyā bhishāk | ahīṃsca sarvān jambhayan sarvasāca yātadhāngā 'dharačiḥ parāsuno| 6. Āsau yas tāmro aruṇāḥ uta bahhruth sumangalaḥ 'ye chaymaṇ Rudrāḥ abhito dikṣu śrītāḥ sahasraśo 'vaishām hedaḥ āimahe | 7. Āsau yo 'vasar-

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42* This, the Commentator says, is spoken by virgins walking round the fire.
43* See the second volume of this work, pp. 351 ff., and note 138, where the comments of the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa (ii. 6, 2, 17) on the passage before us are quoted.
44* Such is the sense assigned to svadhisti in the Nighaṇṭus, 2, 20.
45* 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 nivārtayāmy āyuṣha, etc., by""I shave thee that thou mayest live," etc.
46* The Taitt. S. inserts here namas te astu dhanvane, "reverence be to thy bow."
47* Sumanāḥ-sabde puṃsātvan ārsham | Comm.
48* These last two words are omitted in the Taitt. S.
The S'atarudriya.

323


49 The Taitt. S. adds here utainanm visvah bhutan, "and all beings have seen him."

50 The T. S. introduces here verse 13 of the Vaj. S.

51 The T. S. inserts the 14th verse here, and there are similar transpositions elsewhere.
svapadbhyo jāgradbhyaś ca vo namo namah śayānebhyah śāinebhyāśca
vo namo namas tishṭhadbhyo dhāvadbhyāśca vo namah | 24. Namah
sabhābhyaḥ sabhāpatibhyāśca vo namo 'namo 'śevbhyo 'śavapati bhyaśca
vo namo namah  śayādhīnibhyo  vīvidhy-ntibhyāśca vo namo namah uganā-
ghbyaś trīṁhatibhyaś ca vo namah | 25. Namo ganebhyo gana pati-
bhyāśca vo namo namo vrātebhyo vrātapatibhyāśca vo namo namo
gritsebhyo gritsapatibhyāśca vo namo namo virūpebhyo viśvarūpebhyāśca
vo namah | 26. Namah senābhyaḥ senānībhyaśca vo namo namo rathibhyo
'rathebhyaśca vo namo namah kshattribhyah sangrahātribhyāśca vo namo
namo mahadbhyo arbhakebhyaśca (kshullakebhyaś cha, T. S) vo namah | 27.
Namas takshadbhyo rathakārebhyaśca vo namo namah kulālebhyya
karmārebhyāśca vo namo namo nīshādebhyah punjishthebhyaś ca vo
namo namah śvānibhyo mrigayubhyaśca vo namah | 28. Namaḥ śvabhyāḥ
śvapatibhyāśca nama Bhavāya Rudrāya cha namah S'avāya cha Pasū-
pataye cha namo nilagrīvaya ca śītikunthāya cha | 29. Namaḥ kapardine
cha vyupta-kesāya cha namah sahasrākṣāya cha satadhanvane cha namo
giriśaṃyāya (giriśāya, T. S.) cha śiśīviśiṃṭāya cha namaḥ mādhvaśtāmōya
cha ishumate ca | 30. Namo hrasvāya cha vāmanāya cha namo bhihate cha
varṣhiyase cha namo vrīḍīḥyāya cha sarriḍhe (sahreṣṭhrvane, T. S.) cha
namo 'gryāya prathamāya cha | 31. Namaḥ āsāve cha ajirāya cha namah
śīghrīya (śīghrīya, T. S.) cha śibbhyaś ca namah ārmyāya cha avara-
nyāya ca namo nādevāya (srotasāya, T. S.) cha dvīpyāya ca | 32. Namo
īyoshtāya cha kanishṭāya cha namaḥ pāvejāya cha aparajāya cha nama
madhyāmāya ca apagalbhāya cha namaḥ jaghānāya cha budhṇyāya cha | 33.
Namaḥ soḥbhāya ca pratisāryāya cha namo yāmīya ya cha kshemīya
cha namaḥ ślokyāya ca avasānyāya cha nama hrvarāya cha khałyāya
cha | 34. Namo vanyāya cha kakṣhyāya cha namaḥ śrutāya cha pratisravāya
cha namaḥ āsushenāya cha āsurāthāya cha namaḥ śūrāya cha avabhedine
(arabhīndate, T. S.) cha | 35. Namo bīlimne cha kavachine cha nama
varmīne ca varūthine cha namah śrutāya cha śrutasaṇāya cha namo
dundubbhyāya ca śāhanāya cha | 36. Namo dhrishtive cha prarāṣīyāya
cha52 namaḥ nishangine ca ishuddhimate cha namas tikshṇeshve cha ājūdive
cha namaḥ śvāyudhyāya sudhanvane cha | 37. Namaḥ śrutāya cha pathyāya
cha namaḥ kātīyāya cha nīpyāya cha namaḥ kūlyāya cha sarasyāyāya
cha namaḥ nādevāya (nādyāya, T. S.) cha vaśantāya cha | 38. Namaḥ kūpyāya
cha avatīyāya ca namo vīdhṛyāya cha ātapyāya ca namaḥ meghyāya ca

52 The T. S. adds here namo dūtaya cha prahitāya cha.
vidyutiyāya cha namo varṣhyāya cha avarṣhyāya cha | 39. Namo vāṭyāya cha reshmīyāya (reshmiyāya, T.S.) cha namo vāṣṭavyāya cha vāṣṭupāya cha namah Somāya cha Rudrāyaḥ cha namas tāmrāya cha arṇāya cha | 
40. Namoḥ śāngare (śāngaẏa, T.S.) paśupataye cha namah ūgṛāya cha bhimāya cha namo agrevaḍhāya cha ārevaḍhāya cha namo hantre cha hanīyase cha namo vrikṣhebhya hari-kēśe bhya namas tāṛāya | 41. Namaḥ śambhavāya (śambhāve, T.S.) cha mayobhavāya (mayobhāve, T.S.) cha namah śankarāya cha mayāskarāya cha namah śivāya cha śivatārāya cha |
42. Namaḥ pāryāya cha avāryāya cha namah ātratarāṇīya cha uttarāṇīya cha namas tīrthāya cha kālīyāya cha namah śashpyāya phenyāya cha |
43. Namaḥ sikatāya cha pravāhyāya cha namah kiṃśilāya cha kṣhayāya cha namah kapardine cha pulastaye cha namah iriṇāya cha prapathyāya cha |
44. Namo vrapyāya (grihyaẏa, T.S.) cha goshthyāya cha namah talpyāya cha gehāya cha namo hridayāya (hradayāya, T.S.) cha niveshhyāya cha namah kūtyāya cha gakhvaresthāya cha |
45. Namaḥ šushkhyāya cha hariṇyāya cha namah pāṁsavāya cha rajasyāya cha namo lopyāya cha ulapyāya cha namah āravyāya cha sūrvyāya (sūrmyāya, T.S.) cha |
46. Namaḥ pāṟṇāya (parṇyāya, T.S.) cha pāraṇasādāya cha namaḥ udgurānāya (apagurumāṇāya, T.S.) cha abhīghnote cha nama akhīdote cha prakhīdote cha namah iṣhukrīḍbhya dhanushkrīḍbhyaṣ cha vo namo namo vaḥ kīrikebhya devānāṁ hridayebbyo namo vichinaṭkebhbyo namo vikṣinatkebhbyo (vikṣinakebhbyo, T.S.) namah ānirhatebhbyaḥ |
47. Drāpe andhasapte daridra (daridra, T.S.) nilaloḥita | āsām praṇānīm eʃām paśīnām mā bher ma ron no cha naḥ kinchanāmamat | 
48 (=R.V. i. 114, 1). 49. Yā te Rudra śivā tanuḥ śivā viśe ṣā heshājī | śivā ṛutasya bhesha ṣī tayā no mrīḍa jīvase | 50 (=R.V. ii. 33, 1453). 51. Miñhiṣṭanta śivatama śivo naḥ sumanāḥ bhava | parame vrikṣī aydotṛaṃ nīdhāya kṛitiṇ vasānaḥ uchaśra pinākam bhīrād āgahī | 
54 The T. S. here adds, namah ānirvatebhbyaḥ. 
55 Instead of maḥi gât, the concluding words of the first half of the verse, as it stands in the R.V., the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā has aghyoh, "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 Rudrāḥ adhi bhūmyām | teshām sahasra-yojane ava
dhanvāni tanmasi | 55. Asmin mchaty arnave antarikshe Bhavāḥ adhi |
teshām ityādi | 56. Nilagrivāḥ śītikauṭẖāḥ divām Rudrāḥ upāśritāḥ |
teshām ityādi | 57. Nilagrivāḥ śītikauṭẖāḥ S'arvāḥ adhāḥ khamācharāḥ |
teshām ityādi | 58. Ye vriksheku śāshpinjārāḥ nilagrivāḥ vilohitāḥ |
teshām ityādi | 59. Ye bhūtānām adhipatayo viśikhāsah kapardināḥ |
teshām ityādi | 60. Ye pathām pathirakshasah (pat/irakshayah, T. S.)
ailabriddh dyuryudhah (yavyydhah, T. S.)
teśhām ityādi |
61. Ye tātavastscha bhūyāṁsaḥ cha diśo Rudrāḥ vitasthīre | teshām ityādi | 62. Namo 'stu Rudrebhyo ye divi yeshāṁ 56 varsham ishavah |
tebhyo daśa prāchīr daśa daksināḥ daśa pratičīr daśa udichār daśa
ūrdhvāḥ | tebhyo mamo astu te no avantu te no mrīḍayantu te yaṁ dvishmo
yas cha no dvēṣṭī tam eshām (vo, T. S.) jambe daḏhmāḥ (daḏhāmi, T. S.)
teśhām ityādi | 63. Ye tātavastscha bhūyāṁsaḥ cha diśo Rudrāḥ vitasthīre | teshām ityādi |
64. Namo 'stu Rudrebhyo ye divi yeshāṁ 56 varsham ishavah |
tebhyo daśa prāchīr daśa daksināḥ daśa pratičīr daśa udichār daśa
ūrdhvāḥ | tebhyo mamo astu te no avantu te no mrīḍayantu te yaṁ dvishmo
yas cha no dvēṣṭī tam eshām (vo, T. S.) jambe daḏhmāḥ (daḏhāmi, T. S.)
teśhām ityādi | 65. Namo 'stu Rudrebhoyo ye antarikshe yeshāṁ vātāḥ ishavah | tebhyo
daśa ityādi | 66. Namo 'stu Rudrebhoyo ye prithiviyaṁ yeshāṁ annam
ishavah | tebhyo daśa ityādi |

1 "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 annaṁ vāto.
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-
hīnāḥ).—Comm.
blue-necked, to the thousand-eyed, to the bountiful; and to his attendant 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 innoxious 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: Ṛudro viṭāya chorādi-rūpaṁ dhatte | yadvā Rudrasya jagad-ātmakatvāḥ chorādayo Rudrāḥ eva dheyāḥ | yadvā stenādi-sarire jiveśvara-rūpeṇa Rudro dvīdāḥ tisṭhātā | tatra jīva-rūpaṁ stenādi-sābda-vachyan | tad iśvara-rudra-rūpaṁ lakṣhayati | yathā sākhā-grān ṣhandrasya lakṣhakam | kim bahunā | lakṣhyārtha-vivakshaḥ mantreshu lankikāḥ sābdaḥ praṇuktāḥ | "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 Punjisthhas, to you the leaders of dogs, and to you the huntsmen, (28) to dogs, and to the masters of dogs, to Bhava, and to Rudra, and to Šarva, to Pašupati, to Niḻagrīva, and to

61 Prof. Weber has the following note on verse 28 of his translation of the S'atārudiya in his Indische Studien, ii. 37: 'Bhava is variously explained, sometimes as the 'existent,' 'eternal' (bhavaty eva na kadāhi, api na bhavati), sometimes as the producer of everything (bhavat asmin sarvam), so that according to the latter explanation he is the exact opposite of Š'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'atap. 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 Š'arva the one prevailing among the Prāchyas (and so among the Kośala-videhas, for example). As we meet with the word Š'arva in the well-known passage of the Vendidad, Fargard x., p. 342,' (Š'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 Š'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 Paṣupati, to the fierce (ugra) and the terrible, to him who kills in been the name current among the Bāhikas. 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. Bhavāśarvau asyatām pāpakrite 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.
TRANSLATION OF

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 (sānkalrāya), 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, (46) 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, (47) 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, (52)

63 Or, “in a place with still water.”—Comm.
64 This is the rendering of Böhtlingk and Roth. See Weber’s Ind. Stud., ii. 41, note. The Commentator on the Vāj. S. gives the following alternative explanation: Pulastaye agra tishthati pulastiḥ . . . yadvā pūrshu śārīreshu astiḥ sattā yasya sa pulastiḥ sarvāntaryāmi |
65 Agni, Vāyu, and Aditya are meant, according to the Commentator, and the S’atap. Br. ix. 1, 1, 23.
66 Darīdra. The Commentator explains this as meaning “without any connexion with others, from being without a second” (nīshparigrāha deśīyatavāḥ). Prof. Roth (Lexicon) proposes to render the word by “roving about,” and Prof. Weber, by “splitter.”
67 Mā bher mā rok. See Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v. ruj, where bheḥ is said to come from bhid, not bhī.
68 See V. S. 3, 61, above, p. 322.
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.

6 The T. S. inserts here, “whose food is the wind.”
70 Prāgabhīmukhāḥ anguliḥ kure iti ṣeṣah | ... aṅjalim baddhvā sarva-dikṣu namaskaroni | Comm.
Sect. III.—Passages relating to Rudra, Bhava, S'arva, etc., from the Atharva-veda.

A. V. ii. 27, 6.—Rudra jālāśa-bheshaja nila-śikhandha karma-krit | praśam pratipraśo jahi arasām kṛiṇu oshadhe | “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'arvau manve vīm asya vittāṁ yavōr vām idam pradīśii yad virochate | yāv asyeśāthe dvipado yau chatushpadas tau no munchatam aṁhasah | 2. yavōr abhyadhve uta yad dūre chid yau viditāv ishubhritām asishthau | yāv— | 3. sahasrākshau vṛitrahañā huve 'ḥaṁ dūregavyūṭi stuvām emy ugrau | yāv— | 4. yāv ārebhāte bahu sākaṁ agra pra ched aṁśhātām abhiḥbām jaṁeshu | yāv— | 5. yavōr vadhād nāpapadyate kaśchana antar deveshūta mānusheshu | yāv— | 6. yāḥ kṛityā-kṛiḍ mūla-kṛiḍ yātuḥāno ni tasmin dhattāṁ vajrāṁ ugrau | yāv— | 7. adhi no brātām prītanāśu ugrau saṁ vajrena srijatam yah kimādi? | staumi Bhavā-Ś'arvau nāthito johavīmi 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 Saryā; distressed I again and again invoke you; deliver us from calamity.”

?1 Yāska explains this word thus, Nirukta, vi. 11: Kim idānim iti charate kim idāṁ kim iti vā piśunāya charate |
A. V. v. 21, 11.—Yāyam ugrāḥ Marutāḥ Priśni-mātovāḥ Indrēṇa yuṣṭa pra maṇita śatruṇ | Somo rājā Varuṇo rājā mahādevaḥ uta mṛityur Indraḥ | “Do ye, fierce Maruts, whose mother is Priśni, 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 saṁvijānti āraṇyāḥ purushaḥ adhiḥ | .... 5. Yathā vrikṣāḥ ajāvayo dhāvanti bahu bibhyatiḥ | .... 6. Yathā śyenāt patatīnāḥ saṁvijānte ahar divi. ....] A. V. vi. 93, 1.—Yamo Mṛītyur aghamāro nirṛītho babhrūḥ S’arvo ‘stā nila-sīkhaṇḍāḥ | deva-janāḥ senayaḥ uttasthivāṃśas te asmākam pari vṛnjantu virān | 2. Manusā homair harasā ghritena S’arva-yāstre uta rājne Bhavāya | namasyebhyo namāḥ ebhyaḥ kriṇomy anyatra asmad aghavishā 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, Tvashṭrī, and Indra (Rudro bhūmne chikitsatu).

A. V. vii. 87, 1.—Yo Agnau Rudro yo apsv antar yaḥ oshadhīr virudhāḥ ārīvesaḥ | yaḥ imā viśvā bhuvanāni chākliripe tasmai Rudrāya namo astv Agnaye | “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.— .... Bhavā-śarvau mṛīdataṁ śarma yachhatam apasidhya duritaṁ dhattam āyuḥ | .... “Bhava and Sarva, be gracious, give protection; removing calamity, give life.”

A. V. viii. 5, 10.—Asmai maṇiṁ varma badhnantu devāḥ Indro Vishnuḥ Savitā Rudro Agniḥ | ityūdi | “May the gods, Indra, Vishnu, Savitri, 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 aṁśau Tvāṣṭrā cha Aryanā cha doshaṁ Mahādevo bāhū | "Mitra and Varuṇa are the shoulders, Tvāṣṭrā and Aryanā the fore-arms, and Mahādeva the two arms."

A. V. x. 1, 23.—Bhavā-śarvān asyatām pāpa-krite kṛityā-krite duḥkkrite vidhyatāṁ deva-hetim | "Let Ṣarvā and Bhava launch the lightning, the bolt of the gods, against the doer of wickedness, against him who employs sorcery, against the evil doer." (See Weber's Ind. Studien, ii. 37, note, quoted above in p. 328 f.)


73 In Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, vol. v., p. 1003, several passages are quoted where āpaḥ (with a long ā in the first syllable) occurs as an accusative plural.
THE ATHARVAVEDA, WITH TRANSLATION.

17. Sahasrākṣham atipāṣyam purastād Rudram asyantam bahudhā vipaś- 
chitam | mā upārāma jīhrayā iyamānām | 18. S’yāvāśvaṁ krishṇaṁ asi-
tam mrigantam bhīmāṁ ‘ratham’ keśīṇāḥ pādayantam | pūrve praginno 
namo astu asmai | 19. Mā no ‘bhi erāḥ matyaṁ deva-hetum mā naḥ kru-
dhaḥ Paśupate namas te | anyatra āsmaṁ divyāṁ sākhaṁ vi dhūnu | 
20. Mā no hiṁśir adhi no brūhi pari no vṛndhāḥ mā kruḍhaḥ | na traya 
samarāmaḥ | 21. Ma no goshaṁ purusheshu mā gṛdho no ajāvishu | 
anyatrogra vi vartaya ‘piyārūṅām praṭām jahi | 22. Yasya takmā 
śāśikā hetir ekam aśvasyeva vṛṣiṇah krandaḥ eti | abhipūrvam nirnayate 
namo astu asmai | 23. Yo antarikṣhe tishṭhati viṣṭabhito ayajvane 
pramanāṁ deva-piyān | tasmāi namo daśabhiḥ śakarībhīḥ | 24. Tubhyam 
āraṇyāṁ paśavo mrigāḥ vane hitāḥ haṁsāḥ suparanāḥ śakunāḥ 
vayāṁsi | tācā vakṣham Paśupate āsiv antas tubhyāṁ kṣaṅanti 
divyāḥ āpo vṛidhe | 25. Śiṃśumārāḥ ajagāraḥ purikāyaḥ jashāḥ matsyaḥ 
rajasāḥ yebhya asyasi | na te dūrāṁ na pariṣṭhāḥ ’sti te Bhava 
sadyaḥ sarvām pari 
pāṣyasi bhūmīṁ pārvamād haṁsī ṣṛṭtarsamī samudre | 26. Mā no 
Rudra takmanā mā vishēṇa mā naḥ saṁ srāḥ divyenaṇvinā | an-
trāsmaṁ vidhyutam pādayaitām | 27. Bhavo divo Bhavah iṣe prīthivyāḥ 
Bhavah ā papre uru antarikṣham | tasyai namo yatamasyaṁ diśtalāḥ | 
28. Bhava rājan yajasamāṇaṁ mṛida paśunaṁ hi paśupatir babhū 
tha | yaḥ śraddhaḥāti santi devāḥ iti chaṭṭhaphāte divpade asya mṛida | 
29 (=K.V. i. 114, 7). Mā no mahāntam uta mā no arbhakam mā 
no vahantam uta mā no vakṣhyataḥ | mā no hiṁśīḥ pilaram mūtaram 
cha svāṁ tanevaṁ Rudra mā vīrishaḥ naḥ | 30. Rudrasayalabaka-kārebyāḥ 
’saṁsūkta-gilebyaḥ | idam mahāsyebhyāḥ svaṁhyo akaram namah | 
31. Namas te ghoshinībhyaḥ namas te keśinībhyaḥ | namo namaskritābhya 
namaḥ sambhunjatībhyaḥ | namas te deva senābhyāḥ 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 our bodies to the dog or the jackal, to carrion birds, to vultures, 
unto greedy black flies, lord of beasts; let not thy birds get us to 
devour. 3. We offer reverence to thy shout, to thy breast, and to 
thy arrows, Bhava, and, O immortal Rudra, to 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.
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 pursuest 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 Kanda 30, 27, which is quoted in the Appendix.
75 Messrs. Böhtlingk and Roth assign to pada-ni the sense of "guide."
76 Böhtlingk and Roth make keśin an epithet of Rudra: see s.v.
not hurl at us thy club, 77 thy celestial bolt: be not incensed at us, Paśupati; reverence be to thee. Brandish thy celestial weapon 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 79 are placed in the forest; thy living creatures, Paśupati, exist in the waters: to delight thee the celestial waters flow. 25. (There exist) porpoises, great serpents, purī-kayas, sea-monsters, fishes, rajasas, 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 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. 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, 82

77 A.V. viii. 8, 11.—\textit{Trīnedhu enān mātyam Bhāvasya} | “May the club of Bhava crush them.”

78 The word in the original is sākha, “branch.”

79 In the original, \textit{suparnāḥ sakunāḥ vayānasi.}

79* B. and R. say this word perhaps means “unclean.”

80 Compare R.V. i. 52, 13, p. 99, above; and the other passages quoted in note 73 on the same page.

81 Compare R.V. viii. 89, 3, 4, quoted in the third volume of this work, p. 254.

82 Compare R.V. i. 114, 7, and T. S. iv. 5, 10, 2, p. 303, above. In Professor Wilson’s Dictionary I find the sense of “growing” assigned to the root \textit{vah}, when conjugated in the \textit{ūtmane pada} with a nasal, \textit{vaṁhate}. He says, however, that in this sense the root is more properly \textit{bāh}, \textit{baṁhate}. If the verb be so understood in this passage, the meaning will be the same as that which, on the authority of Messrs. Bohtlingk 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, reverenced, devouring hosts. May blessing and security be ours."

A. V. xi. 6, 9.—"Bhava-śarvāv idam brūmo Rudram Paśupatiś cha yaḥ | ishūr yaḥ eshāṁ saṁvidma tāḥ naḥ santu sadaśivāḥ | "We say this to Bhava and Sarva, to Rudra and to him who is Paśupati: may those arrows of theirs which we know be always propitious to us."

A. V. xii. 4, 17.—"Yaḥ enām avasāṁ āha devānāṁ nihitaṁ nidhim | ubhau tasmai Bhava-śarvā parikramyeshum 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 'ryamā sa Varuṇāḥ sa Rudrāḥ sa Mahādevāḥ | 26. Sa Rudro vaswanir vasudeye nanovāke vashaṭkāro 'nu saṁhitaḥ | 27. Tasyeme sarve yālavaḥ upa prāśisham āsate | 28. Tasyāmū sarvā nakshatrā vaśe chandramāsā saha | "4. He (Savitri) is Aryaman, he is Varuṇa, he is Rudra, he is Mahādeva. 26. He, Rudra, the giver of wealth, is placed as the 'vashaṭkāra' 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.—"Tasmai prāchyaḥ diśo antar-desād Bhavam ishvāsam anuṣṭhātāram akurvan | Bhavaḥ enam ishvāsaḥ prāchyaḥ diśo antar-desād anuṣṭhātā 'nutishṭhati | naināṁ Sarvo na Bhavo na 'Isāno na asya paśūn na samānāṁ hinasti yaḥ evam veda | 2. Tasmai dakshināyāḥ diśo antardeśāḥ ehaṁ ishvāsāṁ ityādi | 3. Tasmai pratichyaḥ diśo antar-desāt Paśupatim ityādi | 4. Tasmai udichyaḥ diśo antar-desād ubraṁ devam ityādi | 5. Tasmai dhruvaḥ diśo antar-desād Rudram ityādi | 6. Tasmai ud-hvivāyaḥ diśo antar-desād Mahādevam ityādi | 7. Tasmai sarvebhyaḥ antar-desēbhyaḥ 'Isānam 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 'Isāna slays either him who knows this, or his cattle, or his kindred.
2. [The gods] made S'arva the archer [to be] his deliverer from the intermediate space of the southern region, etc. 3. [The gods] made Pasupati 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 Mahadeva, etc. (as above), of the upper region, etc. 7. [The gods] made Isana the archer [to be] his deliverer from all the intermediate regions," etc.

**Sect. IV.**—Passages relating to Rudra from the S'atapatha and Sânkhâyana Brâhmânas.

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 Brâhmaṇa, i. 7, 3, 8.—Agnir vai sa devaḥ tasya etāni nāmān i Sarvāḥ iti yathā prācyāḥ āchakshate Bhavah iti yathā Bāhikāḥ Paśūnām patiḥ Rudro 'gnir iti | tāny asya aśāntāny eva itarāṇi nāmān | Agnir ity eva sāntatamani | "Agni is a god. These are his names: Sarva, as the eastern people call him,83 Bhava, as the Bāhikas, Paśūnampati (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."84

The following passage describes the birth of Rudra, and at the same time identifies him with Agni:

S'atapatha Brâhmaṇa, 6, 1, 3; 7 ff.—Abhūd vai iyam pratishtāḥ iti | tad bhūmir abhavat | tām aprathayat sā prithivy abhavat | tasyām asyām pratishtāhāyām bhūtāni bhūtānānca patiḥ saṃvatsaraya adikshanta | bhūtānām patiḥ griha-patiḥ ānīd Ushāḥ patnī | 8. Tod yānī tāni bhūtāni rītavaś te | atha yāḥ sa bhūtānām patiḥ saṃvatsaraya sāḥ | atha yā sā Ushāḥ patny aushasi sā | tāni imānī bhūtāni cha bhūtānānca patiḥ saṃvatsaraḥ Ushasi reto 'sinchan | sa saṃvatsare kumāro 'jāyata | so 'rodit | 9. Tam Prajāpatiḥ abravit "kumāra kim rodishi yach chhramat

83 On this the commentator remarks (p. 124 of Weber's edition): Prāchyādideśa-bhedena Sarvādā-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."

84 See the note translated from Weber's Indische Studien above in p. 328.
tapaso 'dhi jāto 'si' iti | so 'bravid "anapahata-pāṃmā vai asmy ahita- nāmā nāma me dhehi" iti | tasmat pātrasya jātasya nāma kuryāt pāṃmā- mām eva asya tad apahanty api ṛvitiyam api tritiyam abhipūrvaṃ eva asya tat pāṃmānam apahanti | 10. Tam abraid Rudro 'si iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod Agnis tad-rūpam abhavat | Agnir vai Rudrah | yad arodit tasmād Rudrah | so 'braviṣ "jyāyān vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti | 11. Tam abraid " Sarvo 'si' iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod āpas tad-rūpam abhavan | āpo vai Sarvah | abdhīyo hi idaṁ sarvaṁ jāyate | so 'braviṣ "jyāyān vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti | 12. Tam abraid Paśupatir asī iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod oshadhayas tad-rūpam abhavan | oshadhayo vai Paśupatīs tasmād yādā pāśavaḥ oshadhīr labhaṁe 'tha patiyanti | so 'braviṣ "jyāyān vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti | 13. Tam abraid Ugro 'si iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod Vāyus tad-rūpam abhavat | Vāyur vai Ugras tasmād yādā balavad vāty "Ugro vātī" ity āhuḥ | so 'braviṣ "jyāyān vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti | 14. Tam abraid "Aṣanir asī iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarot vidyut tad-rūpam abhavat | vidyud vai Aṣanir tasmād yāṁ vidyud hanty "Aṣanir abadhīd" ity āhuḥ | so 'braviṣ "jyāyān vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti | 15. Tam abraid "Bhavo 'si iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarot Par- janyas tad-rūpam abhavat | Parjanyo vai Bhavaḥ | Parjanyād hi idaṁ sar- vam bhavati | so 'bravid "jyāyān vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti | 16. Tam abraid " Mahān devo 'si' iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akaroch chandramās tad-rūpam abhavat | Prajāpatir vai chandramāḥ Prajāpatir vai mahān devaḥ | so 'braviṣ "jyāyān vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti | 17. Tam abraid "Īśano 'si' iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod Ādityas tad-rūpam abhavat | Ādityo vai Īśānāḥ Ādityo hy asya sarvasya īṣṭe | so 'bravid "etāvān vai asmi nā mā itthā paro nāma dhāh" iti | 18. Tāny etāny ashtāv Agni-rūpāṇi Kumāro navamāḥ | să eva Agnes tri- vṛttā | 19. Yad vai iva ashtāv Agni-rūpāṇy ashēkākharā gāyatri tasmād āhur "gāyatro 'gnir" iti | so iva kamuḥ rūpāṇy anuprāviṣat | na vai Agnīm kumāram iva paśyanty etāny eva asya, rūpāṇi paśyanty etāni hi rūpāṇi praviṣat | "This foundation existed. It became the earth (bhūmi). He ex- tended it (aprathayat). It became the broad one (prithivi). On this foundation beings, and thē 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 Aushasi (the daughter of the dawn). Then 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 (arodīt 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 Pāṣupati.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, the Plants became his form, for Pāṣupati is the Plants. Hence, when beasts obtain plants, they become lords (or strong). The boy said,

55 I am unable to explain how Ushas, the dawn, is identified with her own offspring, Aushasi; or how the 'lord of beings' = the Year, consecrated himself for the year.

56 The name Kumāra, Weber remarks (Indische Studien, ii. 302, 395), is applied to Agni in Rig-veda, v. 2, 1.

57 See the end of note 9, p. 303, above. A story like the one there given will be found in Taitt. Sanh. i. 5, 1, 1:—Devāsuraḥ saṃyattāh āsan | te devāh vijayan upa-
yanto 'gnau vāmañ vasu saṃyadadhata “idam u no bhavishyati yadi no jeshyanti” iti | tad Agnir nyakāmaya | tena apākrāmat | tad devāh vijīya avavuatsamānāh anvīyan | tad asya sahasā āḍīlsanta | so rōdīt | yad arōdīt tad Rudrasya Rudravesa | “The gods and Asuras engaged in battle. The gods, conquering, deposited valuable property with Agni, saying, 'If they should ever conquer us, we shall have this.' Agni desired the property; and went off with it. The gods, after being victorious, went after him to recover their goods, which they sought to take from him by force. He wept. From his weeping Rudra gets his character of Rudra.”

58 The origin of this name may perhaps be found in Rig-veda, x. 61, 19, where these words occur: Iyam me nābhīr iha me sadhastham une me deviḥ ayam asmi Sarevā | deviḥ aha prathama-jāh pitaṣya idain dhyānor adhuh jāyamānā | “This is my centre, here is my abode, these are my gods, this is I, Sarva (All). The twice-born men are the firstborn of the sacred rite. This the cow milked out, when she was being born.”
'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name. 13. Prajapati said to him, 'Thou art Ugra.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Vayu (the Wind) became his form. For Ugra (or the 'Fierce') is Vayu. 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. Prajapati said to him, 'Thou art Asani.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Vidyut (Lightning) became his form. For Asani is Lightning. Hence they say that Asani has struck a man whom lightning strikes. The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 15. Prajapati 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. Prajapati replied, 'Thou art Mahändevah (the 'Great god').' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Chandramas (the Moon) became his form. For the Moon is Prajapati: the 'Great god' is Prajapati. The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 17. Prajapati replied, 'Thou art Íśāna (the ruler).' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Íditya (the Sun) became his form. For Íśāna is the Sun, because he rules (ishite) 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 (trivrittā) of Agni. 19. Since there are, as it were, eight forms of Agni, [and] the gayatrī metre has eight syllables, men say, 'Agni pertains to the gayatri.' 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 Vishṇu 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-sambandha-tevam | 'Agni's connexion with the Gāyatrī arises from his having sprung from the mouth.'
When, at the beginning of the kalpa, the lord (i.e. Brahmā) 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. Brahmā said to him when he was weeping, ‘Why dost thou weep?’ He answered the lord of the world, ‘Give me a name.’ [Brahmi rejoined], ‘Thou, 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 (Brahmā) called him [besides Rudra] Bhava, Sarva, Īśāna, Paśupati, Bhīma, Ugra, Mahādeva.”

These names (except Bhīma, which is substituted for Asāni) are the same as those in the Brāhmaṇa. The same legend is given in a somewhat different form in the Sāṅkhāyana 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 Sāṅkhāyana in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.
yachhasi" iti | "nāma me kuru" ity abravin "na vai idam avihitena
nāmā annam atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravid "Bhavaḥ eva"
iti yad Bhavaḥ āpas | tena na ha vai exam. Bhavo hinasti na asya
prajām na asya paśūn na asya bruvāṇāṁ chana | atha yah enaṁ dveshti
sa eva pāpiyān bhavati | na sa yah evaṁ veda | tasya vratam ā im eva
vāsaḥ paridadhitā iti | 3. Taṁ devītīyam abhyāyachhat tam abravit |
"kathā mā abhyāyachhasi" iti | "devītīyam me nāma kuru" ity abravin
"na vai idam ekena nāmā annam atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" iti
abravich "Chharvāḥ eva" iti yac Chharvo 'gniḥ | tena na ha vai enaṁ
Saṁvo hinasti na asya prajām na asya paśūn na asya bruvāṇāṁ chana |
atha yah enaṁ dveshti sa eva pāpiyān bhavati | na sa yah evaṁ veda |
tasya vratam sarcam eva na asmiyād iti | 4. Taṁ tritiyam abhyāyachhat |
tam abravit "kathā mā abhyāyachhasi" iti | "tritiyam me nāma kuru"
ity abravin "na vai idaṁ devībhyaṁ nāmabhyaṁ annam atsyāmi" iti |
"sa vai tvam" ity abravit "Pasupatir eva" iti yat Pasupatir Vāyuḥ | tena
na ha vai enam Pasupatir hinasti na asya prajām na asya paśūn na asya
bruvāṇāṁ chana | atha yah enaṁ dveshti sa eva pāpiyān bhavati | na sa
yah evaṁ veda | tasya vratam brāhmanam eva na parivade iti | 5. Taṁ
chaturtham abhyāyachhat | tam abravit "kathā mā 'bhgyāyachhasi" iti |
"chaturtham me nāma kuru" ity abravit | "na vai idaṁ tribhīr nāmabh-
kar annam atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravid "Ugraḥ eva devaḥ"
iti yad Ugro devaḥ oshadhayo vanaspatayaḥ | tena na ha vai exam Ugro
devo hinasti na asya prajām na asya paśūn na asya bruvāṇāṁ chana |
atha yah enaṁ dveshti sa eva pāpiyān bhavati | na sa yah evaṁ veda |
tasya vratam striyāḥ eva viraraṁ na ṭikṣheta iti | 6. Taṁ paṃchamam
abhyaṇchhat | tam abravit "kathā mā 'bhgyāyachhasi" iti | paṃchamam
me nāma kuru" ity abravit | "na vai idaṁ chaturbhir nāmabhār annam
atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravid "Mahān eva devaḥ" iti | yan
Mahān devaḥ Ādityāḥ | Tena na ha vai enam Mahān devo hinasti na
asya prajām na asya paśūn na asya bruvāṇāṁ chana | atha yah enaṁ
dveshti sa eva pāpiyān bhavati | na sa yah evaṁ veda | tasya vratam
udyantam eva enaṁ na ṭikṣheta astaṁ yantaṁ cha iti | 7. Taṁ, sha-
sthām abhyāyachhat tam abravit "kathā mā abhyāyachhasi" iti |
"shasthām me nāma kuru" ity abravit | "na vai idam paṃchabhīr
nāmabhīr annam atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravid "Rudraḥ eva"
iti yad Rudraḥ Chandramāḥ | Tena na ha vai enaṁ Rudro hinasti na
asya prajām na asya paśūn na asya bruvāṇāṁ chana | atha yah enaṁ
dvēṣṭi sa eva pāpiyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | tasya vrataṁ
vinārtaṁ eva nāśnīyān mājānaṁ cha iti | 8. Tāṁ saptamam abhyā-
yachhat | tasya vrataṁ eva nāśnīyān mājānaṁ cha iti | “kathā mā bhūyāyachhasi” iti | “ashtamam me nāma kuru” ity abravit | “na vai idaṁ shaḍbhir nāmabhār annam atsyāmī” iti | “sa vai tvam” ity abravīd “Īśāna ᵇeva” iti yad Īśana ‘nnaṁ | tena na ha vai enam Īśāna hinaṁ na asya praṇāṁ na asya paśuṁ na asya bruvaṇāḥ chana | atha yaḥ enaṁ dvēṣṭi sa eva pāpiyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | tasya vrataṁ annam eva ichhamānaṁ na prat-
yāḥchāṣṭa iti | 9. Tām ashtamam abhyāṣhat | tasya vrataṁ eva nāśnīyān mājānaṁ cha iti | “ashtamam me nāma kuru” ity abravīm “na vai idaṁ saptabhār nāmabhār annam atsyāmī” iti | “sa vai tvam” ity abravīd “Āśaṁer ᵇeva” iti yad Āśaṁer Indraḥ | tena na ha vai enam Āśaṃer hinaṁ na asya praṇāṁ na asya paśuṁ na asya bruvaṇāḥ chana | atha yaḥ enaṁ dvēṣṭi sa eva pāpiyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | tasya vrataṁ satyaṁ eva vadeḥ hiraṇyaṁ cha bibhriyad iti | sa esho śaṅkāmā śaṅkāmā vihito Mahān devaḥ | ā ha vai asya asṭhamāt puruṣataḥ prajā ‘nnam atti vasyān vasiyān ha eva asya praṇāyām ājāyate yaḥ evaṁ veda |

“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 Prajāpati, 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,' Prajāpati answered; for Sarva is Agni. Wherefore Sārva 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 Prajāpati, 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,' Prajāpati answered; for Paśupati is Vāyu (the Wind). Wherefore Paśupati does not slay him, etc., etc. His rule is, let no one slander a Brāhman. 5. He came the fourth time to Prajāpati, 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), Prajāpati 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 Prajāpati, 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 Mahāndeva (the great god),' Prajāpati answered; for Mahāndeva is Āditya (the Sun). Wherefore Mahāndeva 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 Prajāpati, 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,' Prajāpati 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 Prajāpati, 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 Iśāna,' Prajāpati answered; for Iśāna is food. Wherefore Iśāna does not slay him, etc., etc. His rule is, let no one reject him who desires food. 9. He came the eighth time to Prajā-

90 This is the sense assigned by Bühlingk and Roth, s.v. mūrchh + vi.
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 Satarudriya:

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, ix. 1, 1, 1.\(^{91}\)—Athā atāḥ satarudriyam jihoti | atra esha sarvo ’gniḥ saṁskṛitaḥ | sa esho ’tra Rudro devatā | tasmiḥ devāḥ etad amṛitaṁ rūpam uttamam adadhuḥ | sa esho ’tra dippyamūno ’tishtaḥ annam ichhamānaḥ | tasmā devāḥ abibhayur “yad vai no ’yam na hiṁ- syāmd” iti | 2. To ’bruvanm “annam asmai sambharāma tena enam śama- yāna” iti | tasmiā etad annaṁ samabharan śānta-devatyaṁ\(^{92}\) | tena enam asamayan | tad yad etāṁ devam etena aśamayaṁ tasmāc chhānta-devatyaṁ | “śānta-devatyaṁ ha vai tach ehatarudriyam” ity āchakshate paroksham | paroksha-kāmāḥ hi devāḥ |

“He now offers an oblation with the Satarudriya. 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 ‘Śāntadevatya’ (‘that with which a god is appeased’). They call this ‘Śāntadevatya’ esoterically ‘Sata-rudriya’; for the gods love what is esoteric.”

\(^{91}\) Compare Taitt. Br. i. 6, 1, 2. In the same work, i. 7, 1, 2, we read that the gods and Asuras 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 (to devaḥ Agnim abruvan “tvaya vireṇa Asurān abhibhavān” iti| sa ’braṇī “tredha ātmānan evkarishyey” iti | sa tredhā ātmānam vyakuruta Agnim triṇyām Rudraṁ triṇyām Varunāṁ triṇyām ityād).\(^{92}\) Śānta-devatyaṁ śānta-devatārtham devatā-śānty-artham | Comm.
On this the commentator remarks: Viññi 'yaṁ homo Rudra-rūpata-pannasya Agner upāsamanārtham | “This oblation is offered in order to appease Agni who has taken the form of Rudra.”

The same work gives, a little further on, another account of the origin of Rudra, and a different etymology for the Satarudriya:

Sātāpatha Brāhmaṇa, ix. 1, 1, 6 ff.—Prājāpati viṣrastād devatāḥ udakrāmaṁ tam ekaḥ eva devo na ajahūd Manyur eva | so ‘smtum antar vitato ‘tīṣṭhat | so ‘rōdit | tasya yāṇyā aśrūṁ prāskandaṁ tāṇy asmin Manyau pratyatishṭhan | sa eva sata-śirṣāḥ Rudraḥ samabhavat sahasrākṣaḥ śateśuddhiḥ | atha yāḥ anyāḥ viprushed ‘pataṁs tā asankhyāta sahasrāṇi | imān lokān anuprāviṣan | tad yaḥ ruditāt samabhavāṁ tasmād Rudrāḥ | so ‘yaṁ sataśirṣāḥ Rudraḥ sahasrākṣaḥ śateśuddhiḥ adhijya-śaṁca pratitiḥyāḥ bīśhayāmnāṁ ‘tīṣṭhat annam ichhamānaṁ | tasmād devāb abihayaḥ | 7. Te Prājāputim abruvan | “asmād vā bhīhimo yād vay no ‘yaṁ na hīṁsyad” | iti | so ‘bravid “annam asmai samabhavata yena evaṁ śamayata” | iti | tasmāi etad annam samabhavantā śatarudriyaṁ tena evam asamāyan | tad yaḥ etāṁ sataśirṣaṇāṁ Rudram etena asamāyaṁ tasmāc cbhataśirṣa-rudra-śanmiyāṁ | sataśirṣa-rudram-śanmiyāṁ ha vai taś śatarudriyāṁ ity āchakṣhaite paroksham | paroksha-kāmāḥ hi devāh ityādi | . . . 14. “Namase te Rudrā manyaye” iti | yāḥ eva asmin so ‘ntar Manyur vītato ‘tīṣṭhat tasmāi etan namaskaroty uta ‘te ishaye namo bāhubhyāṁ uta te namaḥ” | iti | ishvā cha hi bāhubhyāṁ cha bhāshayāmāno ‘tīṣṭhat | 6. “From Prājāpati, when he had become enfeebled, the deities

93 In the Taitt. S. v. 4, 3, 1. it is said: Rudro vai esha yad Agnih | sa etarhi jīto yarhi sarvasa chitaḥ sa yathā vato jītaḥ stanam prepsaty evaṁ vai eva esha etarhi bhāgaḥ seyyam prepsati | tasmāy yad āhutīṁ na jhūmyād adhvarvun īcha yaṣamānāṁ īcha dhīyāyey | S’atarudriyāṁ juhoti | bhāgaḥ seyyam evaṁ śamayati | na ārtim ā archathy adhvarvun na yaṣamānāḥ | “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 adhvarvya priest and the sacrificer. The Satarudriya is celebrated: and the priest quiets him with a share. So both adhvarvya and sacrificer avoid injury.” The same work, v. 5, 7, 4, says similarly: Rudro vai esha yad Agnih | sa yathā vyaṅghṛah krodhās tīṣṭhaty evaṁ vai eva esha etarhi | sanchitam etair upatīṣṭhatē nāmakārāṁ eva evam śamayati | “This Agni is Rudra (or terrible). As a tigerstands 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 (Prajāpati) 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 Prajāpati, 'We are afraid of this being, lest he destroy us.' Prajāpati 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-samanīyaṃ). 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 Mahābrāhmaṇa, vi. 9, 7; Yān samām Mahādevaḥ paśuṇ hanyad ityadi | “In whatever year Mahādeva slays cattle.” The same work, vii. 9, 16 ff., makes mention of Rudra in connexion with cattle or victims: Devāḥ vai paśuṇ vyabhajanta | te Rudram antarāyan | ‘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 Kārttīkēya, 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 told that, after Skanda had been installed in his office of general of the gods (v. 14424), Mahādeva arāl Pārvatī arrived:

96 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.—Agamya manuja-vyāghra saha devyā parantapa | archayāmāsa suprito bhagavān govrīšhe-dhvaṁjaḥ | Rudram Agniṁ dvijāḥ pruḥuḥ Rudra-sūnas tatas tu saḥ | Rudrenā sukram utsrishtaṁ tat śvetāḥ parvato 'bhavat | Pāvakasyendriyaṁ śvete kṛittikābhīḥ kṛitaṁ nage | pūjyamānaṁ tu Rudreṇa drishtvā sarve divaukaraḥ | Rudra-sūnum tataḥ pruḥur Guhaṁ guṇavatāṁ varam | anupraviśya Rudreṇa vahniṁ jāto hy ayaṁ śiśuḥ | tatra jātas tataḥ Skando Rudra-sūnum tato 'bhavat | Rudrasya Vahneḥ Svāhāyaḥ saṁnāṁ strīnāṁ catu Bhārata | jātaḥ Skandaḥ sura-śresṭho Rudra-sūnum 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 Svāhā [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 Mahabharata.

Indra then departs with Devasena. It happened that Vasishtha 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 oblations of the rishis, and presented them to the gods. The story then proceeds (v. 14287):

Nishkrmaani chaipy apasyat sa patnīs teshām mahatmanām | sveshv āśrameshāpavishṭāḥ svapahāti cha tathā sukham | rukma-vedi-nibhās73 tās tu chanda-lekkāḥ ivāmalaḥ | hūtāsanārchiḥ-pratimāḥ sarvās tārāḥ ivād-bhutāḥ | sa tatra tena manasā bahāvā kshubhitendriyaḥ | patnīr drīśtvā dvijendrānāṁ Vahnī kāma-vaśāṁ yayaś | bhūyāḥ sa chintayāmāsa na nyāyāṁ kshubhito hy aham | sādhvyāḥ patnyo dvijendrānāṁ akāmāḥ kāmayāmy aham | naītāḥ sakyāḥ mayā drāṣṭṝṃ prasakṣṭāṃ vā pṛy ani-mittataḥ | gārhapatyāṁ samāviṣya tasmāt paśyāmy abhikṣṇaśaḥ | saṃ- spriśaṃ iva sarvās tāḥ śikhābhiḥ kānchana-prabhāḥ | paśyāmaṇāsa cha mumude gārhapatyāṁ sāmāritāḥ | nīrūṣhya tatra suchīram evaṁ Vahnīr vaśāṁ gataḥ | manasāṃ tuṣu viniḥkṣiṣṭya kāmayāno varāṅgānaḥ | kāma-santapta-hridayo deha-tyāga-viniṣṭitaḥ | alābhe brāhmaṇa-strīṇam Agnīr vanam upāgamat | Svāhā tām Daksha-duḥhitạ prathamaṃ kāmayat tadā | sā tasya chhidram anvaichhakāh chirāt-prabhriti bhāviniḥ | opramattasya devasya na cha paśyathy anīnditā | sā tām juātṝā yathāvat tu Vahnīr vanam upāgamataḥ | tattvataḥ kāma-santaptām chintayāmāsa bhāviniḥ | aham saptarshi-patnīnāṁ kriyā rūpaṇi Pāvakam | kāmayishyāmi kāmārta tāsaṁ rūpaṇa mohipat | evaṁ kriyā prītir asya kāmāvāpṭīs cha me bhavet | Śivā bhāyā tv Angirasāḥ śīla-rūpa-guṇānvinī | tasyāḥ sa prathamaṁ rūpaṁ kriyā devi jānādhipa | jagāma Pāvakābhyaśaṁ tāṁ chovācha varāṅganaḥ | māṁ Agne kāma-santaptām tvāṁ kāmayitum arhasi | karishyasi na cheḍ evam mṛītāṁ māṁ upadhāraya | aham Angiraso bhāyā Śivā-pāmaḥ Hutāsana | śiśṭābhiḥ prakṛitaḥ prāptā mantryātva viniṣṭhitam | Agnīr urācha | kathām māṁ tvāṁ vījamahśe kāmāurtam itarāḥ katham | yās tvayā kirtitāḥ sarvāḥ saptarṣīṇām priyāk-striyāḥ | Śivā urācha | asmākāṁ tvam priyo nityam bibhīmas tu vayaṁ tava | trachchitam ingitai rūtvā prashītaṁ sīmī tāvāntikam | maithunāyeha samprāptā kānam prāptum drutāṁ chara | yāmayo māṁ

73 In Rāmāyaṇa iii. 32, 5, Rāvana is described as Rukma-vedi-gataṁ, which the Commentator explains as rukma-vediṁ prāptam hiranyeshṭaka-chitāṁ vediṁ prāptam | "mounted on a platform of golden bricks."

"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 Brahmans' 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, Hūtāśana (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 Brahmans' wives with Agni. Wherefore preserving this, I shall become Garudi; and thus my egress from the wood will
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 Rakshasas, Piśāchas, and by hosts of Rudra's demons, filled with Rakshaśis, 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 Vaśishtha), 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 Devasena (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]. Thus, O 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 Svāhā.'

**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.):


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[98] These words na dvitiyāya tasthur appear to be established as the current reading of this passage; and a reading partly similar (with variations in other respects) will be found below in a corresponding verse which occurs in the Atharva-śiras. The commencement of the verse is, however, also found in the Nirukta, i. 15, where the reading is different and preferable, ekaḥ eva Rudro vaṭasthe na dvitiyāḥ; and Sāyāna, in his commentary on the Rig-veda (quoted in vol. iii. of this work, p. 60), gives the words thus, ekaḥ eva Rudro na dvitiyā vaṭasthe. Durga, the commentator on the Nirukta, as cited by Roth (Illust. of Nir., p. 12, note 4), quotes the whole verse as follows (without saying from what work it is taken): Ekaḥ eva Rudro vaṭasthe na dvitiyō rāne vighnān prītanāṁ statrūn | saṃsrijyā viśvā bhuvanāni gopāḥ pratyaṇa janāṁ sanchuksanta-kaṇe "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 sanchuksa. See the last note; and Bohtlingk and Roth, s.v. kuch+sam; where sanchuksa is given as the proper reading, instead of sanchukosa, which is found in Roth’s Illust. of Nirukta, p. 12, note 4.

[100] These two words are varied below, 4, 12, thus: pākyata jayamānam, 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. 2. 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-

dally; he displays his wrath (absorbs them?) at the time of the
death. 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 production
and the source of the gods, who first generated Hiraṇyagarbha,—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-sīras 101
Upanishad. The MSS. which I have consulted vary very much in
their readings:

Derāḥ ha vai svargaṁ lokam agaman | te derāḥ Rudram aprichchhan
"ko bhavān" iti | so 'bravid "aham ekaḥ prathamam āsāṁ varśāmi cha
bhavishyaṁ cha na anyāḥ kaścid matto vyatiriktaḥ" iti | so 'ntarād an-
vām prāviśad diśaścha antaraṁ samprāviśat | "so 'ham nityānityo vyaktā-
vyaktot 'ham Brahmābrahma aham prāṇaḥ prayancho 'haṁ dakshaṁāncha
[dakshinās cha?] udancho 'ham adhaśca uryddhaṁca diśaścha pratiśaś-
cha aham pumāṁ apumāṁ stri cha ahaṁ sūcītry ahaṁ gāyatry aham
trishṭub jagaty anusūṭyotp cha ahaṁ chhando 'ham gārhatpaio dakshināgner
āharaniyo 'haṁ satyo 'haṁ gaur ahaṁ Gaury ahaṁ jyestṛho 'haṁ śresṛtho
'haṁ varishṛtho 'ham āpo 'haṁ tejo 'ham rig-yuśuḥ-sāmāṭhāravāṅgiraso
'ham akṣharam ahaṁ kṣharam ahaṁ guḥyo 'haṁ gop✝yo 'ham aranyo 'ham
pūṣkaram aham pāvīram aham agrancho madhyanca vahiścha purastā́
{jyotir ity aham ekaḥ | sarvānca māṁ eva māṁ yo veda sa sarvān devān
veda | gāṁ gobhir brāhmaṇaṁ brahmanyena haviṁshi havishā āyur āyushā
satyāṁ satyena dharmāṁ dharmeṇa tarpāyami scena tejasā | tato devāḥ
Rudraṁ na apaśyams te devāḥ Rudraṁ dhāyanti tato devāḥ \vārdhva-
bhāvaraṁ stuvanti yo. vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yaś cha Brahmā tasmā
dai namo namāḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yaścha Vishnuṁ tasmā
dai namo namāḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yaścha Mahēśvāras tasmār

101 A work called Atharva-sīras is mentioned in the passage of the Rāmāyaṇa, i.
14, 2, quoted above, p. 165 ff.  See Weber's Indische Studien, i. 382 ff.; and ii. 53 ff.
vai namo namah | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yaḥ cha Umā tasmai . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yaḥcha Viṁāyakas tasmai . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . yaḥcha Skandaḥ . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . yaḥcha Indraḥ . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . yaḥcha Agniḥ . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . yaḥcha Bhūvaḥ . . . | om adau madhye bhūr bhūvaḥ suvar ante śirshaṁ
janadom
viśa-rūpo 'si | Brahma ekas tvāṁ dvitirdhā ārdhvam adhaś cha tvāṁ śaṁtiśa tvāṁ pushṭiśa tvāṁ tushṭiśa tvāṁ hutaṁ ahutaṁ viśvam avīśvaṁ dattam adattam kṛitaṁ ākṛitaṁ param aparā-yaṇanarchi iti | "apāma somam" anṛitaṁ abhūna agamaṁ jyotir avidāna devaṁ | kiṁ nūnaṁ asmān kriṇavad arātiṁ kim u dhūrtir amṛitaṁ mart-yasya" | (R.V. viii. 48, 3) | sarva-jagaddhitam vai etad aksaram prājā-patyaṁ sūkṣmaṁ saumyaṁ purushaṁ agrāhyam agrāhaṁ Vāyaṁ vāyavyaṁ somaṁ saumyaṁ grasati svena tejasā | tasmai upasāṁhartre mahāgrāśaṁ vai namo nāmaḥ | hriḍīsthāṁ devaṁ sarvah hriḍī prāne pratisūkhṣṭhāṁ hriḍī tvam asī yo nityāṁ tisro mātrāḥ paras tu saḥ | tasya uttarataḥ śiro dakshinātaḥ pādua yaḥ uttarataḥ sa oṁkāraḥ | yaḥ oṁkāraḥ sa pranavaḥ yaḥ pranavaḥ sa sarvā-vyāpi yaḥ sarva-vyāpi so 'nanto y'o nantas tat tārūṇ yat tārūṇ tat sūkṣmaṁ yat sūkṣmaṁ tat suklaṁ yat suklaṁ tad vaidyutaṁ yad vaidyutaṁ tat param Brahma iti sa | eko Rudraḥ sa īśānaḥ sa bhagavān sa Mahēśvaroḥ sa Mahādevoḥ | atha kasmad uchyate oṁkāraḥ | yasmad uchchāryamaṇaḥ eva sarvaṁ sarīram unnaṁayati tasmad uchyate oṁkāraḥ . . . | atha kasmad uchyate ekaḥ | yaḥ sarvān lokāṇ udgrīṅhyati 105 spījati visṛjiti vāsayaṁ tasmad uchyate ekaḥ | atha kasmad uchyate eko Rudraḥ | "eko Rudro na dvitiyāya tasthe (sthitavān | advitiyā eva sthitavān | Comm.)

tūriyam imaṁ lokam īśate īśānyur (niyamana-śaktīṁ | Comm.)

janani-
yuḥ (viśvotpāda-śaktīṁ | Comm.) | pratyayi janās tisṭhanti saṁyug

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102 The commentator explains this thus: "śirṣaṁ śiro mantrāḥ svāhā ity evaṁrūpah | janadom janado iti karmopalakṣaṇārtham akṣara-trayam | janam janinam tad-upalakṣita-janinād vatsa-jaṁ tam tad-dadāti iti janadāḥ | tasya sambodhanam | Instead of the words in the text, another MS. reads, bhūs te iḍiṁ madhye bhūras te svas te śirṣaṁ viśeṣāropa 'si.

103 Umāyā Brahma-vidyā-svarūpiṇyā Kātyāyanyā sāna vartate iti Somas tān | [Soma is thus =sa— Umā, “with Umā”] yatāḥ somam apāma tataḥ anṛitaṁ maraṇa-hetubhir avidyā-tat-kārtya-saṁskāraṁ vivarjitaṁ ab.ūna sampannāḥ | —Comm.

104 Tārayati, “delivers;” that which delivers.—Comm.

105 Īrdhva-mokṣham ātmanī griṅhāti | —Comm.
asyāntakāle samhṛitya viśvā bhuvānani goptā" | tasmād uchyate eko Rudraḥ106 | atha kasmād uchyate Īsāno "yah sarvān lokān īsate īsanībhīr"
jānanībhīḥ parama-saṁkhitibhiḥ | "abhi, tvā śūra nonumād adugdhaḥ ievā dhenavāḥ | īśanam asya jagatah svardīśam īśanam Indra taṣṭushāḥ" | (RV. vii. 32, 22) | tasmād uchyate īśanāḥ . . . . . . . atha kasmād uchyate Maheśvarāḥ | yah sarvān lokan sambhaṇkṣhāḥ sambhākshayatī ajasraṁ srijatī visṛjatī vāśayati tasmād uchyate Maheśvarāḥ | atha kasmād uchyate Maheśdevāḥ | yah sarvān bhuवān parītyajya ātma-jaṇāṇa-yogaś- 
varye mahatī mahiyyatī tasād uchyate Maheśdevāḥ | tad etād (etād nāma- 
niruktī-ṛūpaṁ charitam | Comm.) Rudra-charitam | "esho ha devaḥ pradīṣo 'nu sarvāḥ pūrvo ha jātaḥ sa u girbhe antaḥ | sa eva jātaḥ sa jaṇishyamāṇah pratyaya janāś tisṭhāti visvato-mukhaḥ" | (Vāj. S. 32, 4) | "viśvataḥ-chakshur uta visvato-mukho viśvato-bāḥur uta visvataḥ-pūt | sam bāhuhṛyaṁ āhamati sam patatāraṁ dyāv-Śrīhīvī janaṇya devaḥ ekāḥ" | (RV. x. 81, 3) . . . . . Rudre ekatvam (aikyaṁ | Comm.) āhuḥ | Rudram śaṅkavatī vai purāṇam ityādi . . . . | vratam etat pāṣupatam | Agnir iti bhasma Vāyur iti bhasma jalam iti bhasma sthalam iti bhasma vyoma iti bhūsam sarvān vai idam bhasma manah etāni chakshuṁṣhi bhāsamāni | "Agnir" ityādinā bhasma grihitvā nirmīrya angāni sāṁsṛiṣet | tasmād vratam etat pāṣupatam pāṣu-pāṣa-vaṁokṣhāya | yoh 'tharva-siram brāhmaṇo 'dhiye so 'gni-pūto bhavati | sa vāyu-pūto bhavati | sa adītya-pūto bhavati | sa soma-pūto bhavati | sa satya-bhūto bhavati sa sarva-bhūto bhavati | sa sarveṣu tīrthṣeṣu snāto bhavati | sa sarveshu vedēṣe adhīto bhavati | sa sarve-saṁta-charyāsū charita bhavati | sa sarvair devair jnāto bhavati | sa sarva-yajna-kratubhir iṣṭṭavān bhavati | tena itihāṣa-puṁsānāṁ Rudrāṇāṁ sātra-sahasrāni japtāni bhavanti | gāyatrīyaḥ śata-sahasrāṁ japtam bhavati | praṇavāṇam ayutāṁ japtam bhavati | rūpe rūpe (pāṭhe pāṭhe prātipāṭham | Comm.) daśa-pūrvān punātī āsottarān ā chakṣhushāḥ panktim punātī ityāhā bhagavān Atharva-śiro 'tharva-śirch (abhyāṣaḥ ādārthāḥ | Comm.) | sakṛj japtvā sūchikāḥ pūtaḥ karmanyo bhavati | dvitiyam japtvā gānapatīyam (sarva-niyāntītvaṁ | Comm.) arāṇaṁ tṛiṣiyāṁ japtvā devam eva anupraviṣāt oṁ satyam | "yo Rudro agnan yo aps evantā ya oshadhīr virudhāḥ āviveśa | ya imā viśvā bhuvanāni chakrīpe tasmai Rudrāya namo 'stu Āgnaṇye" | (A. V. vii. 87, 1, above, p. 333).

106 In another MS. a different answer is given to this question: Yasmād rishibhir sa anayair bhaktair drutam asya rūpaṁ upalabhyate | "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,’

107 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 Sāvitrī, I the Gāyatrī, I the Trishtubh, Jagatī, and Anushṭubh (metres), I am mete, I am the household, the southern, and the āhavanīya fires, I am true, I am the earth (or cow), I am Gaurī,

108 I am the eldest, I am the chief, I am the most excellent, I am the waters, I am brilliancy, I am the Rik, Yajush, Śāman, Atharvāngirases, 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 Brahmans 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 Vishnu, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Māheśvara, 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 svaha [svah]; mahaḥ; jana; tapas; satya; prithivi; āpas; tejas; vāyu; ākāśa; sūrya; soma; nakshatrāṇi; ashtau grahāḥ; prāṇa; kāla; Yama; mrityu; amrita; bhūta; bhavya; bhavishyat; viśva; kṛitṣna;
Om! at the beginning, and in the middle are Bhūr, Bhuvah, Svāḥ; 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, fūtness, 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 suprême, 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 delivers, 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 Īśāna, 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 Ṫisāna? 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 (Īśāna) of this moving, and the lord of this stationary, [world].' Hence he is called 'Īśāna.' ('Bhagavat' is then explained.) Then why is he called Mahēśvara? He who, a devourer, constantly devours, creates, variously creates, sustains all worlds, is therefore called Mahēśvara. 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.' (R.V. x. 81, 3, above, p. 6.) . . . 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 practiced 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 itiḥāsas, purāṇas, and Rudras (formulas

111 R.V. vii. 32, 22, quoted above, p. 103.
relating to Rudra), and a hundred thousand Gāyatrīs 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, Brahma, Vishnu, and Rudra, are mentioned together, along with Indra (Brahma-Vishnu-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 (kāraṇām tu dhyeyāh sarvaśāyaya-sampannāḥ sarveśvaraś ca Sambhuḥ ākāśa-madhye dhruvām stabdēva 'dhikām kṣaṇam ekaṁ kratuśatasyāpi chatuḥ-saptatyaḥ yat phalam tad āvāpnoti kṛitisnam oṁ-kāraṇataṁ cha sarva-dhyāna-yoga-jñānānāṁ yat phalam tad omkāra veda-para iḍo vā śīva eko dhyeyat śivānkaratāḥ sarvam 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 (Āthāśvalāyana bhagavantam parameshthinam upasametya uvācha adhīhi bhagavan brahma-vidyāṁ ītyādi). Brahmā (pitāmahā) among other things tells him as follows: Āntyāśrana-sthāḥ sakalendri-yāṁ nirudhya bhaktyā sva-gurum praṇamya | kriṭ-puṇḍarikāṁ virajāṁ viśuddham viṁchintya madhye viśadaṁ viśokam | anantam avyaktam achiṁtya-rūpam śivam praśāntam anūtītam brahma-yonim | tam ādi-madhyaṁta-vihiṇam ekaṁ vibhuṁ chidānanda-svarūpam adbhutam | Unā-sahāyam paramesvaram prabhuṁ trilochaṇāṁ nila-kaṇṭham praśāntam | dhyātva munir gacchati bhūta-yonin śamasta-sākṣiṁ tamāsaḥ parastat | sa Brahmā sa Śivaḥ Śendraḥ so kṣaṇaḥ paramaḥ svarat | sa eva Vishṇuḥ sa prāṇaḥ sa ātmā paramesvaraḥ 112 | sa eva sarvaṁ yad bhūtaṁ yachcha bhavyaṁ sanātanaṁ | jñaṁtaṁ maṁ mṛityum atyeti nānyāḥ panthā vimuk-

112 Another MS. has here, Sa kālo 'gniḥ sa Chandramāḥ.
RELATING TO RUDRA.

363
taye | . . . yah satarudriyam adhite so 'gnipūto bhavati sa Vāyupūto 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 Viṣṇu, 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 chavaroḥantaṁ divitaḥ prithivimayāḥ | apasyam apasyam 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 Itihāsas 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 Itihāsas, 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,
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 mārtimān āsīt Kāmaḥ ity uchyate budhāḥ | tapasyantam iha Sthānuṁ nimayena samāhitam | 11. Kritodvāhaṁ tu deveśāṁ gachhantaṁ sa-marud-gañam | dharmayāmāsa durmedhāḥ hunkritaś cha mahātmanā | 12. Avadhyātaś cha Rudreṇa chakshushāḥ Raghunandana | vyaśiryanta śāvirāt svāt sarva-gātrandī 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 Sīva with Umā is described in most undignified language, as follows: Purā Rāma kritodvāhaḥ S'itikaṁtha mahātupāḥ | 6. Drishtvā cha bhagavān devim maithunāyopachakrame | tasya saṁkri-đamānasya Mahādevasya dhimataḥ | S'itikaṁthasya devasya divyaṁ varsha-sataṁ gatam | 7. Na chāpi tanayo Rāma tasyāṁ āsīt parantapa | “Formerly, after his marriage, Sitikaṇṭha (Śiva) the great devotee, (6) beholding the goddess, began to indulge in connubial love. A thousand years of the gods passed while the wise Mahādeva Sitikaṇṭha 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 Śiva and Umā, but the latter imprecated sterility on all their wives. The thirty-seventh section relates the birth of Kārttikeya. While Tryambaka (Śiva), the lord of the gods, was performing austerity, the other deities went to Brahма 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 nak<sup>113</sup>, senāpatir deva datto bhagavatā purā | sa tapaḥ param āsthiya tapyate sma sahomayā). 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 Gangā, who should be the general of the gods. The gods accordingly went to mount Kailāśa, and appointed Agni to effect their object. Agni accordingly impregnated the Gangā, who brought forth Kārttikeya, so called because he was nursed by the Kṛṣṭīkās."

In the forty-second section it is related how the royal rishi Bhagiratha performed austerity in order that the Gangā might 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 Siva, 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 (Paśupati), 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 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.

<sup>113</sup> Yo nak 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. Atha devāh Mahādevaṃ Sankaraṃ saranārthinaḥ | jagmuh Paśupatiṃ Rudram trāhi trāhīti tushtvuh | 22. Evam uktas tato devai deva-deveśvarah prabhuh | prāduṣāt tato 'traiva śankha-ekakra-dharo Hariḥ | 23. Uvacaināṃ smitaṃ kṛtvā Rudram śūla-dharaṃ Hariḥ | daivatair mathyamāne tu yat pūrvam sampasthitam | 24. Tat tvādiyaṃ sura-śreshṭha surāṇām agrato hi yat | agra-pūjāṃ īha sthitvā grihāṇedāṃ visham prabho | 25. Ity ukiča cha sura-śreshṭhas tatraivaṃtaraḍhyata | devatānām bhayaṃ dṛṣṭvā śrutvā vākyāṃ tu Sārgināḥ | 26. Halāhalaṃ vishāṃ ghoraṃ sanjagrāhāmṛtopamam | devān visṛjya deveso 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 Vishnu, (26) he (Siva) 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 Vishnu, as the mountain with which the operation was being performed sank down into the infernal regions. Vishnu, however, assumed the form of a tortoise, and supported the mountain on his back. At length nectar was produced, which Vishnu carried off.

In the description of the northern region contained in the Kishkindhā 114 kānda of the Rāmāyaṇa, Kailāsa is spoken of as the residence of Kuvera, and no mention is made of Siva as residing there:115

Kishk. 44, 27 ff. (ed. Gorresio = Bombay ed. 43, 20 f.).—Tāṃ tu

114 In the Bombay edition this word is written 'Kishkindhā,' without a y before the final ā, which it has in Gorresio's edition.

115 See, however, the passage from the Sundara Kānda, sect. 89, which will be quoted in the Appendix, where Mahādeva is said to visit Kuvera, or r c Kailāsa.
Kuvera-bhavanam | Vaksa-vam ?a pdnduram | Kurums

Having quickly passed over that dreadful desert, you shall then see the white mountain, called Kailasa, and there the celestial palace of Kuvera, formed by Visvakarman, 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 uttaraś toyasāṁ nidhiḥ | tatra Somagirir nāma madhye hemamayo mahān | 55. Sa tu desā visūryo ’pi tasya bhāśa prakāśate | sūrya-lakshmyā ’bhivijneyo tapateva Vivasvatā | 56. Bhagavāṁs tatra visvātmā S’ambhur ekādaśātmakaḥ | Brahmā vasati deveśo brahmarshi-parivārīlaḥ | 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 Vivasvat (the sun). 56. There the divine soul of the universe, the eleven-fold Sambhu, 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: Kurūṁś tāṁ samatikramya uttare payasaṁ nidhiḥ | tatra Somagirir nāma hiraṁmaya-samo mahān | 118. Indra-loka-gatāḥ ye cha Brahma-loka-gatāś cha ye | sarve te samavākshanta girirājan divaṁ gataḥ | 119. Asūryo ’pi hi deśaḥ sa tasya bhāśa prakāśate | susūryaḥ eva lakshmīvāṁs tapativa divākare | 120. Bhagavāṁs tatra bhūtatmā Svayambhūr bahudhātmakaḥ | Brahmā bhavati vaśyātmā sarvātmā sarva-bhāvaṁ | 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: Visvam atati vyāpnoti iti visvātmā vyāpakaṁ tena Vishnu-rūpaḥ | visnu-vyāpti ity anusārati | sa eva Sambhuh ūm bhavaty asmāt | sa eva ekādaśātmakaḥ ekādaśātmakaḥ śānti-rudrātmakah | sa eva Brahmā hriḥhayatvāt jagat-srayasyitrīvāt | “Visvātmā” means, he who pervades all things; and consequently he is in the form of Vishnu, as Vishnu has the sense of pervader. The same being is Sambhu, 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 Sambhū.

Another passage relating to Rudra which occurs in Gorresio’s recension of the Rāmāyaṇa is the following (though it is not to be found in the corresponding section of the Bombay edition):

Kishk. 44, 46 ff.—Tāṁ ṭu deśam atikramya Triśringo nāma parvataḥ |
tasya pāde saro divyam mahat kānchana-puskkaram | tataḥ prachyavate divyā tikṣṇa-śrotās taranginī | nadi naika-grahākīrṇa kuśīlā loka-bhāviṇī | tasyaikaṁ kānchanaṁ śringam parvatasyaśnī-śannibham | vaidūryamayam ekancha sailasyāsyā samuchhritam | Anutpanneshu bhūteshu ba-bhūva kila bhūmītaḥ | agrajaṁ sarca-bhūtāṇāṁ Viśvakarmetviśrutaḥ |
tat tasya kila paurāṇam agniḥotram mahātmamaḥ | asīt triśikharāḥ saīlaḥ pravṛttās tatra ye ’gnayāḥ | tatra sarvāni bhūtāni sarvamedhe mahāmakhe | kṛtvā 'bhvarad mahātejāḥ sarva-loka-mahēśvaraḥ | Rudrasya kila saṁsthānaṁ saro vai sārvamedhikam | tataḥ pravṛttā Sarayūr ghora-nakravati nadi | deva-gandharva-pataγāḥ piśāchoragau-dānavaḥ | praviśanti na taṁ deśam pradīptam ievā pāvakam |
taṁ atikramya šailendram Mahādevābhipālitam | ityādi | “When that region has been overpassed, a mountain called Tritisringa [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 Agniḥotra 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 (mahēśvara) of all worlds. This lake of the universal sacrifice is the abode of Rudra; and from it issues the river Sarayū, 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 Purānas, 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 Bhuvanah ye | teneshtvā 'tyatishthati sarvāṇi bhūtāni idāṁ sarvam abhavat | atitishthati sarvāṇi bhūtāni idāṁ sarvam bharati yāḥ evam vidvān sarva-medhena yajate yo vā etad evam vedā | 15. Tuḥ ha Kaśyapo yūjyāyane-kāra | tat api Bhūmiḥ ślokaṁ jāgau | "na mā martyah kaśehana dātum arhati Viśvakarman Bhuvana mandaḥ aśīthā | upanānksyati syā salil-asya madhye mṛishaisha te sangarah Kaśyapāya" 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. Kaśyapa 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 Kaśyapa 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 Viśvākarma bhūmiṁ dātum ivesha tattra cha kūre Bhūmir api imaṁ ślokaṁ gītavanti | tvam tu mandaḥ manda-matīr janaḥ aśīthā babhūvitaḥ jātaḥ ity arthāḥ | upa-sabdō ni-sabdasya arthe | yaś cha asākyam pratijānīte mandaḥ ity abbhiprayah | “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 Kaśyapa by Parasurāma; and another text from the Anuśāsana-parvan, vv. 7232 ff. (ibid. p. 464), where the earth is said to have become offended with king Angus, who desired to bestow her on the Brahmans, and to have in consequence abandoned her form. Kaśyapa afterwards entered into her, and she became his daughter. Compare also Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 4, 3, 5 (quoted above, p. 27).
yaña and Satapatha Bhrahmana, 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 Viśvakarma as a mortal, and the Ait. Br. speaks of him as a prince who conquered the earth.

In the next passage\(^{118}\) Mahādeva is represented as visiting Kuvera on Mount Kailāsa, and as acknowledging the divinity of Rāma:

Rām. (ed. Gorresio) v. 89, 6 ff.—**Atha pradhāno dharmātmā lokānām īśvarāḥ prabhuh | tataḥ sabhāyāṁ devasya rūjno Viśravaṇasya saḥ | dhanādhyaksha-sabhāṁ devāḥ prāpto hi Viśkhabha-dvajah | Umā-sahāyo deveśo gaṇāś cha bahubhir vritah | avatirya vrishāt tūrnam mahitaḥ sūla-dhrig vibhuh | gires tasya mahātejāḥ pravīṣṭas tu sabhāṁ Haraḥ | Riddhīyā sabhāya-yuktāḥ cha tathā Viśravaṇāḥ svayam | anyonyāṁ tāu samālingya upavisīśtāv ubhāv api | sabhāyāṁ tatra tāu devau te cha devāḥ yathākramam | upavisīśtāḥ gaṇāś chaiva Yaksḥāḥ sa cha saha Guhya-kaḥ | akṣa-dyataṁ tatas tābhīyām pravīśitam samanantaram | etasmāṁ antare tatra Rākhasendraṁ Vibhishanam | drishtvā Paulastyam ayāntām Śivaḥ prāha dhaneśvaram | ayaṁ Vibhīṣaṇaḥ praptaḥ saraṇam tava pārthiva | manyunā 'bhipluto viro Rākhasendra-vimāṇitāḥ | 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),\(^{119}\) and attended by his companions, [cafe 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 Guhyakas. The two gods then began to play at dice. In the mean time, beholding the eminent Rākshasa Vibhishana, the son of Pulastya, approaching, Śiva says to the lord of riches, 'This, O king, is the hero Vibhīṣaṇa, who has resorted to thee, overwhelmed by distress, having been dishonoured by the chief of the Rākshasas (Rāvaṇa),' etc., etc.

While Śiva is speaking, Vibhīṣaṇa arrives, and bows down before

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\(^{118}\) 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.

\(^{119}\) See Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v. Riddhi, and the Mahābhārata, Asuṣāsana-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 Rākṣasas (vv. 21 ff.). Vibhīṣaṇa stands, with his head bent downwards, and sunk in contemplation, when Siva again speaks to him (vv. 37 ff.): 

"Tām dhyāyamānam bhagavān uvāca prabhur avyayaḥ | uttishtottishtha rājendra suḥham āpnuhi sāsvatam | . . . . . .

39. Tasmād uttishtha gachhā tevam purāṇam prabhum avyayam | ādharāṁ sarvabhūtānāṁ sāśvatāṁ niravagraham | sa hi sarva-nidhānaṁ cha gatir gatimātanā varāḥ | kṛṣṇaśāya jagato mūlam tasmād gachhasva 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.¹²⁰

¹²⁰ In the following passages some of Mahādeva's achievements are alluded to:—

iii. 30, 27 (ed. Bombay), and iii. 35, 93 (Gorr.): Sa papāta Kharo bhūmāv dahyamānābāh sarāgnīnā | Rudrasya vinirdvagdah Śvetāranyā purā 'ndhakaḥ | "[The Rākṣasas] Khara fell on the ground, burnt by the fire of the arrow, like Andhaka {who was} formerly consumed by Rudra in the Śveta forest." (Compare A. V. xi. 2, 7, above, pp. 334, 336, where Rudra is called the slayer of Andhaka.) iv. 5, 30 (Gorr.): Yathā kruddhasya Rudrasya Tripuraṁ vai vijyushāḥ | "[The frowning face of Rāma] like that of the incensed Rudra, who had conquered Tripura." vi. 51, 17 (Gorr.): "The Rākṣasas trembled when smitten by Lakshmana's arrow, like the dreadful portal of Tripura, when struck by the bolt of Rudra" (Rudra-vanahatam ghoram yathā Tripura-goparam). 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 āśvaih padātaiḥ cha tad babhūva raṇājiram | ākriḍaḥ īva 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. 55, 88 (Gorr.): Kumbhāsya patato rūpam bhagavayorasi mushtīnā | Īśvarāḥbhīpaurṇasya rūpam Paśupater īva | "The appearance of Kumbha 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: Īśvarenābhīpaurṇasya rūpam Paśupater īva │ "The appearance of Kumbha which Gorresio reads in the second line: bahhu Rudrābhīpaurṇasya yathā rūpāṁ Gavāmpateḥ │ which the commentator renders, 'appeared like the form of the lord of rays (the sun), overcome by Rudra' (Rudrābhīpaurṇasya abhibhūtasya Gavāmpateḥ Śūryasya īva.) It would almost seem (strange as it may appear) as if the author of the recension of the Rāmāyaṇa 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 Mahabhārata, iii. 192 (as quoted by Böhtlingk and Roth, s.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, note, 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 Viṣṇu 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 uktaḥ tu Janakaḥ pratyuvācha mahāmunim | śṛgatām asya dhanuşho yad-artham iha tishṭhati | Devarātaḥ iti khyāto Nimeḥ shasṭho (jyesṭhō, Bomb. ed.) mahi-patiḥ | nyāso ’yaṁ tasya bhagavan haste datto mahātmanaḥ | Daksha-yajna-badhe pūrvaṁ dhanur āgamya viṛya-vān | vidvāsya tridasān Rudraḥ salilam idam abravit | “yasmād bhāgārthino bhūgan nākāpavyata ma surūḥ | varāṇāṁi [= śirāṃsi, Comm. in Bomb. ed.] mahārīni dhanuṣhā śātayāmi vaḥ | tato cimanasah sarve devaḥ vai muni-puṇgava | prāsādayanta devasaṁ teshām prito ’bhavat Bhavaḥ | pritaścāpi dadau teshāṁ tāny angāni mahāyuṣāṁ | dhanuṣhā yāṁ yāṁ āsān sātītāṁ mahātmanaḥ | tad etad deva-devasya dhanu-ratnam mahātmanaḥ | nyāsa-bhūtaṁ tadā nyāstāṁ asmākam pūrvaṁ vībhō_ | 122

“Janaka, being thus addressed, replied to the great muni: ‘Hear, regarding this bow, from what cause it is here. A king called Devarāta 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 _Svīṣṭakridādi-yajna-bhāgārthino mama | “To me who desired a share in the Svīṣṭakrid, etc., offering.”_—Comm.

122 This last line runs as follows in Gorresio’s edition (ch. lxviii. 13): _Tishṭhaty adityāpi bhagavan kule ’smakoṁ supijitam_ | The 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.\textsuperscript{123}

The same story is told in the Sauptika-parvan, vv. 786-808, and in greater detail in the Śānti-parvan, of the Mahābhārata, 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), Umā, Śiva'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 mahābhūge pūrvarṇam etad anushṭhitam | yajñaśhu sarveshu mama na bhāgaḥ upakalpitāḥ | pūrvarṇopapannena mārgena varavarnīni | na me surāḥ prayoñchanti bhāgaṁ yajnasya dharmataḥ.\textsuperscript{124}"

\textsuperscript{123} This same story is again briefly alluded to in the following other passages of the Rāmāyaṇa:—iii. 30, 36 (ed. Gorr.—Bomb. ed. iii. 24, 35): Tāṁ drīśṭe tajasā yuktāṁ viyathur vana-devātāḥ | Dakshasyeva kratuṁ hantum udvatsāstram Pinākinam | "Beholding him (Rāma), possessed of might, the sylvan deities were distressed, as if he had been Pinakin (Śiva) with his weapon ready to destroy the sacrifice of Daksha." Ibid. 70, 2: Hantu-kāmam paśuṁ Rudraṁ krūddham Daksha-kratau 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: Dāghu-bhakam jagat sarvaiṁ yugānte sha yathā Haran | "Like Harā [Rudra] desirous of burning up the whole world at the end of the Yuga.") And again, vi. 54, 33 (ed. Gorr.): Tato visphārayāmāsa Rāmas tad dhanur uttamam | bhagavān eva sankrūddho Bhavaḥ kratuḥ-fīyāṁśayā | "Then Rāma stretched that excellent bow, like the divine Bhava enraged, and seeking to destroy the sacrifice." Rudra's followers are, however, mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa. Thus in iii. 31, 10 (ed. Gorr.) it is said: Sa taṁ pārvirito ghoraiṁ rākshaṁ śrī-varātvajaj | Mahādevaṁ pitri-vane goyaiṁ pārśva-gatair ievā | "This son of an eminent man (Rāma) was surrounded by these horrible Rākshasas, like Mahādeva by his attendant hosts in a cemetery." (Instead of the last line the Bomb. ed. has the following, iii. 25, 12: Tīksho ievā Mahādevo vṛtajṁ pārshadaṁ goyaiṁ.) And in another place (v. 12, 39, ed. Gorr.) Śiva is called the lord of demons (griham Bhūtapatav ievā).

\textsuperscript{124} The same words nearly are put into the mouth of Mahādeva in the Vāyu-purāṇa. See Wilson's Vīṣṇu Purāṇa, vol. 1., 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.' Umá is extremely chagrined that her husband, a god of so great dignity, should be so treated. Perceiving his wife's distress, S'iva goes, with his attendants, and puts an end to the sacrifice. The sacrifice takes the form of a deer, and is followed by S'iva 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 Brahmá appears to S'iva, and promises that the gods shall henceforth give him a share in the sacrifice (havato 'hi surúh sarve bhágam dáisyanti vai prabho), and proposes that Jvara (fever) shall be allowed to range over the earth. S'iva is propitiated, and assents to Brahma's proposal, and has ever afterwards obtained a share in the sacrifice (ity ukto Brahmañá devo bhágé chápi prakalpito | bhagavantaṃ tathety aha . . . . paránccha pritim agamad utsmayañścha Pitáka-dhrik | avápa cha tadá bhágam yathoktam Brahmañá Bhavaḥ).

The second version of the story is as follows: vv. 10272 ff. Daksha formerly commenced a sacrifice at Gangádvára in the Himalaya, which was attended by the various orders of divine beings, including Indra and Brahma. Dadhichi, however, a votary of Rudra, was indignant that no worship was to be offered to that deity. 10283 ff. Tán drishtvā manyunā "vishto Dadhichir vákyám abravit " "náyam yajno na vá dharmo yatra Rudro na iijate | badha-bandham prapannáh vai kinnu kálasya paryayaḥ | kinnu mohád na pásyanti vináśam paryupasthitam | upasthitam mahághorañá na budhyanti mahádśvare" | Ity uktvá sa mahá- yogi pásyati dhyána-chakshushá | sa pásyati Mahádevaṃ devíñca vara-dám śubháṃ | Náradané cha mahátmánañá tasyáh deváh samápatáh | santosham paramañé lebhe iti niśchitya yoga-vit | eka-matrás tu te sarve geneśó na nimantritaḥ | tasmád deśád apákramya Dadhichir vákyam abravit | apráya-pajanáchchaiva pújyánandhápy aprújanat | yñi-ahátaka-saman púpañ śaśvat práprutí mánaváḥ | anútātám nokta-púrvam me na cha

125 A line similarly expressed occurs a little further on.
126 The account of Daksha's sacrifice given in the Váyu-puráña, 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 Mahábhárata. Of these Dr. Hall was kind enough to send me copies. One of them agrees in sense with this verse.
vakshye kadāchana | devatānām rishināṃ cha madhye satyam brāhmy aham |
āgamām Paśubhartārāṃ srasātāram jayataḥ patim | adhmye yajna-bhok-
tārāṃ sarvesām paśyataḥ prabhum | Dakṣaḥ uvāca | Santi no bahavo
Rudrāḥ sāla-hastāḥ kapardinaḥ | ekādaśa-sthāna-gataḥ nāham vedmi Mahēścaraṃ 127 |
Dadhīchīr uvācha | sarvesām eva mantrāḥ 'yaṁ yenaśau na
ninantritaḥ 128 | yathā 'ham Sankarād ārđhvaṁ, nāmyam paśyāmi daiva-
tam | tathā Dakṣāṣya vipulo yajno 'yaṁ na bhavishyati | Dakṣaḥ uvāca |
etan makheśāya swarna-pātre hariḥ samastaṃ vidhi-matra-pūtam | Vīsh-
nor naẏāmy apratimānas 129 bhāgam prabhum vibhūs chaḥavaniya eshaḥ |
Devy uvāca | kim nāma dānāṃ vishamaṃ tapo vā kuryāṃ aham yena
patir namādyā | labheta bhāgam bhagavān achintyo ardham tathā bhā-
gamaḥ atho tritīyam | evam bruvāṃ bhagavān sva-pānīm prahriṣṭa-
rūpaḥ kshubhitām uvāca | na vетsi mām devi kriśodorāṇgī kim nāma yu-
taṁ vachanam makheṣe | aham vijānāmi viśāla-netre dhvānena hīnāḥ na
vidanty asaṅtāḥ | tavādyā mohena cha sendra-devāḥ lokās trayāḥ sarvataḥ
eva mūdhāḥ | mām adhvare śaṁcitāraḥ stuvanti rathantarāṃ sāna-gās
chopagānti | mām brāhmaṇāḥ brahma-vīdo yajante mamādhvaryāvaḥ kalpa-
yante cha bhāgam | Devy uvāca | suprākrito 'pi purusho sarvāḥ stri-
janasaṁsadi | stauti garvaye chaṣi svam ātmānam na saṁśayāḥ |
Bhagavān uvāca | nāmānāni stauti devēśi paśya me tanu-madhyme |
yaṁ sarkṣyāmī varārohe yāgarthe vara-varṇīni |

'Beholding them, Dadhīchī, filled with indignation, thus spake:
'This is no sacrifice, nor a legitimate ceremony, in which Rudra is
not worshipped. [These gods] have become entangled in the bonds of
destruction. Is this the adverse influence of time? or is it through
delusion that they do not see that ruin is at hand? They perceive not
that a great calamity is impending at the sacrifice.' Having so spoken,
this great devotee beholds with the eye of contemplation: he sees
Mahādeva and his boon-bestowing and auspicious goddess, and close to
her the great Nārada, and received the highest satisfaction. Dadhīchī,
versed in meditation, having ascertained that all the gods had adopted
a common resolution that they would not invite Mahādeva, issued

127 A verse closely resembling this occurs in the Vāyu Purāṇa.
128 The corresponding line runs thus in the Vāyu Purāṇa: Sarvesām eka-mantro 'yaṁ yenaśau na
ninantritaḥ; which Prof. Wilson thus renders: 'The invocation that
is not addressed to Īśa is, for all, but a solitary (and imperfect) summons.'
129 Instead of bhāgam, etc., the Vāyu Purāṇa reads sarvam prabhor vibhor hy aha-
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 rishis I declare the truth. Behold Paśubhartṛī (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.' Dadhichi answered: 'This is a [preconcerted] plan of all [the gods] that he (Mahādeva) has not been invited. Since I perceive Śankara, 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 (Vishṇu), in a golden vessel, this entire oblation purified by rites and by texts, the share of the incomparable Vishṇu: 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

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130 Compare the phrase ekādaśatmyaga above, p. 367.
131 Prof. Wilson (p. 124 f.) has the following note on the parallel passage of the Vāyu Purāṇa: "The Kūrma Purāṇa gives also this discussion between Dadhīccha and Daksha, and their dialogue contains some curious matter. Daksha, for instance, states that no portion of a sacrifice is ever allotted to Śīra, and no prayers are directed to be addressed to him, or to his bride (sārveshu eva hi yajñeshu na bhagah parikalpitah | na mantrāh bhūrayyā sārdhaṇi Ś’ankarasayeti neshyate). Dadhīccha 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 stīyate sahasrāmsāḥ sāmādāhyarvya-hotrībhāḥ | pāyināṁ Viśvakarmāṇām Rudram mūrti-trayāmaya). Daksha replies that the twelve Ādityas receive special oblations; that they are all the suns; and that he knows of no other. The Munīs, who overheard the dispute, concur in his sentiments (ye ete dvādaśādityāḥ Āditya-yauja-hāgīnāḥ | saive sūryāḥ iti jñayāḥ na hy anyo vidyate raviḥ | evam ukte tu munayāḥ samāyāntāḥ didrikshavāḥ | cādham ity abhuvan Dakśaṁ tasya sahāyya-kāriṇāḥ). 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 Śīva 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. Wor-
shippers praise me at the sacrifice, singers of the sāma chant the
rathantara, Brahmans, 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. Brahmā 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 (varañ krodo pi devasya
vara-dānānu 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 Sāivas and the Vaishnāvas, 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: Mamādhvare
śaṁsitārāḥ stuvanti rathāntare sāma gāyanti geyam | abhrānaya brahma-satre
gajante mamādhvarya-vah kalpayante cha bhogam | “At my sacrifice worshippers
praise (me); in the rathantara they sing the sāma song; they adore (me) in a sacrifice
of devotion without Brahmans; and the adhvaryus divide for me a portion.” It
is remarkable that Mahādeva’s worship should be here described as performed
“without Brahmans.” 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 Viśvakarṇā Mahēśvarāḥ). 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.
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 sects. Satī, the wife of Siva, was the daughter of Daksha, as we are told in the same work (iv. 1, 47, 48): Prasūtīni Mānaviṇī Dakṣaḥ upayem ādy Ajjat- 

māyah | tasyāṁ  sasarja āvhitṛīḥ shoḍaśāmala-lochanāḥ | trayodasādad Dharmāya tathaikām Agnaye vibhuḥ | pitṛībhyaḥ ekāṁ yuktēbhyo Bhavā- 
yāikāṁ bhava-chhide | "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, samyatebhyo militebhyo vā, Comm.] Pitris, and one to Bhava (Siva), the destroyer of existence." Satī, however, bore no children to Siva. i. 64. Bhavasya patnī tu Satī Bhavan devam anuvratā | atmanāḥ sadriṣam putram na lebe guna-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 Siva (iv. 2, 8 ff.): Prān nishāṇam Mrīdāṁ drisṭvā nāmrishat tad-anā- 
dritāḥ | uvācha vāmāṁ chakshūḥyām abhivikṣhya dahann ēva | śrūyatām brahmaśravayo me saha-devah sahāgnayaḥ | sadhūnāṁ bruvato vṛttaṁ nājnāṇaṁ na cha matsarət | ayaṁ tu loka-pālanaṁ yaśogho niraştrapāpaḥ | sadbhir ācharitaḥ panthāḥ yena stadbhena dāśhitāḥ | esha me śiśhyatām prāptō yan me duḥhit urกรahitāḥ | pāṇin viprāṇi-mukhataḥ sāvitrīyāṁ ēva sadhu-vat | grīhitvā mrīga-sāvakṣyāḥ pāṇin mrūkata-lochanāḥ | praty- 

utthānābhīvadārhe vācāḥ 'py akṛtaḥ nochitam | lupta-kriyāyāsvachaye mānīne bhiṇṇa-setace | anichhann āpy adān bālāṁ śudrāyeuosatiṁ giram | pretāvāśeshu ghoreshu pretair bhūta-gaṇair vṛitāḥ | qṭaty vinattavad nagno vyuṣṭa-keṣo āsan rudan | chītā-bhaśma-kriṇa-sānaḥ prēta-srāṇi 
nrasthi-bhūṣhanaḥ | śivāpadeo bhāśo matte mattra-janapriyāḥ | pātiḥ praṁatha-bhūtaṇāṁ tamo-nātṛatmakātmanāṁ | tasmāi unnāda-nāthāya nasṭa-sauchāya durhride | dattā mayā vata sādhe ti chodite paramesṭhīnā | vinindyaivaṁ sa Giriṁ apratīpam avasthitam | Dakṣo 'thāpaḥ upa-
AND IS REVILED BY HIM.

134 Usatīṁ gīram, which the commentator explains "veda-lakṣāṇāṁ gīram." It occurs also elsewhere in this same Purāṇa, as in iii. 16, 13, where the Comm. renders it by "kamaniyāṁ, "to be loved." See Böhtlingk and Roth, vol. v., p. 1204. s.v.

135 The commentator gives as follows what he calls the real, esoteric, sense of this abuse:—Vāstavas tva ayam arthah | luptāḥ kriyāḥ yasmin para-brahma-rūpataḥ | atah eva nāsti sūchir yasmāt | smāne abhinīna-setave iti cha chhedah | tasya puruṇeṣvarasya madīyā mānushī kanyā kathāṁ yogya syād iti lajñādāṁ ātum anichham api tat-sambandha-lohhena dattavān | "śūḍrayeti" anarthata-māre drishṭānta na hinaṁte pūrvopara-sva-vachana-vidhāṇapattēḥ | etad uktām bhavatā yathā kaśchīta śūḍraṁ vedam artha-lohhena dadāti | "pretāvāśēṣv" ityādi sarvāṁ vidambana-mātram iti | svayam eva āha "unmatta-vad" iti | anyathā "unmatraṁ" ity eva avakshyaḥ | "āśīvaṁ" nāsti śivo yasmāt | amatāḥ | amatā-jana-priyaḥ | iti chhedah | "patiḥ pramatha-bhūtanāṁ" iti bhaktā-vāsālam āha | tāmasān api dosham apanyi pāti iti | nashṭīnāṁ api sauchāṁ sūddhīr yasmāt | dushṭeṣu apy eke mayā anukampyaḥ iti krīṇ mano yasya.
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 (Vishnu), and others.’” Having delivered his malediction, Daksha departed. A counter-malediction, as follows, was then uttered upon him and the Brahmins who took his part, by Nandisvara, one of the chief of Mahadeva’s followers:

21 ff.—Yah etam martyam uddiṣya bhagavaty apratidrutiḥ | druhyatya ajnaḥ prithag-drishtis tattvato vimukho bhavet | griheshu kūṭa-dharmeshu sakto grāmya-sukhechhaḥ| karma-tantraṁ vinatūḍāḥ 136 veda-vāda-vipanna-dhiḥ | buddhyā parābhidhyāyinyā vismridinga-gatiḥ paśuḥ | strī-kāmaḥ sāḥ  
so ’stu nitarāṁ Daksho vasta-mukho 'chirat | vidyā-buddhir avidyāyām 
karmamayyām asau jādaḥ | saṁsaṁaratv iha ye chāmum anu Sārvaṃā

nimam | giraç śrutāyāḥ pushpinyāḥ madhu-gandhena bhūriṇā | mathāḥ 
chonmathitātmānaḥ sammuhyantv Hara-dvishaḥ | sarva-bhakṣāḥ dvijāḥ 
vyāṭtyai dhṛita-vidyā-tapo-tratāḥ | vitta-dehendriyārāmāḥ yāḥakah 
vīcharantv iha | “May the ignorant being who, from regard to this 
mortal (Daksha), and considering [Siva] as distinct [from the supreme

sa durhṛit tasmai | ‘vata’ iti hareśa | Brahmaṇa vākyāḥ[?] lājaḥ-bhayādikam 
pātityajya datta ity arthaḥ | “The real meaning (of vv. 13 ff.) is this: ‘He in 
whom words are destroyed, owing to his character of supreme Brahma; in consequence 
of which there is none purer than he.’ Instead of mānīne and bhinna-setave, the 
division of words may also be amānīne, abhinna-setave, ‘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 never-
theless 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 preceding 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 him-
self says ‘like a madman.’ Otherwise he would have said ‘a madman.’ Aśīva, in-
auspicious, means he than whom none is mere auspicious. The words matta and matta-
java-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. Nasṭa-’auchāya means 
that from him comes purity to the depraved. Durhṛit means he whose heart, feeling, 
suggests that ‘even these, although wicked, are to be compassionated by me.’ Vīta 
inmates joy. ‘Owing to the injunction of Brahmā, abandoning modesty, fear, etc., 
I gave my daughter:’ such is the sense.’

136 This is Burnouf’s reading. It is an archaic, Vedic, form. The Bombay edition 
reads vitanute.
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 spirituous 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 Bhrigu, one of the sages present at the sacrifice, is aroused by this curse:

27 ff.—Tasyaivaṁ dadataḥ śapāṁ śrutvā dvija-kulāya vai | Bhriguḥ pratyasrijach chhāpam brahma-dandaṁ duratyayam | Bhava-vrata-dharāḥ ye cha ye cha tān sananuvratāḥ | pāśaṁdinas te bhavantu sachehāstra-paripanthisah | nashta-śaučāḥ mūḍha-dhiyo jaṭā-bhasmāsthisi-dhārīṇaḥ | viśantu S'iva-dīkṣhāyaṁ yatra daivaṁ surāśavam | brahma cha brāhma-nāṁś chaiva yad yūyam parinindathā | setum vidhāraṇam pūniṁ atāḥ pāśaṁdāṁ āśritāḥ | esha eva hi lokānām śivaḥ panthā śanātanaḥ | yam pūrve chānusāṁstathur yat-pramāṇaṁ Janārdanaḥ | tat brahma paramāṁ sūddhāṁ satāṁ vartma śanātanaṁ | vigarhya yāta pāśaṁdāṁ daivaṁ vo

137 The words so rendered, griheshu kūṭa-dharmeshu, occur thrice in this Purāṇa (see Böhltingk and Roth s.v. kūṭa-dharma), viz., in iii. 30, 10; in iv. 25, 6; and in the verse before us. In his note on iii. 30, 10 (verse 9 in the Bombay edition) the commentator explains the word kūṭa-dharmeshu as meaning houses “in which frauds, practices such as roguery in regard to money, etc., prevail” (kūṭāḥ vitta-sāthyādi-bahulāḥ 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 la misère],” duḥkha-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’ivas, 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.
"Hearing him thus utter a curse against the tribe of Brahmans, Bhrigu 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 Sīva, in which spirituous liquor is the deity.' Since ye revile the veda (brahma) and Brahmans, the barriers by which men are restrained, ye have embraceit heresy. For this [veda] is the auspicious (śiva) eternal path of the people, which the ancients have trod, and wherein Janārdana (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, Sīva 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, Sīva, 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, Sīva's attendants, who had followed her, rush on Daksha to kill him. Bhrigu, however, throws an oblction into the southern fire, pronouncing a Yajus text suited to destroy the destroyers of sacrifice (yajna-ghna-ghnena yajushā dakshināgnau jūhāva ha). A troop of Ribhus in consequence spring up, who put Sīva's followers to flight. Sīva 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 Sīva's followers, and they all execute the mandate. 15 ff. Rurujur yajna-pātṛṇi tathāke 'gnin anāśayan |
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 assualted the Munis, others reviled their wives; others seized the gods who were near, and those who had fled.

19. The divine Bhava (S'iva) 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 [Dakshá when] cursing [S'iva]. He moreover knocked out the teeth of Púshan (as Bala did the king of Kalinga's), who (Púshan) had laughed, showing his teeth, when the great god was being cursed." Tryambhaka (S'iva, 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 Svayambhú (Brahmá), who, with Vishvú, had not been present (sect. 6). Brahma advises the gods to propitiate S'iva, whom they had wrongfully excluded from a share in the sacrifice (v. 5. athäpi śuyaṁ krita-kilvishāh Bhavaṁ ye barhisho bhāga-bhājam paraśvāh). The deities, headed by Aja (Brahmá), accordingly proceed to Kailása, when they see S'iva "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. lingan'cha tāpasābhīṣṭam bhāma-danda-jaṭājinam | angena sandhyā-bhra-ruchā chandra-ākhācha bibhram). Brahadd addresses Mahádeva "as the eternal Brahma, the lord of Sakti and S'iva, who are respectively the womb and the seed of the universe,—who, in sport, like a spider, forms all things from Sakti and S'iva, who are consubstantial with himself, and preserves and reabsorbs them" (vv.

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140 Garimantī gurutare Rudre | Comm.
141 See Tait. Sanhitā, ii. 6, 8, 3, and other texts quoted above, pp. 200 ff., for the older story.
41 f. \textit{jāne tvām īśāṁ viśvasya āgato yoni-viśayoḥ | Saktēḥ Sīvasya cha param yat tad Brahma nīrantarānu | team eva bhagavann etacch Chhiva-}
\textit{S'aktyōḥ sarūpayoḥ | viśvaṁ srijasi pāsy atsi krīdann ūrṇa-pato yathā).}
(A similar supremacy, as we shall see, is ascribed to Vishṇu 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. \textit{Na yatra bhūgaṁ tava bhūginō daḍuḥ kuyo-}
\textit{jevinah}). 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, Bhṛigu 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 Sīva (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 Vishṇu on three platters (v. 17. \textit{Vaishnavaṁ yajna-santatyai trikapālaṁ dvijottamah| purodāśaṁ niravapaṁ vīra-saṁsarga-suddhayē}). Hari (Vishṇu) being meditated on, then appears (v. 18), is saluted with the greatest reverence by the gods, headed by Brahmā, Indra, and Sīva (Tryakṣha); 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 others were only the manifestations, though in reality one in their essence:

\textit{V. 50. Sṛi-Bhagavān uvācha | aham Brahmā cha Sārvas cha jagataḥ kāraṇam param | ātmēsvaraḥ upadrastā svayaṁdriṣṭi aviseshaṁ | 51. ātmā-māyaṁ samāviśya so ’ham guṇamayīṁ dvija | srijan rakṣan haran viśvaṁ dadhre sannijnāṁ kriyochitāṁ | 52. tasmin Brahmān advitiye kevala paramātmāni | Brahma-Rudrau cha bhūtīṁ bhedanājno nunaśyatī | 53. yathā pumāṁ na svāgteshu sīrah-pañy-adishu kechaḥ | pārakya-buddhiṁ kurete evam bhūteshu mat-parāḥ | 54. Trayānāṁ eka-bhūvānāṁ yo na paśyati vai bhidāṁ | sorrvaḥ-bhūtātmānaṁ brahman sa sāntim adhigachhati | 50. “I am Brahmā and Sarva (Sīva), the supreme cause of the world, the soul, the lord, the witness, the self-manifesting (or, self-beholding),}
devour 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 58. evam Dakshāyaṇī hitvā Satī pārva-kalevaram | jajne Himavataḥ kshetre Menāyām itī suśrūma).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

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142 The same account of Satī's double birth is given in the Vishnu Purāṇa, i. 8, 9 ff.: Evam-prakāra Rudra 'sau Satīm bhāryam avindata | Daksha-kopīcheha tatyāja sā Satī svān kalevaram | Himavat-duhithā sā 'bhūd Menāyān dvija-sattama | upayene pumā chomīm ananyām bhagavān Bhavaḥ | "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: Tābhyāḥ āhīstāḥ kanyāsyaḥ ekādaśa sva-lakṣaṇāḥ \[Khyātiḥ Saty atha Sambhutiḥ Smṛtiḥ Pritiḥ Kshamā tathā | Sannātā chānusūryā cha Urjā Svāhā Svadāḥ tathā | Bhrigu Bhaya Marichiś cha tathā chaiva vāgirāḥ muniḥ | Pulastyaḥ Pulahās chaiya Kratuḥ chaurṣhi-varas tathā | Atrir Vasishṭha Vahniḥ cha Pitaraḥ cha yathā-kramān | Khyāty-ādīyāḥ jāgīrenāḥ kanyāḥ svayam muni-sattama | "Younger than them (the other thirteen daughters of Daksha) were eleven virtuous and deeply-eyed damsels, Khyāti, Satī, Sambhūti, Smṛti, Priti, Kshamā, Sāmatī, Anusūryā, Urjā, Svāhā, and Svadāḥ. Bhrigu, Bhaya, Marichi, the munis Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu the excellent rishi, Atri, Vasishṭha, Vahni (i.e. Agni or Fire), and the Pitris,—these munis in order married Khyāti and the other maidens."

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VOL. IV.
LINGA PURANA DESCRIBES APPARITION

Linga to rebuke and humble them by pointing out the inferiority of both to the supreme Mahadeva:

linga purana, i. 17, 5-52.—pitāmahāḥ yvācha | pradhānaṁ lingam ākhyātaṁ lingi cha paramesvarah | rakhārtham ambudhau mahayaṁ viśnoṁ tv āsit surottamāḥ | vaiṁānike gate sarge jana-lokaṁ saharshi-bhiḥ | sthitikāle tādā pūrne tataḥ pratyākrite tathā | chatur-yuga-sahasrānte satyalokaṁ gate surāḥ | vinā ’’dhipayāṁ samatāṁ gate ’nte bhramaṅo mama| sūshe cha sthāvare sarve tv-anvīrṣhyā cha sarvasaḥ | paśavo mānushāḥ viṣkhaḥ; piśāchāḥ piśītāśanāḥ | gandharvādyāḥ kramaṇaḥ nirdagdhaḥ bhānu-bhānubhiḥ | ekāṁ cayate mahāghore tamo-bhūte samantataḥ | pushte (?) hy ambhasi yogātmā nirmalo nirupaplavaḥ | sahasra-śirshaḥ viśvātmā sahasrākṣaḥ sahasra-pāt | sahasrabāhuḥ sarvajnaḥ sarva-deva-bhavodbhavaḥ | hiranyagarbhō rajasa tamasā sāṅkaraḥ svayam | sattcena sarvago viṣṇuḥ sarvātmate Mahēśvaraḥ | kālāmūkhas tu suklaḥ kṛṣṇaḥ tu nirgunaḥ | nārāyaṇo mahābāhuḥ sarvātmā saḍaśamanyah | tathā bhūtam ahaṁ dṛṣṭvā śayānam panka-jekhaṇaṁ | māyāyā mohitas tasya tao arocana maraṁhitāḥ | kas trāṁ vadeti āstanaḥ samuttthāpya sanātanaṁ | tāda hasta-prahāreṇa tvēkena sa dridhena tu | prabuddho ’hiya-sayanāt samāśinaḥ khaṇāṁ vaśi | dadarśa nidrā-viklimāḥ nirajāmāla-lochanāḥ | mām agre saṁsthitaṁ ’jhāsi’dhyāṣito bhagavān Hariḥ | aha chotthāya bhagavān āsan mām madhuraṁ sakrīt | svāgataṁ svāgataṁ vatsa pitāmaḥ mahādyute | tasya tād vāchanaṁ śrutaṁ smita-pūrvaṁ suraśravahḥ | rajasa viddha-vairāś cha tam arocana Januṛdaṇaṁ | bhāṣhase vatsa cateti sarga-saṁhāra-kaṇaḥ | mām śhāntaṁ-smitāṁ kṛiṭvā gurūḥ śishyam ivānagha | kartāraṁ jagatāṁ sākhāḥ prakṛiteścha pravartakaṁ | sanātanaṁ ajaṁ viṣṇuṁ vīrinchīṁ viśv-aṁbhaṁ | viśvātmānaṁ viḥātāreṇāḥ dhātāraṁ panka-jekhaṇaṁ | kimartham bhāṣhase moḥīḥ vaktum arisvam | tād tād viṁśa-vaimūḥ caḥ tam arocana Januṛdaṇaṁ | bhāṣhase vatsa cateti sarga-saṁhāra-kaṇaḥ | mām iḥaṭhāh-smitaṁ kriṇvā gurūḥ śishyam ivānagha | kartāraṁ jagatāṁ sākhāḥ prakṛiteścha pravartakaṁ | sanātanaṁ ajaṁ viṣṇuṁ vīrinchīṁ viśv-aṁbhaṁ | viśvātmānaṁ viḥātāreṇāḥ dhātāraṁ panka-jekhaṇaṁ | kimartham bhāṣhase moḥīḥ vaktum arisvam | so ’pi mām aha jagataṁ kartā ’ham iti lokaya | bhartā hartaḥ bhavar angād aratirṇo mamāvyayat | cismrito ’sī jagamāthaṁ nārāyaṇaṁ anāmayaṁ | purushaṁ paramātmaṁ puru-hūtau puruṣaḥtvam | Viṣṇuṁ achyutam śhāṇāṁ viśvasya prabhavodbhavaṁ | tavāparādho niṣṭhy atra mama māyā-kritaṁ tv idam | śriṇu satyāṁ charuvarkta sarva-devesvaro hy aham | kartā netā ča hartaḥ cha na mayā ’sti samo vibhūḥ | aham eva param Brahma purāṇa tatvam pitāmaḥ | aham eva param jyotiḥ paramātma tv aham vibhūḥ | yad yad drishtāṁ Ārthāṁ sarvaṁ jagati asminī | charaḥcharam | tat tad viddhi charuvarkta sarvaṁ manmayam ātō ahaṁ |

113 In a transcript of this passage made for me in India, and published in my Matapariṣṭhā, the reading is ahāṃ kālōd, which seems a preferable reading.

114 Bhayād muhuḥ—reading in the Matapaṇḍikṣā.
“Pitamahā (Brahmā, in answer to an inquiry of the gods and rishis) says: ‘Pradhāna (nature) is called the Linga, and Paramēśvarā is called Lingin\textsuperscript{145} (the sustainer of the Linga): It arose for the preservation of myself and Vishnu in the ocean, O deities. When the Vaimānika\textsuperscript{146} creation had proceeded with the rishis to the Jana-loka,\textsuperscript{147} 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, Brahmā, being at length reduced to a condition of equality [with other creatures] without dominion over them,\textsuperscript{148} 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\textsuperscript{149} 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 (rajas) Hiranyagarbha, through darkness (tāmas) Sankara, through goodness (sattva) the all-pervading Vishnu, and in his universality Mahēśvara, having the character of time, having time for his centre,\textsuperscript{150} 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

\textsuperscript{145} Lingūdhishṭham | Comm.
\textsuperscript{146} Vaimānikē sarga deva-sarga | Comm.
\textsuperscript{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 Brahmā,” etc.—Wilson, Vishnu Purāṇa, p. 213, note; see also the same work, p. 632, and note 7 (=pp. 221 ff., vol. ii., and pp. 192 ff., vol. v. of Dr. Hall’s ed.).
\textsuperscript{148} Lit. “the end of me, Brahmā, having come to equality without dominion.”
\textsuperscript{149} The reading of the Bombay text is here pushkte; but some such word asJetete, “sleeps,” seems to be required by the sense.
\textsuperscript{150} Kālanābha 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 (rajas), I said to Janārdana (Vishnu): '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, Vishnu,\footnote{Brahmā here assumes this character as belonging to himself.} 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, Vishnu, 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\footnote{See above, pp. 230 and 266 f.} (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 direful and terrific fight arose
in the sea of universal dissolution \textsuperscript{153} 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, indefinable, 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.\textsuperscript{154} Ever since then men call me Hansa (swan), for Hansa is Virāj.\textsuperscript{155} 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, Vishṇu, 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 Vishṇu 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

\textsuperscript{153} See the commencement of this extract.

\textsuperscript{154} In the 5th and 6th sections of the Śiva-purāṇa "it is explained in a puerile and inept manner why Brahmā took the form of a swan and Vishṇu of a boar." —Aufeicht's Catalogue of the Bodl. Sansk. MSS., p. 63\textsuperscript{b}.

\textsuperscript{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 On 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 Vishnu to Rudra, which recites a list of the attributes of the latter deity. Mahādeva is gratified with this hymn, and tells Brahmā and Vishnu 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:

**FURTHER QUOTATION FROM THE LINGA PURĀNA. 391**

Linga Purāṇa, 19, 8 ff.—Jñānubhyam avanīṃ gatā puṇar Nārāyaṇah svayam | praṇipatya cha Viśveśam prāha mandatarāṁ vaśi | "āvayor devadevaśa vivādām ati-śobhanam | ihāgato bhavān yasmād vivāda-śamanāya nav" | tasya tad-vachanāṁ śrutvā puṇaḥ prāha Haro Harim | praṇipatya sthitam mūrdhāṇ kriṭānja-liṇyām samyān | Sṛ̤-mahādevaḥ uvācha | praṇaya-sthiti-sargānāṁ kartā tvaiu dharāṇipate | vatsa vatsa Hare Viṣṇo pālayaitucch charācaram | tridhā bhinnvo hy ahaṁ Viṣṇo Brahma-Viṣṇu-Bhavākhyāyā | sarga-rakṣā-laya-guṇair nishkalaḥ paramesāraḥ | samśāh vāyā bha Viṣṇo pālayaṁ Pitāmaham | pādme bhavishyati sutaḥ kalpe tava Pitāmahaḥ | tadā drakṣayasi māṁ chaivaṁ so 'pi drakṣyati padma-jāḥ | evam uktvā sa bhagavāṁs tatraivaṁtarādhyāta | tadā-prabhriti lokeshu lingārcha supratishthitā | linga-vedā Mahādevi lingām sākṣād Mahēśvarāḥ | “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,158 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-

158: I cannot render this sentence, as it stands, otherwise than by taking vivādam for a neuter nominative, though nouns of this formation are masculine. The commentator explains śobhanam as meaning ubhayor api sama-balatvāc ehkobhamānam, “brilliant from the equal powers of the two combatants”; and supplies samaya, “appease, or stop, it” (ataḥ samaya ity adhīnāḥraḥ).
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 Brahma, Vishnu, and Bhava, possessing the attributes of creating, preserving, and destroying. Relinquish, Vishnu, thy delusion; cherish this Pitama. He shall be thy son in the Pada Kalpa. Then shalt thou behold me, and he also who sprang from the lotus (Brahma) shall see me. ‘Having thus spoken, the deity vanished. Thenceforward the worship of the Linga has been inaugurated in the worlds: The pedestal of the Linga is Mahadevi (Umā), and the Linga is the visible Maheśvara.’

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 Purana (i. 7, 6 ff.) does not assign a high rank to Rudra; but makes him the offspring of Brahma (as the Mahābhārata, quoted above, p. 230 and 266 f., makes him of Vishnu): Sanandanudayayevoyeha pūrvaṁ srishtas tu Vedhasa | na te lokeshv asajjanta nirapekṣaḥ prajāsu te | sarve te chāgata-jnānāh vīta-rāgāh vīmatsarāh | teshv evaṁ nirapekṣeshkouvā loka-srishtau mahātmānaḥ | Brahmano 'bhūd maḥāroḍhas trałokyadahanakshamaḥ | tasya krodhāt samudbhūta-jvālā-mālā-vidīpitam | Brahmano 'bhūt tadā sarvaṁ trałokyam akhilaṁ mune | bhrukti-kulīlat tasya lalātāt krodhā-dīpitāt | samutpamnসতādā Rudro mahāyānārka-samaprabhaḥ | ardha-nāri-nara-vapuh prachanda 'ti-śārīra-vān | ‘vibhajātmānam’ ity uktvā tam Brahms 'ntardadhe punāḥ | tathokto 'sau dvīdhā strītvam purushatvāṁ tathā 'karot | bhīheda purushatvāḥ cha daśadāḥ chaikadāḥ cha saḥ | saumyāsaumyais tathā sāntāśāntatiḥ strītvāṁ cha sa prabhāḥ | bhīheda bahudā devaḥ svarāpair asitāḥ sitāḥ | ‘Sananda and the others who were before created by Vedahs (Brahma) 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 Brahma 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. Brahma disappeared after saying to him, ‘Divide thyself.’ Being thus addressed, he severed himself into twain, into
RESULTS OF THE PRECEDING SECTIONS.

393

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.”

In the same way the Harivaṇa says (v. 43): *Tato ’srijat punar Brahма Rudraṁ roshātma-sambhavam* | “Then Brahmā 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 Brāhmaṇas, 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 ff., 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 Hindū 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

137 See Professor Wilson’s notes on this passage, V. P., 2nd ed., vol. i., p. 103, ff. The Sūntiparvan of the Mahābhārata also speaks (vv. 13723 ff.) of Mahādeva, the three-eyed, and the great devotee, as having sprung from the forehead of Brahmā, 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. Brahmā then proceeds to unfold to him the nature of Purusha. (*Ata tatrāsatas taṣa Chaturvaakrasya dhimataḥ | ālāta-prabhavah putraḥ Śivaḥ uḍād yadpikelhayā | ākhāena mahāyoγi purā trinayānaḥ prabhuh | tataḥ khād nipāpatuśu dharanīdharah- mūrdhāni | agrataḥ cābbhavat prito vavande chūpi pādayoḥ | tam pādayor nipātitaṁ drishṭvā saayena pānīṣa | utkhāpayāmāsa tada prabhur ekaḥ Prājāpatih | vācha chainam bhagavāṁ chirasàyagatam atmajam.*)
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 Śiva, but who, even in the Purāṇas, 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 Śiva,—the wearing of his hair in a peculiar braid; but the term has probably in the Veda a very different signification—one now forgotten,—although it may have suggested in after-time the appearance of Śiva 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 Śiva 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 Trimūrtti, or Tri-une combination of Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Śiva, as typified by the mystical syllable om, although, according to high authority on the religions of antiquity, the Trimūrtti 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 beneficent, 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;¹¹⁹ 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 tutelaryship 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 Satapatha 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, Sāyaṇa), and the fire has been kindled, and blazes up (dīpyamāno

¹¹⁹ See the Section on the Maruts in the fifth vol. of this work, pp. 147 ff.
REMARKS OF PROFESSOR WEBER ON THE

'tishthat), the gods (i.e. the Brahmanas) are terrified by it, yad vai no yam na himsyōd 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 sata-rudriya by sānta-rudriya (as gata comes from the root gam); a double sense, which may perhaps have actually been, though indistinctly, contemplated, when the name was first given. In this application of Rudra as the god of fire (independently of the other contents of the Satarudriya), 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 (manyu) of the storm, its roaring, its tearing up (aufwühlen) of heaven and earth, 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: numberless, indeed, were these aerial hosts, black, pierced only by the quivering gleams 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 Ārshādhyāya of the Chārāyaṇīya School of the Kāthaka also (ii. 17) says: S'atarudriyaṁ devānāṁ Rudra-śamanan. 'The S'atarudriya is an appeasing of Rudra by the gods.'

162 "Hence in the R.V. i. 114, 5, he is also called varāha, "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 S'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 contagious 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 epi-
thets 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 con-
tinually 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 com-
posed, 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', (giriśa, giriśaya, giriśanta, giriitra), and
those of kapardin, vyupata-keśa, ugra, and bhima, bhishaj and śiva,
sam̄bhu and sancara, belong to the Storm, while on the other hand
those of nīla-grīva (=nīlakaṇṭha, spoken of smoke), sitikaṇṭha, hiranya-
bāhu (of flame), vihūta, sahasrākṣha (of sparks), paśupati (of sacrificial

REMARKS OF PROFESSOR WHITNEY

victims), śarva and bhava, etc., belong to Fire. Now almost all these epithets\(^{165}\) are technical epithets and characteristics of the epic S'iva, 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.\(^{166}\) But as in the Rudra-book Rudra nowhere appears as Isa or Mahädeva, and no character is assigned to him analogous to that of the epic S'iva; and as the word śiva is applied to him simply as an epithet (with its comparative śivatara annexed)\(^1\); 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 S'iva.'

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 Vayû (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 S'iva owes his epithet Tryambaka, and his wife Ambikā, to Rudra; and, on the other hand, his epithet Tripura, and his wife Kāli, Karāli, to Agni," etc.

\(^{166}\) "Hence he is also called Kalāgnirudra, as in the Purāṇas, and in the Kalāgni-rudra Upanishad."
ON THE CHARACTER OF RUDRA.

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,' kshayadé\text{\textcopyright}; his wrath is deprecated, and he is besought not to harm his worshipper; if not in the Rik, at least in the Atharvan, and Brähma\text{\textcopyright}s, 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 Civa-worship. Civa 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 Civa 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; Civa 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. 43, 1; i. 114, 4), as the strongest and most glorious of beings (ii. 33, 3), as lord (\textit{\text{\textcopyright}}}na) 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 (ibid. 10), as the father of the world, 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), tawāy-coloured (this epithet is frequently applied), with beautiful chin (iii. 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, 17). He is once identified with Agni (ii. 1, 6). He is described as seated on a chariot (ii. 33, 11), as wielding the thunderbolt (iii. 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-ghe, iv. 3, 6). 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; vii. 35, 6; vii. 46, 3; viii.

168 Compare the similar epithets applied to Vishnū 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 Savitri. See the fifth volume of this work, p. 163.

169 Bhuvanasya pitarāt. Compare Raghuvānaśa i., 1, where Pareṃśvara (Śiva) and Pārvati are styled the "parents of the world" (jagatāt pitarāt).

170 In vii. 56, 17, it is similarly said of the Maruts, āre gohā nyihā evaṁvo astu: "Far be your kine-slaying, man-slaying bolt."

171 In this passage Soma is associated with Rudra as the dispenser of remedies.
REMARKS ON THE CHARACTER OF RUDRA. 401

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, 4; 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 Mahâdeva 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 suppliant 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 Mahâdeva,
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 in-
nocuous, 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-quinerved”
(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,
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, terrible, 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 Brahmāṇa (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 Brahmāṇa 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, Aśāni, Bhaya, Mahān-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, Aśāni, Paśupati, Bhava, Sarva, Īśāna, Mahādeva, Ugradeva, etc. (Agniṁ hridayaṇa Aśāniṁ hridayaṇgaṇa Paśupatīṁ kriśna-hridayaṇa Bhavaṁ yasyāt S'arvan matasānyāhyām Īśānam manyuṇā Mahādevam antahparśav-yena Ugraṁ devaṁ vanisṭhitam [tyādī).}

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 Sāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa (see above, pp. 343 ff.) the newly-born deity is not identified with Agni. But the Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, in another passage (ix. 1, 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; Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, as quoted in p. 341; Sātapatha 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 Vishṇu, now engrosses the almost exclusive worship of the Brahmanical world. Ambikā, who was subsequently identified with the
spouse of Rudra, is in the Vājāsaneyi 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 Āraṇyaka,174 is now his acknowledged consort.175 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 ff.) 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 "mahāsepha" 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 nṛṇāṁ sthirāṁ cha yat | sthirā-lingas cha yan nityaṁ tasmāt Sthānur iti smṛtaḥ | . . . . v. 7516. Nityanēca brahmaḥasyena lingam asya yudā sthitam | mahayanty asya lokāṁ cha priyaṁ hy etad mahātmanah | vigraham pūjayed yo vai līyāṁ vā pi mahātmanah | linga-pūjayitā nityam mahātīṁ sriyam āsunti | rishayas chāpi devāṁ cha gandharvāpaśarasas tathā | lingam evārčhayanti sma yat tad ārdhvaṁ samāshtitam | 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 Sthānura. . . . 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 (vigrhaḥ), 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 Westergaard'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 Mṛida)—viz. Bhavānī S'arvaṇī, Rudraṇī, and Mṛidāṇī—may be formed. (The rule is this: Indra-Va'ruṇa-Bhava-S'arva-Rudra-Mṛida-kimdraya-yaya-yavana-mātutākhaṇyān ānuś.) 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 f., 9625 and 9631 of the Drona-parvan.

The Linga is also mentioned in the list of Śiva’s names in another part of the same Anuśāsana-parvan, v. 1160:

Urduha-retāḥ urduha-lingāḥ urīṭha-sāyi nabhāḥ-sthitāḥ | v. 1191.
Lingādhyakṣaḥ surūdhyaṣṭaḥ . . . . vijāḍhakṣaḥ 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.’”

We possess no records to show how this phallic emblem became connected with Rudra. But, as Dr. Stevenson (Journal. R. A. S., viii. 330) and Professor Lassen (Ind. Ant., i. 2nd ed. 924) imagine, it

176 In the Saupitika-parvan it is related that Mahādeva had been appointed by Brahmā to create living beings. He proceeded to perform austerities, and continued doing so as 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.: chukrodha bhagavān Rudra lingaṁ svāṁ chāpyavīdyata | tat pravidehaṁ tathā bhūmanu tathāicca prátyatishhatata). I have not observed any mention of the Linga in the earlier part of the Rāmāyaṇa, but in the Uttarā Kānda, sect. 31, v. 42 f., the following lines occur:

Yatra yatra cha yāti sma Rāvaṇa rākṣaṣeśvarah | jāmbunādanayāṁ lingaṁ tatra tatra sma nīyate | 43. Bālukā-vedi-madhye tu tāl lingaṁ sthitya Rāvaṇaḥ | arohanaṁsā gāndhaśi cha pushpaśi chaṁprita-gandhibhiḥ

“Wherever Rāvaṇa, lord of the Rākṣasas, 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 odor.” The commentator remarks on v. 43: Tal lingaṁ jāmbunādayāṁ nitya-śūla-lingaṁ | Aiśvarya-kāmanayā hi tal-linga-pūjā Rāvaṇaśya | Aiśvarya-kāmaśya sauvarṇa-linga-pųjāyāḥ tāntreshūteḥ | “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 particularas in the legend of Daksha (see above, pp. 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. Mahābhārata, 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 Brahmanas from them, and associated with the worship of Rudra.

This conjecture would acquire additional probability if we were justified in supposing that the word "śisṇadeva," 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 Brahmans alone officiate. [This distinction does not, I think, exist in Northern India. In the temple of Viṣṇevāra, at Benares, the officiating priests, if I am not mistaken, are Brahmans. 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. vedyū.
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 ‘śisna’ 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 Vṛtra. 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.173 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.—Kaṇa naś chitram ishanyasi chikītvā prithugmānāṁ vāśram vāvṛhidhāyai | kat tasya dātu śavas vo vyuṣṭhau takshad vajraṁ Vṛtra-turam apinvat | 2. Sa hi dyutā vidyutā veti sāma prithuṁ yonim asuratvā”sasāda | sa sanīlebhiḥ prasahāno asya bhrātur na rite sapthasya māyāḥ | 3. Sa vājaṁ yātā apadushpādā yan svarvātā parishadat sanīshyan | anarvā yat śata-durasya180 vedo ghīnḥ śiśnadevān ahī varpasā 'bhūt | 4. Sa yahyo avanīr gosuḥ arvā ā juyoti pradhanyāsa sasriḥ | apādo yatā rata yujyāso 'rathāḥ drony-aśvūsah ārate ghṛtaṁ vāḥ | 5. Sa Rudrebhir aśasta-vāraḥ rībhva hitī gayam āre-avadyāḥ ā agāt | vamrasya manye mithunā vivarī annam abhitya arodhayat mushāyan | 6. Sa id dāsaṁ tuvi-ravam patir dan shad-akshaṁ tri-śiḥ-hānaṁ damanyat | asya Trito nu ojasā vṛdhāno vipā varāhāṃ ayyo-agrayā han | 7. Sa druhvāne manushe urdhvasānaḥ ā sāvishad arśasāṇāya śarum | sa nritamo nahuḥo 'smat sujātaḥ puro 'bhina ārhan dasyu-hatyaj “What wonderful; wide-travelling bull dost thou, perceiving, send to 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. mā+annu.
180 This word in the locative plural also occurs in R.V. i. 51, 3.
Vṛtra-slaying thunderbolt, and has strengthened thee. 2. With gleaming light he comes to the goal; 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, treasuries, 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 “śīṣnadeva” in the first of the preceding passages, R.V. vii. 21, 5, and repeated briefly in his note on the second passage: Śiśna-devāḥ | śiśnena divyanti kriṅdanti iti śiśna-devāḥ | abrahmacharyāḥ ity arthāḥ | tathā cha Yāsakaḥ | . . . “śiśna-devāḥ abrahmacharyāḥ” | . . . “Śiśnadevāḥ” are those who sport with the śīṣṇa (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 prakirnābhīḥ stribhīḥ sakaṁ kriṅdantaḥ āsate śrutāni karmāṇy uṣṭrijya). 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 "anrita-deva" (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, "anrita-deva," he takes "deva" in the usual sense of "god," and interprets it as "he whose gods are false" (anritāḥ asatya-bhūtāḥ devāḥ yasya tādṛiṣaḥ). In the same way he understands "anti-devam" in R.V. i. 180, 7, as meaning "near the gods." And though in Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary the word "anrita-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 f., 460 f.). 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," "avraṭa," "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 f., 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. "Śiśna" has also the sense of "tail," as in R.V. i. 105, 8,

The word is explained by Böhtlingk and Roth s.v. as="mūladeva," and as denoting a species of goblins.
QUOTATION FROM GORRESIO'S RĀMĀYĀṆA.  

pointed out to me by Professor Aufrecht, where the words mūśko na śīṣṇa vyadanti mā ādhyāḥ mean, "cares worry me, like mice gnawing their tails." The word "śīṣṇadovāḥ," if understood of demons, may therefore mean, as Roth suggests, "tailed (or priapic) demons," and not "worshippers of the śīṣṇa." 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 "śīṣṇa-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 "yātavaḥ" (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 "śīṣṇadeva" does not supply this evidence.

In a passage (in the Preface to the tenth vol. of his Rāmāyāṇa, 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 sites, 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 (Rāmāyāṇa vi. 19, 50 ff.) where it is said that Indrajit, son of Rāvana, 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 Rākshasa, the Hamite, sets it up as his banner. Thus in the seventy-eighth chapter of the Sundara Kāṇḍa it is said that Indrajit was in the habit of sacrificing especially to Śiva, 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 Kāṇḍa to which Gorresio refers occurs, in the Bombay edition, in the seventh section of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa, vv. 18 f. (= Sundara Kāṇḍa 78, 17, in Gorresio’s ed.), and is as follows:

*Tīṣṭha vā kim māhaṛāja sramena tava vīnārān | ayam eko māhaṛāja Indrajit kṣapayisyati | anena cha māhaṛāja Māheśvaram anuttamam | ishtvā yajnaṁ varo labdho loke paraṁ-durlabhāḥ | “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 Mahādeva.”

This passage is not sufficient to prove that Mahādeva 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, Paraśurāma, and above all, of Jarāśandha, as recorded in the Mahābhārata, that the worship of Mahādeva (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 Śiva alone whom the Rākshasas worshipped for their own purposes. It appears from the passage of the Rāmāyana (cited above in p. 167) that Rāvana had obtained the gift of invincibility from Brahmā. At the same time it will be seen from a passage cited below from the Uttara Kāṇḍa 25, 9, that it was the sacrifice to Mahādeva, and not the one to Vishnu which procured for Indrajit his magical powers.

The same worship of Brahmā is related in regard to Atikāya, one of Rāvana’s sons, in Rāmāyana vi. 71, 31 f. (Bombay ed):

*Etenārūdhiḥ Brahmā tapasaḥ bhāvītātmanāḥ | astrāṇi chāpy avāptāni ripacāḥ cha parajitāḥ | surāsurair abadhyatvaṁ dattam asmai ścayam-bhūvaḥ | “By this contemplative (Rākshasa) Brahmā had been worshipped with austerities, and he had obtained weapons, and conquered
his enemies. [The privilege] had been bestowed on him by Svayambhū 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-sevī śruta-balāḥ 183). Rāvana himself is represented in the Rāmāyaṇa 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 184 in Gorr.), who is described as "virtuous and pure," is introduced as saying to him: Veda-vidyā-vrataḥ śnātās svakarma-nirataḥ 185 tathā | striyāḥ kasmād bhojām vira 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.): Esho hitāgniś 186 cha mahātapāś cha vedāntagah karmasu chāgrya-sūrah | "He had placed the sacrificial fire, was very austere, had read the concluding treatises of the Veda, and was an eminent hero in rites." 187

183 Instead of śruta-balāḥ, Gorresio's edition reads śrutidharāḥ, "an observer of the Vedas." In Manu vii. 33 the following verse occurs: Vṛiddhāṃscha nityāṃ seveta viprān veda-vidāḥ suchin | vriddha-sevī hi satataṁ rakshobhir api pūjyate | "Let [the king] constantly reverence old and pure Brahmans, skilled in the Vedas; for he who continually reverences the aged is honoured even by the Rākshasas." Can this verse refer to the character vriddha-sevī 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 Rāmāyaṇa. Or has this character been given to Atikāya in consequence of the verse of Manu? or have the 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 (Rāmopākhyāna in tīle Vana-parvan of the) Mahābhārata (vv. 16148, 16492—6, and elsewhere).

185 The commentator thus explains these words: Veda-vidyā-grahāpekshita-brahma- 
chārya-vrata-pūrva-vidyām grīhitvā | śnātāḥ | guru-kulāt samāśrittas tadanantaraih 
dāra-grahana-pūrvaṁ nityāgnihotraṅ-sva-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 agnihotra and other indispensable rites." See Wilson's and Williams's Dictionaries, s.vv. suṇta and suṇtaka, and Kullūka's note on Manu iii. 2, referred to by the latter lexicographer.

186 Esho hitāgniṁ ity ārhaṁ sauvāḥ | āhitāgniṁ iti chhedāḥ | Comm.

187 Vedāntagah | adhitpanishaktah | karmasu agnihotraṁśu | agnyaśūraḥ | paramānyaśūkṭāḥ parama-karmathāḥ | In some of the earlier lines of the same section Vibhishana thus speaks of Rāvana: Gataḥ setuḥ suñītanāṁ gato dharmasya 
śigrahah | gataḥ satvasya sankṣepah suhastānāṁ gatir gataḥ | ādityaḥ patito bhūmau.
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 Brahmans who were concerned in them were Rākshasa-brahmans (Rākṣaśa-dvijāh).

Rāmāyaṇa vi. 113, vv. 112 ff. (Bombay ed.)—Chitāṁ chandana-kāśṭhais cha padma-kṣira-chandanaṁ | brāhmaḥ 188 saṁvartayāmāsaḥ rākṣa-vastarānāsritam | prachakruḥ Rākṣaṇendrasya pitṛmedham anuttamam | vedīṁcha daksināprācīṁ yathā-sthānancha pāvakaṁ | prishadājyena sampūrṇāṁ sravāṁ skandhe prachikṣipuḥ | pādayoḥ saka-tam prāpur ārvoḥ choltukhalaṁ tādā | dāru-pātriṇī sarvāṁ arāṇīm chottarāṇīṁ | dattvā tu musalāṁ chānyaṁ yathā-sthānāṁ vīchakramuḥ | śāstra-drishtena vidhiṁ māhārshi-vihiṭena 189 cha | tatra medhyān paśuṁ hataṁ Rākṣaṇendrasya Rākṣasaḥ | paśu-rājīnaṁ 190 ṛjino ghrītāktaṁ; samaveśayān | gandhair mālyair alakṣīrya Rāvaṇaṁ dīna-vānasāḥ | Vibhishana-sahāyāṁ te vastraśī ca vividhair api | lājair avakiranti sma vāṣpha-pūrṇa-mukhaṁ tathā | etas tadau pāvakaṁ tasya vidhi-yuktāṁ Vibhishanāḥ | snātvā chaiva-vādra-vāstrāṇa tilāṁ darbha-viśiṣṭān | udakena cha sammīśrān prādāya vidhi-pūrvaṁ 191 | "They formed, magnas tamasi chaḍhandramaṁ | "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 Vibhishana abuses his dead brother in the hundred and thirteenth section (Bombay ed.), vv. 93 ff.

188 Veda-mūrgāṇugata-kiṛiyā | Comm.
189 Kāṃsa-sūtra-kṛiṣṭa-sīviṭena | Comm.
190 Parīṣtiyate mukham anayā iti parīṣṭarāṇīkā vopā | tām rākṣaṇendrasya mukhe samaveśayān | "vopā 'ṣya mukham pravuṇaviśiṁ" iti sūtraṁ | Comm.; who seems therefore to understand parīṣṭarāṇīkā of fat (see Müller as cited in the article referred to in note 192).

The commentator, however, gives also another reading and explanation which I quote: Tīrthas tu anuṣṭarāṇikīṁ rājaṁ iti paṭhitaṁ anuṣṭarāṇikīṁ rāja-gāvaṁ tām ababhy tachchārmaṁ yacanānānāṁ āṣṭravantāṁ iti arthāṁ | "But Tīrtha (a previous commentator) reads anuṣṭarāṇikīṁ rājāṁ, and explains the sense thus: having immolated a rāja-gāva (bos grunniers), they covered the sacrifice with its skin."

191 I insert here part of Gorresio's text for comparison (vi. 96, 10 ff.): Tatas te veda-videśaṁsas tam rājāṁ pachhimāṁ kriyāṁ | chakrīre rākṣaṇendrasya prātā- medham anuttamam | vedīṁcha daksinā-prāchāṁ yathā-sthānaṁ cha pāvakaṁ | Vibhīṣanāḥ tu samprāpyya tūṣyāṁ samāśrīyaḥ tāravāṁ | prishadājyena sampūrṇāṁ sravāṁ yathāvidhi | Rīvanāya taddā sarve vāṣpha-pūrṇa-mukhaḥ dvijāḥ | pādayoḥ sakataṁ chakrur antaravāro vudukhalaṁ | vānaspattaṁ chaṁyaṁ antare 'pi vayadhīpayaṁ | dattvā tu musalaṁ chaiva yathāsthanām mahātmānaḥ | śāstra- drīṣṭena vidhiṁ māhārshi-vihiṭena cha | tatah pachhāt paśauṁ hato vākṣaṇendrasyaṁ rākṣasaḥ | athāṣṭarāṇīkāṁ sarvāṁ ghrītāktaṁ samaveśayān |
with Vedic rites, a funeral pile of faggots of sandalwood, with  
"padmaka" wood, "uśra" grass, and sandal, and covered with a  
quilt of deer's hair. They then performed an unrrivelled obsequial  
ceremony for the Rakshasa 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  
(aranim), and the other pestle, in their proper places, they departed.  
The Rakshasas having then slain a victim to their prince in the manner  
prescribed in the Sâstras, and enjoined by great rishis, cast [into the  
fire] the coverlet of the king saturated with butter. They then,  
Vibhishana included, with afflicted hearts, adorned Râvana with  
perfiumes and garlands, and with various vestments, and besprinkled  
him with fried grain, their faces being covered with tears. Vibhi-  
shana 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 Brahmanas are here introduced as practised among the  
Rakshasas, 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 Ápastamba (says the commentator), it should have been placed  
on the nose; this must therefore have been done in conformity with some other  
sûtras" (yadyapi "nâsike srwâv" ity Ápastambenoktaṁ tathâpi sutrântarât skandâhe  
'pi niksheapr srwasyâ| bodhyâ). Compare Professor Müller's article on the funeral  
ceremonies of the Brahmanas in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1855,  
pp. vi. ff.  

193 On this whole passage the commentator remarks: "Tatyaus tam mahâbhâgam  
pancha-bhûtåni Râvana | Shrâra-dhàtavo hy asya mámsâm rudhiram eva cha | nesir  
brâhmastra-nirvâdabhâh na cha bhasmâpy adhîyata" iti Mahabhârate uktavêna  
ksasya Valmikinâ smasaññayana-pûrvakaṁ dâhah uktah iti chena | tasya Râma-  
vâga-lejo-varâgana-vishaye 'tyuky-alankâra-paratvâd iti vadati | "Since it is said  
in the Mahâbhârata (Râmopâkhyâna, in Vana-parvan 16529 f.) that 'the five elements  
forsook the great Râvana, and the constituents of his body, flesh, and blood perished,  
when he was burnt up by the divine weapon (brâhmastra), and not even any ashes  
were seen;'-who is it that is here alleged by Valmiki 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 Râma's prowess the Mahabhârata 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 Nikumbhila as being offered to 'Kālī, and as the description is of some interest, I will quote it at length: 194

Rāmāyaṇa vi. 19, 38 ff. (Gorr.)—Indrajit ś tu tatas tena sāmyuge 'dbhuta-kārīṇā | nirjito Bāli-puṭreṇa krodhaṁ chakre sudāruṇam | so 'ntardhānu-gataḥ pāpo Rāvaṇīḥ raṇa-karkaśaḥ | nikumbhiliyāṁ vidhi-vat Pāvukaun juhuve 'stra-vit | juhvatas tasya tatrāṅgu raktoshīśāmbara-srājaḥ | ājahrus tatra sambhrāntaḥ Rākshasāḥ yatra Rāvaṇīḥ | śastraṇi śiladhārāṇi samidho 'tha vibhītakān | lohitāni cha vāsāmsi srwaṁ

194 The Bombay edition (vi. 44, 32 ff.) gives the first verse and the first half of the second nearly as they stand in Gorresio's edition, and the second half of the second, with its sequel, as follows: Brahma-datta-varo viro Rāvaṇīḥ krodha-mārchhitah | adriśyo nisītān vānān munnochāsān-varcasah | "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 Sītā after her capture by Rāvana, because she would not yield to his desires, and that one of them, Sūrpanākhā, acceding to a proposal to eat her, says (v. 44 f.): Śūrā cāntiyatāṁ kṣhipraṁ sarva-soka-viśāsīṁ | mānusām māṁsaṁ uśādya nṛityṣyati 'tha nikumbhiliāṁ | "And let wine be quickly brought, which annihilates all sorrows. Enjoying human flesh, let us dance at the Nikumbhila." The comment on this passage states that the Nikumbhila was an image of Bhadrakālī on the west side of Lankā (Nikumbhila nāma Lankāyaṁ paśchima-bhāga-variṇī Bhadrakālī | tāṁ nṛityāṇāṁ tat-sāmaṁ gatvā nṛityānāṁ). In the Uttara Kānda (sect. 25, v. 2) we are told that Rāvana, with his attendants, entered "the Nikumbhila, a grove in Lankā" (tato nikumbhila nāma Lankanopacāram uttamaṁ). The commentator says it was "a wood situated at the western gate of Lankā for the performance of rites" (Lankā-paśchima-devāra-deva-variṇi-karna-siddhi-hetu-bhūtaṁ kānanaṁ). His son Indrajit, with the aid of the Brahman Usānas, had been celebrating there the seven sacrifices, the "agnishtoma," "aśvamedhīsa," "rājasūya," "gomeḍha" (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 (ibid., 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 76 ff. of this section are as follows: Yajñās te septa puṭrenā prāptās te bahu-cītārāh | 8. Agnishtomaśevamedhis āgra yaṇo bahusuvāragaḥ | rājasūyas tathā yaṇo gomeḍha Vaishnavas tathā | 9. Māheśvare pravritte tu yaṇe puṁbhīḥ sudurlabhē | varāṁs te labdhārān putraḥ sākhāt Pasupater iha | Only six kinds of sacrifice are here mentioned, unless the word "Bahasuvārṇaka" stands for a seventh.
AND OBTAINS AN INVISIBLE CHARIOT.

But Indrajit, being conquered in the conflict by the miracle-working son of Bāli, became inflamed with terrific anger. This wicked son of Rāvana, 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 Rākshasas 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 Rākshasas, 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 Rākshasa texts, he then spake," etc.

105 See, in reference to this, the quotation from Signor Gorresio given above in p. 412.
The ceremony of Indrajit is again alluded to by Vibhishana in vi. 84, 14 ff. (Bombay ed. = vi. 63, 13. of Gorr. ed.):

Chaityaṁ nikumbhilām adya prápya homaṁ karisyati | Hutavān upaśyāto hi devaṁ api sa-vāsavaḥ | durādhareho bhavatī esha sangrāmāṁ Rāvanaṁtamaṁ | . . . . 16. Sa-sainyāṁ tatra gāēhāmo yāvante tām na samāpyate | . . . . 23. Samāpta-karmā hi sa Rākhaśarshabho bhavatī adṛśyāḥ samare surāsvāṁ | yuyutsaṁ tāṁ samāpta-karnaṁ bhavet surānm api saṁśayo mahāṁ | “Having to-day resorted to the sacrificial ground, he will offer an oblation (homa). When he approaches after making this offering, this son of Rāvana is invincible by gods and Vāsavas. . . . . 16. Let us go thither with our hosts before that ceremony is completed. . . . . 23. For when he has accomplished his rite,196 that prince of the Rākhaśas becomes invisible by either gods or Asuras in battle; and even the gods would hesitate to encounter him if he desired to fight.”

In the following section Vibhishana returns to the subject (vi. 85, 12, Bombay ed. = vi. 64, 11 of Gorr.):

Tena viṁśena tapasā vara-dānatis Svayambhubhavāḥ | astram brahma-śīraḥ prāptāṁ kāmaṁ cha turangamaḥ | sa eshaṁ sahaṁ sainyena prāptāṁ kīlā nikumbhilām | yady uttis̄ṣthet kriyam karma hatāṁ sarvāṁ śa viddhi naḥ197 | nikumbhilām asanvārām akiṭāganiṁ cha yo ripuḥ | tvām uṭata-yināṁ hanyat Indraśatram sa te badhaḥ | “This hero has obtained through austerity, and by the gift of Svayambhū, a weapon called ‘brahma-śiras,’ and horses that go according to his will. He with his army has reached the sacrificial ground. If he rises after completing his ceremony, you may regard us all as destroyed. But if any foe slays thee, thou cruel tyrant (Indrajit), before thou host reached that ground,”197

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 nikumbhilām tad-yaṁga-bhūmint mahākālīkshetraṁ tad-ākhyā-nyagrodha-mūla-rūpam | “That sacrificial ground, 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.): . . . praśīya tva mahād vanam | adarśayätam tat-karma-Lakṣmaṇyaḥ Vibhishanāḥ | niḻa-jīmula-sankūlaṁ nyagrodham bhimadarbonam | tejusvī Rāvana-bhratā Lakṣmaṇyaḥ vyala-dāyam | ihopahāram bhūtanāṁ ’balaeva Rāvaṇāṁtamaṁ | upakriyatī tataḥ paśchāt sangrānam abhīvacartate | adṛśyāḥ sarva-bhūtanāṁ tata bhavati Rākhaśaṁ | niṅanti samare śatāṁ badhānti cha śarottamāṁ | tam apravishṭaṁ nyagrodham balīnāṁ Rāvaṇāṁtamaṁ | vidhiṁaṁsaya śa sarair dip ārya sīyādi |
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 caīkañ vishanñaṁ tu drīṣṭvā śatrubhir arditaṁ | udatishṭhata dardharshaḥ sa karmany anunisṭhīte | vṛikshāndhakārūḍ Nirgamyajātakrodhaḥ sa Rāvaṇih | ityādī_ "Hearing that his army was harassed by their enemies, and dispirited, the irresistible (Rākshasa) arose while his ceremony was unaccomplished. Issuing forth from the gloom of the tree, the son of Rāvana, 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 Rāvana. Now if the author of the poem had intended to represent Siva as an especial object of adoration to the Rākshasas, 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 Siva as receiving favourably a deserter from the Rākshasa 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 Rāvana defies Vīṣṇu 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 Vīṣṇu's worship (particularly as Indra, Siva, and Brahmā are also slightingly 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 Vīṣṇu, it was of course natural to make the arrogant Rāvana defy him. The fact is, that the traits ascribed to the Rākshasas in the Rāmacānḍa 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 Rāvana 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 Rāmacānḍa supplies any
sufficient grounds for regarding the non-Arian tribes of Southern India as being especially addicted to the worship of Siva.  

Sect. VIII.—The earlier and later representations of Umā, the wife of Siva.

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.

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):

198 It is also related in the Uttarā Kanda of the Rāmadeva (sections 4–8, of which I shall give the substance in the Appendix) that a Rākshasa named Sukṣa had formerly received a boon from Mahādeva and Pārvati, and that his three sons, the lords of Lankā, had made an attack upon the gods, but had been driven back and defeated by Vīshnu, and compelled to take refuge in Pātaḥa. But neither does this, nor even the Linga-worship attributed to Rāmeṇa in the Uttarā Kanda 31, 42 ff., suffice to prove any special adoration of Śiva among the southern races more than among the northern.

199 Rodasī is his wife according to the Nirukta xi.49; and xii. 46; Rodasī Rudrasya patrī. Śaṅkhaṇa, however, on R.V. i. 167, 4 and 5, says that she is the wife of the Maruts. On verse 4 his words are: Tosya (Rudrasya) stri Rodasā iti kecid āhuḥ | apane tu Maru om striko Rodasā iti nāvadheyam īty āhuḥ | ayeu eva pakshe yuktah uttavarata evaṁ vyavahārāt | " Some say Rodasī is Rudrā'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 Śaṅkhaṇa says: Rodasī Marut-patrī vidyaṁ 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 (Josad yad in asuryā sahadehyai vishita-stukā Rodasī vṛimūḥā). 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 which Uma Haimavati is mentioned.

Atha Indram abravan "Maghavann etad vijanīhi kim etad yaksham" iti| "tathā" iti tad abhyadravat tasmiṣṭ tirodadhe | 12. Sa tasminn eva ākāśe striyam ajagām bahu sobhamānām Umāḥ Haimavatīṁ | tām ha uvācha kim etad yaksham iti | iv., 1. Sa Brahma iti ha uvācha Brahmano vai etad-vijaye mahiyadhvaṁ iti, tato eva vidānākāra Brahmeti "They then said to Indra, 'Maghavan, ascertain what this apparition is.' He replied, 'So be it,' and approached that being, who vanished from him. In that sky he came to a woman who was very resplendent, Umā Haimavati. To her he said, 'What is this apparition?' She said, 'It is Brahma. In this victory of Brahma, exult.' By this he knew that it was Brahma." 200

In his remarks 201 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 Umā. He says: "The representation in sections 3 and 4 indicates that the Kena Upanishad was produced at a time when,—in the place of the three principal gods, Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya, 202 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

200 This is explained by the commentator: Tasya Indrasya yakshe bhaktim buddhvä Vidyā Umā-rūpiṁ prādūrakhet stri-rūpā | sa Indras tām Umām bahu sobhamānam sarvāhām hi sobhamānanām sobhanatamānām Vidyāṁ tada "bahu sobhamāna" iti viśeṣaḥ ānupapannam bhavati | Haimavatīṁ hema-kritabharyavatīm iva bahu sobhamānąm ity arthaḥ | athāvā Umā eva Haimavato duḥhitā Haimavatī nityam eva sarvaṣvajena Īśvara eva vartate iti jñātiṁ samarthā iti kṛitiṁ tām upajāgaṁ Indras tām ha Umāṁ kila uvācha paprachha kim etad darsayitvā tirobhūtam yakṣam | "Knowing Indra's devotion to this apparition, Knowledge, in the form of a woman, Umā, appeared. Indra [came] 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 Umā Haimavati, the daughter of Himavat, who from continually dwelling with the omniscient Īśvara (Mahādeva) is able to know. With this belief Indra approached Umā, and said to her, 'What is this apparition which appeared and vanished?'")

201 Already translated by Dr. Roer (Bibl. Ind. xv. 84 ff.).

202 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 Umā-rūpinī (in the form of Umā) 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-putryāḥ Gauryāḥ brahma-vidyāḥhimāni-rūpatavād Gaurī-vāchakaḥ Umā-śabdo brahma-vidyāṁ upalakshayati | ataḥ eva Talavakāropaniṣhadi brahma-vidyā-mūrti-prastāve brahma-vidyā-mūrtiḥ paṭhyate "bahu śobhamāṇām Umāṁ Haimavatīṁ tāṁ ha uvāca" iti | tad-vishayāḥ Paramātmā 203 Umaḥ saha vartamānātvaṭ Somaḥ | '[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 tayā 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 18, in explanation of the term Ambikā-pataye, we have the words: Ambikā jāgamātā Pārvati tasyāḥ bharitra | 'Ambikā is Pārvati, the mother of the world,—to her husband,' etc.; and the word Umāpataye (which stands in the Drāviḍa, but not in the Āndhra, text of the Taitt. Ār.) is thus interpreted: Tasyāḥ eva brahma-vidyātmako dehaḥ; Umā-śabdendochyate tasyāḥ svāmine | 'Her (Ambikā's) body, consisting of divine knowledge, is designated by the word Umā—to her (Umā's) husband,'

203 [The word Paramātmā is not in the text as given by Weber.]
204 [The same explanation of Soma is given in the Atharvaśiras Upanishad. See above, p. 302.]
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 ‘Umayā sahita,’ ‘accompanied by Umā’ (as Sāyaṇa has done in the passage above cited), such an interpretation is just as groundless as in the texts commented on by Sāyaṇa, where the word signifies simply the Soma-litation. 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 Madhyamāsa (the central region of Hindustan)? We have learnt from the Kaushi-taki 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 (vācham śikṣitum), 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

205 [The entire text of the Anuvāka, and the part of its commentary which refers to the terms Ambikāpataye and Unāpataye, as given in the Bibl. Indica, are as follows: Text: Namo hiranyabhāve hiranyavarṇoṣa hiranyaprāpya hiranyapateye Ambikāpataye Unāpataye pasūpataye namo nāmaḥ | Comm.: Ambikā jagannātā Pārvatī | tasyāḥ pataye bhartre | tasyāḥ eva Ambikāyāḥ brahma-vidyātmako dehaḥ Umāśabdāna uchyate [lādṛisyāḥ Unāyāḥ pataye svāmine Rudrāya punah punah nāmaskāro śtu.] 206 e.g. Mahādhara on Vāj. S. 16, 39, and Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra on the corresponding passage of the Taitt. Sanhitā.

et.
in Madhyadesa, where their minds were more occupied by the practical concerns of life. Such a view of Uma Haimavati 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 Uma actually does signify divine knowledge (brahma-vidya); and, moreover, her subsequent position as Rudra’s wife (in the Taitt. Ar.), and so Siva’s, would thus be quite inexplicable. Now there is among the epithets of this latter goddess a similar one, viz. Parvati, which would lead us in interpreting the word Haimavati, 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 Siva’s dwelling on Kailasa. He is the temper, which rages in the mountains, and his wife is therefore properly called Parvati, Himavati, ‘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 Uma and Ambikā are at a later period evidently identical, and Ambikā is Rudra’s sister (Ind. Stud. i. 183). Besides, this identification of Uma 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 ‘Ambi,’ and is said to be ‘produced on the highest peak on the mountain top’ (uttame śikhare jātā parvata-mūrdhani). According to this view, Uma and Sarasvatī, Ambikā and Ambitamā, Parvati and the parvata-mūrdhani 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 Uma of the Kenā Upanishad and, on the other hand, in the Varādā of the Taitt. Ar. 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 Uma and Sarasvatī to be found in the fact that in the mythology of the Rāmāyaṇa i. 36, 18 (quoted below in p. 480) Uma 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 'guṇa,' or is lengthened, but the words 'simā' and 'hima' show that this is not necessary, and the name of Umā 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 Īśvara, and thus also as Brahma; i.e. it would belong to the period of some Saiva 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, Pārvatī, Haimavatī, belong to the wife of Rudra, others, as Kālí, Karālī (\(\text{see} \) Ind. Štud. i. 287) carry us back to the wife of Agni, while Gaurī and others perhaps refer to Nirṛtí, the goddess of all evil.

\(^{209}\) [The words of Mahīdhara here referred to are: Yo 'yaṁ Rudrākhyāḥ krūvo devas tasya virodhinaṁ hantum ichhā bhavati tadā anayā bhaginyā krūrādevatayā sādhanahūtatayā taṁ hinasī] "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 Yudhishtīra to Durgā, where he calls her Yāsodā, Krishṇā, 'born in the cowherd family of Nanda,' 'sister of Vāsudeva,' 'enemy of Kansa,' and 'having the same features as Sankarṣanā,' 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 Āraṇyaka, 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). It is, like the prayers which precede it, an imitation of the Gāyatrī, and runs thus: Kātyāyana-viṁśa Kanyakumārī ādihāmi | tan no Durgīḥ prachodayāt | ['We think on Kātyāyana and meditate on Kanyakumārī; may Durgī advance us.]

. . . "Now it is certainly difficult grammatically to find in this text the sense which Sāyaṇa puts into it, 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.

211 In the first of these passages (Ind. Stud. i. 75) the author remarks that the Nārāyaṇya 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. Kātyāyana-viṁśa Kanyakumārī ādihāmi tan no Durgīḥ prachodayāt, are, in the Upanishad as it is given in the Atharva collection, changed into Kātyāyana-viṁśa Kanyakumārī ādihāmi tan no Durgīḥ prachodayāt | This agrees with the sense which Sāyaṇa, 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 Durgā occurs as follows in verse 26: Kātyāyana-viṁśa Kanyakumārī ādihāmi tan no Durgīḥ prachodayāt |

212 The author observes here that in Ind. Stud. i. 75, he had incorrectly given Kanyakumārī as the proper reading. The text in the Bibl. Ind., p. 770, has Kanyakumārī.

213 Sāyaṇa's interpretation, as given by Weber i. 75, note, and here, is as follows: Paśchād Durgā-gāyatrī | Hema-prakhyāṃ indu-khaṁsanka-mālāṃ [āntamaulim, in Bibl. Ind.] ity āgama-prasiddha-mūrti-dharām [śrīm, B. I.] Durgām prārthayate "Kātyāyana-ya iti | kriṭiṃ vaste iti Kātya [Kārttya, B. I.] Rudraḥ | . . . sa eva ayavan adhiśhāmāni yasyāḥ sa Kātyāyana [Kārttyaṇi, B. I.] Athava Kātyaṇi rishī-viśeshaṇya apatyān Kātyaḥ | . . . Kutsitaṁ anishṭāṁ māraṇati iti kumārī kumārī viparyayāmāni chāsaṇa kumārī cha Kanyakumārī | Durgīḥ Durgā | lingaṇi-vatyaṇaḥ sastrāṇa chāhādam asravādavaṇyaḥ | [There see other variations in the text as given in the Bibl. Ind.] . . . "Then follows Durgā's gāyatrī. In the words 'Kātyāṇaśya,' 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 . . . . and Kātyāyanī is she whose path, support, is Kātya. Or, Kātyā is the offspring of Kata, a particular rishi. . . . Kumārī is she who destroys what is bad, undesirable. She is who is both Kanya, 'shining,' and Kumārī, is Kanyakumārī. 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, Śaṅmukha, Garuda, Brahman, Vishnu, Nārasinha, 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, Kanyakumārī, and Durgā, are already well known to us as names of Siva'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 Brahman, 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. Kanyakumārī, 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 Siva himself (whose name Nilakantha Lassen [Ind. Ant. i. 194] finds rendered in the Nākkōṇḍa of the Periplus)? The hymn to Agni in the second anuvāka of the Taittirīya Āranyaka (Andhra recension) seems pretty decisive in favour of our connecting Durgā with the sacrificial fire. It is there said214 in the second verse [Bibl. Ind., p. 788]: Tām aṇīvarṇāṁ tapasa jvalantiṁ vairo-chaniṁ karma-phaleshu jushṭāṁ | Durgāṁ deviṁ śaraṇam aham praṇāya 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].']215 The five following verses repeat (as does also the Durgā-stava in the Pariśiṣṭa) 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 Kātripesiṣṭha between the fourteenth and fifteenth divisions of the seventh section of the eighth Ashṭaka of the R.V." (i.e. between Manḍala x. 127 and 128). See note in the Appendix.

215 This verse is as follows: Jātavedasasya sunavām samam arātīyatāṁ nidahātiṁ vedah | sa naḥ parshad ati durgāṇī visvā nāveva sindhunī durītā 'ti Agnīḥ |
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 Durgatì (Evil) herself, and sought her protection, so that thus Durgā would have arisen out of Nirītī. 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, Śiva, Umā. If at a later period Durgā decidedly appears to have taken the place of the evil goddess Nirītī, 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 Śiva bore a terrific character, both from her connexion with Rudra and also with Agni (compare Karālī).

"The last name of Śiva's consort which I find in the Taittī. 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: Āyātu varadā devī aksharam brahma-sammitam | gāyatriṃ [gāyatri, Bibl. Ind.] chhandasām mātā idam brahma jushasva me | . . . sarvavarne mahādevi sandhyā-vidye Sarasvatī | But the words in anuv. 30 are not so clear: Uttame śikhare jātā bhūmyām parrata-mūrdhāni| brāhmane bhya 'bhyamujnātā gachha devi yathāśukham | stuto (=stutā u) mayā varadā veda-mātā prachodayantī padane devi jātā, 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 godess 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 gāyatri, 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 Brahmins, go, goddess, whatever 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,’ ‘chhandasāṃ mātā,’ ‘veda-mātā,’ and finally ‘Sarasvatī’ 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 here 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. Kālī and Karāli, 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: Kālī Karāli cha Manojavā cha Sulohitā ya'cha Sudhūmravarnā | Sphulinginī Viṣvarūpī cha devī lalāyamanāḥ iti sapta jihvāḥ | which is thus translated by Dr. Roer (Bibl. Ind. xv. 153): “The seven flickering tongues [of the fire] are—Kālī (the black one), Karāli (the terrific one), Manojavā (swift as the mind), Sulohitā (the very red one), Sudhūmravarnā (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: Kālī Karāli Manojavā cha Sulohitā cha ya'cha Sudhūmravarnā Sphulinginī Viṣvarūpī cha devī lalāyamanāḥ dahanasya jihvāḥ | Agner havir-aḥuti-grasanārthāḥ etāḥ sapta jihvāḥ | “Kālī, Karāli, Manojavā, Sulohitā, Sudhūmravarnā, 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), Kālā, Karālavadanā, Karālānanā, Karālamukhī. 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 Munḍaka 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 (Manojāva) 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 Viṣṇu 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 dhātunām ākaro mahān | tasya kanyā-devayāṁ jātaṁ rūpenāpratimam bhuri | yā Meru-duhitā Rāma tayor mātā sumadhyanā | nāmnā Menā manojīna vai patnī Himavatāh priyā | tasyaṁ Gangeyam abhavaj jyesṭhā Himavatāḥ sutā | Umā nāma dvitiyā 'bhūt kanyā-tasyaiva Rāgahavā | . . . 19. Yā cānā ya S'aila-duhitā kanyā"sid Rağhu-nandana | ugraṁ sā vrātam āsthāya tapas tepe tapo-dhanā | ugraṁ tapasā yuktāṁ dadau S'aila-varah sutām | Rudrāyāpratirūpāya Umāṁ loka-namaskrīlan | Iy ete S'aila-rājasya sute Rāma babhūvatuh | Gangā cha saritāṁ sresṭhāḥ devināṁ cāpy 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 austere 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 Harivaṃsa (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 Menā, among whom the Gangā is not included:

Eśeśāṁ mānāṁ kanyā Menā nāma mahāgiṛēḥ | pātī Himavataḥ kṛṣṭihā . . . 943. Tīrāḥ kanyās tu Menāyāṁ janāyāmāsa Sāila-rūṭ | Aparṇām Ekaparnāṁ cha trītiyāṁ Ekapatālām | tapās charantyāṁ su-mahad duṣcharaṁ Deva-Dānavaḥ | lokāṁ saṁtāpayāmāsuṁ tāṁ tīrāḥ sthānu-jangamān | āhāram ekaparnena Ekaparnāṁ saṁčhārataḥ | pātāla-pushpam ekaṁ cha āda-daḥ Ekapatālā | ekaṁ tatra nirāhārā tāṁ mātā pratyadhāyat | "u mā" iti nishedhanti mātrī-snehena duḥkhitā | sā tathoktā tada mātā devi duṣchara-chārini | Umēty evābhavat khyātā trīshu lokesu sundariḥ | tathaiva nāmnā āneha visruṭā yogādharini | etat tu trīkunārikāṁ jagat sthāyaṁ Bhūrgava | tapāḥ-sarirūsāṁ tāḥ sarvāṁ tīrō yogasulūyātāḥ | sarvāṁ cha braham-vadhyaṁ sarvāṁ chaiva dveṣha-retasāṁ | Umā tāsāṁ varishṭhaṁ cha jyeshṭhaṁ cha vara-varini | mahāyogabaloṣṭa Mahādevam upaṣṭhitā | Asitaśayikaparnā tu Devalasya mahatmanāḥ | pātī daṭṭā mahābrahman yogādharīya dhimate | Jajīśhavyāya tu tathā viddhi tāṁ Ekapatālām |

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, Ekaparnā, and Ekapatālā. These three, performing very great austerity, such as could not be accomplished by gods or Dānavas, distressed [with alarm] both the stationary and the moving worlds. Ekaparnā (‘One-leaf’) fed upon one leaf. Ekapatālā took only one pāṭāla (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 Ekapātalā was in like manner bestowed on Jaigishavya."

The following is the commencement of the hymn of Arjuna to Durgā which, as has been mentioned in p. 205, he uttered at the suggestion of Krishṇa:


"Reverence be to thee, Siddhasenānī (Generless of the Siddhas), the noble, the dweller on Mandara, Kumāri, Kāli, Kāppāli, Kapilā, Kṛishnapingalā. Reverence to thee, Bhadrakāli; reverence to thee, Mahākāli; reverence to thee, Chaṇḍī, Chaṇḍā; reverence to thee, O Tārini (deliveress), O Varavarṇīṇi (beautiful-coloured), O fortunate Kātyāyani, O Karāli, O Vijayā, O Jayā (victory), who bearest a peacock's tail for thy banner, adorned with various jewels, armed with many spears, wielding—

218 The Bhagavadgītā, in which Kṛishṇa himself is so highly extolled and glorified, begins shortly afterwards in the twenty-fifth section of the Bhīshma-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, Síkambhari, thou white one [or Svetá], thou black one [or Krsná], O destroyer of Kaítabhá. Reverence to thee, O Hiranyáksí, Virú-pákshi, Dhúmrákshi (golden-, distorted-, dark-eyed), O Vedaśruti (tradition of the Veda), most pure, devout, Játavedásí (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 Sváhá, Svadhá, Kalá, Káśthá (minute divisions of time), Sarasváti, mother of the Vedas, and the Vedánta (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 Pátála, thou constantly abidest; and conquerest the Dánavas in battle. Thou art Jambhaní (destroyer?), Mohání, Máyá, Hrí, Súri, Sandhyá, the luminous, Sávitri, the mother, Tushú (contentment), Pushtí (fatness), Dhúriti (constancy), Dipti (light), increaser of the sun and moon, the power of the powerful in battle,—[all this] thou art seen by the Siddhas and Cháraños [to be]."

In another part of the Mahábhárata, (fourth or) Viráta-parvan, 178 ff., there is another hymn (already referred to above, p. 425, note) addressed by Yudhishthíra to Durga, 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-sreshthe tava sthánam hi śávatam | Káli Káli Mahákáli sidhú-máma-pásu-priye).

In the Harivaṁsa, vv. 3236 ff., it is related by Vaiśampâyana that with the view of defeating the designs of Kansa in regard to the destruction of Dévaki's offspring, Vishnu descended into Pátála, where he sought the aid of Nidrá Kála-rúpiṇí (Sleep in the form of Time); and

219 Compare what has been said by Prof. Weber on the relation of Umá and Sarasvatí, above, p. 424, note, and p. 428.

220 See above, p. 428.
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 Yasodā on the same night on which he was to be born as the eighth child of Devakī (3247), when he would be carried to Yasodā and she to Devakī. 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 Kausūkī, and would obtain from him (Indra) a perpetual abode on the Vindhya mountain, where, thinking upon him (Vīṣṇu), she would kill the two demons Sumbha and Niśumbha, and would be worshipped with animal sacrifices (tatraiva tvām bhaginy-arthe grahitasyati sa Vāsavah | Kūśikasya tūt gotreṇa Kausūkī tvam bhavishyasī |

sa te Vindhya naga-sreshṭhe sthānāṁ dāsyati śāśvatam | ityaśi). Vaiśampāyana then (vv. 3268 ff.) repeats a hymn to Āryā (Durgā) which had been "uttered by rishi of old," beginning Nārāyaṇīṁ mamasīṁ devīṁ tribhuvanēśvarim | "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, Kṛiti, Hṛi, Sandhyā, Kātyāyāni, Kausūkī, Jayā, Vijayā, Tūṣṭi, Pushṭi (3269 f.). She is also called the eldest sister of Yama (jyeshṭā Yamasya bhagīṇī, v. 3271); and it is worthy of remark that she is said to be worshipped by the [savage tribes of ] Savaras, Varvaras, and Pulindas (S'avarair Varbaraiś chaiva Pulindaiś cha supā-jītā, v. 3274). She is also described as fond of wine and flesh (suramāṁsa-priya, v. 3279), the goddess of wine (sura-devī, v. 3286), as being Sarasvatī in Vālmīki (comp. pp. 424 f., 425 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 (vidyānām brahma-vidyā, v. 3291), and as pervading the entire world (tvaya vyāptam idaṁ sarvaṁ 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 Vaishnāvas) under the protection and patronage of Vīṣṇu.

221 Kausūkī 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.
DEVI MAHATMYA OF THE MARKANDeya PURANA.

A hymn addressed to Durga by Pradyumna, the son of Krișna, is also to be found in Harivamsa vv. 9423 ff.; and another uttered by Aniruddha, son of Pradyumna and grandson of Krișna, occurs in vv. 10235 ff. of the same work. The latter hymn is repeated by Vaisampâyana after he had made obeisance to the "infinite, imperishable, celestrial, eternal primeval-god Nārāyana" (anantam akshayam divyam ādi-devam sanātanam | Nārāyanaṁ namaskṛitya, 10232); and he talks of the goddess as teing "adored by rishis and gods with flowers of eloquence" (rishibhir daivataiś chaiva vāk-pushpair architāṁ śubhāṁ, 10234). The hymn addresses Durga as the sister of Indra and Vishnu (Mahendra-Vishnu-bhagīnīm, v. 10235), as Gautami, 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 Vishṇuḥ cha Rudraḥ cha Chandra-suryāgni-mārutāḥ | . . . kṛtsnaṁ jagad idam proktaṁ devyāḥ nāmānukirtanāt | "Brahmā, Vishṇu, 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 Devi-mahatmya in the Markandeya Purâna, sections 81 ff.; where it is remarkable that she is connected with Vishṇu, 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 sā jagān-mūrtir tāyā sarvam idāṁ tatam | tathāpi tat-satutpattir bhūdāḥ śrayatāṁ mama | devānāṁ kārya-siddhy-artham āvirbhatavāt sā yadā | utpanneti tādā lokā sā nityāpy abhidhiyate | "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 Vishṇu was sunk in this sleep of contemplation (Yoganidrā) at the end of the Kalpa, two demigods, Madhu and Kaitabha, sprang from his ear and were about to kill Brahmā; when the latter, seeing Vishṇu 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" (Hari-netra-kritālayāṁ | viśeśvarīṁ jagaddhāтриṁ sthiti-saṁhāra-kāri-
nīm | nidrām bhagavatīṃ Vishnuḥ). Some of the functions assigned to her are as follows (v. 56): Ṭvayaīva dhāryate sarvāṁ tvayaitat srijyate jagat | tvayaitat pārda devi tvam aṣṭy ante cha sarvadā | “By thee the universe is upheld; ṭhy 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.): Yačheha kinehit kvačhiā vastu sad asad vā 'khitāmade | tasya sarvasya yā śaktiḥ sā tvām kīṁ stūyase tadā | yayā tvayā jagat-srāsta jagat-pātā 'tī yo jagat’ | so 'pi nidrā-vasāṁ nītāḥ kas tvam stotum ihesvarāḥ | Vishnuḥ sarira-grahaṇaṃ ahām Isāna eva cha | kāritas te yato 'tas tvām kaḥ stotum śaktimā bhavet | “Thou art the power (śakti) 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 (Siva) 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‘akrādayāḥ sura-gaṇāḥ nihate 'tivīrye tasmin durātmāni surāribale cha devyā | tām tushṭuvaḥ praṇatī-namra- śirodharaṁśaḥ vāgbhiḥ praharsha-pulakodgama-charu-dehāḥ | devyā yayā tatam idaṁ jagad ātma-ṣaktiā niḥśesha-deva-gaṇa-ṣakti-samāha-mārtyā | tām Ambikām akhila-deva-maharshi-pūjyām bhaktīyā naṁ saṁ vida- dhātū śubhāni sā naḥ | yayāḥ prabhāvaṁ atulam bhagavān Ananto Brahmā Haraḥ cha na hi vaktum alam balancha | sā Chandikā 'khila-jagat-paripālanāya naśāya chāsubha-bhayasya matiṁ 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 (śakti) of all the gods, who is to be adored by all the deities and rishis: may she confer upon us blessings. May Chandikā, whose unequalled majesty and might neither the divine Ananta (Vishnu), nor Brahmr, nor Hara (Siva) 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 Uttarakāṇḍa, too, of the Rāmāyana (iv. 9, Bombay ed.), it is said: Prajāpatiḥ purā srisṭvā apaḥ salila-sambhavah | tāsām gopāyane sattvān asrijat padma-sambhavah | “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 rakṣa, “to protect”).

On this verse the commentator remarks: “Apāḥ srisṭvā” bhūmer adho-bhāga-vartinir apaḥ srisṭvā ity urthah | tatra “salila-sambhavah” 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 Rāvaṇa, which is given in the Kishkindhā Kāṇḍa or fourth book of the Rāmāyana, the following reference occurs to the three steps of Viṣṇu; and it is of such a character as to preserve some trace of Arunabhāva’s interpretation of those steps:

Sect. 40, vv. 54ff. (Bombay ed.)—Tataḥ paraṁ hemamayaḥ śrīmān Udaya-parvataḥ | tasya koṭir divaṁ srisṭvā 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 divyâ virâjati sa-vedikâ | . . . 57. Tatra yojana-vistâram uchhritaśa dasa-yojanan | śringaṁ Saumanasam nāma jâtarpamayam dhruvam | 58. Tatra pūrva-padaṁ kṛtvā puruŚa Vishnus trivikrame (trivikramaḥ, Gorr.) | dvitiyāṁ śikhare Meroḥ chakāra purushottanāḥ | 59. Utteraṇa parikramya Jambûdvipaiṁ divākaraḥ | dṛśya bhavati bhūyishṭhaṁ śikharaṁ tad mahochhram (dṛśya bhavati bhūtānam śikharam 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 Vishnū, 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 Jambûdvipa 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 sata-yojana-dîrghe Udaya-giri-śikhare | 58. Tatra Saumanase śrīngâ trivikrame tribhiḥ padaśa trilokyâḥ ākramaṇa-prastâve prathânam padaṁ tatra kṛtvā dvitiyâḥ padam Meroḥ śikhare chakāra | On v. 59: Astânantaram uttareṇa Jambu-dvīpaṁ parikramya tan mahochhramaṁ śikharam Saumanasa-khyam prāpya sthitâ divākaro Jambu-dvīpa-vartinām bhūyishṭaṁ dīrśto bhavati Saumanasa-śikhare ity Arthâḥ | idam satya-yugāhprāyâṁ tretāyâṁ kshira-sūgara-madhya-gasya dvāpara suroda-madhya-gasya kalau Lâṅkā-madhya-gasya Jambûdvipâ-sthâ-manushya-dîrśatāyâḥ anaya-troktavât | "‘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, [Vishnû] 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 Jambûdvipa by the north [or, with his last (step)], he is mostly seen by the inhabitants of that uvîpa standing on the lofty summit called Saumanasa. This refers to the Satya yuga. For it is said in other books that in the Tretâ age the sun is beheld by the men of Jambûdvipa to go through the ocean of milk, in the Dvāpara through the ocean of wine, and in the Kali through Lâṅkā." The three steps of Vishnû are mentioned in other parts of the Râmâ-
APPENDIX.

Thus in book vi. 39, 21 (Bombay ed.), it is said: Prāśādaiśca vimānaiś cha Lankā parama-bhūshita āghanair ivātapāpo ye madhyamaṁ Vaishṇavam padam | "Lankā was beautifully adorned with temples and palaces, as the middle step (or position) of Vishnu, with clouds, at the departure of the hot season [and commencement of the rains]." The commentator explains the middle position of Vishnu by ākāsa. 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 Vishnu that he would assume the form of a dwarf, and (2) the petition of Kasyapa 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 Kasyapa 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 Rama may not have been originally represented in the Rāmāyaṇa as an incarnation of Vishnu.

In the summaries of the poem, contained in sections 1 and 3 of

...If it is worthy of remark, that in the third section the poet is said to have "seen" all that he narrates in the poem; just as the Vedic rishis are said to have "seen" their hymns (see Nirukta ii. 11: Rishir darśanat | smaṁ ādaryā ity Aupaman-yavah | "Rishi comes from seeing: he is one who saw the hymn," so says Aupaman-yavah." See the second volume of this work, pp. 195 and 196; also the third vol., p. 85). Rāmāyaṇa i. 3, 3: Rāma-Lakshmana-Sītākṣī rājñā Daśarathena cha...
the First Book, as given in the Bombay edition and in Schlegel’s, no allusion is made to the divine origin of Rama; 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 reception (which the others do not contain), the plan pursued by the gods for the destruction of Ravana, and the divine, fluid through which the sons of Dasaratha were produced, are distinctly referred to (vv. 14, 15: ‘Ravanasya badhopaye mantrañaś samudhrítam | 15. Svargavataraśaṁ chaiva surañāṁ samudhrítam | divyā cha pāyasotpattih putra-Janma niṛipasya ca). In the first of the two summaries in Rāmāyaṇa i. 1, 13 and 18 (Bombay ed.), Rama is described as “glorious like Prajāpati” (Prajāpati-samāḥ śrīmān, v. 13), and as “resembling Vishnu in vigour, and pleasant to behold, like the Moon” (Vishnunā sadriśo vīrya soma-vat priyadarśanah, 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-bhedāt sarvatra sāḍrīśyaṁ drashtavyam | yadvā Vishnunā sadriśaḥ ity ananvayālankāraḥ | “Although Rama 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 (ananvayālāṅkaṛa).” 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-mohadināṁ māyikānāṁ tatra darśanena aupādhika-bhedam adāya tat-samavoktiḥ | Bhārgava-loka-pratibandha-rūpāj

subḥāryena saruṣṭṛena yat prāptaṁ tatra tattvataḥ | 4. Hasītam bhūṣitaṁ chaiva gatir yāvach cha cheshṭitam | tat sarvaṁ dharmā-vṛṣṭena yathāvat samprapasyati | 5. Strī-trīśyena cha tathā yat prāptaṁ charataḥ āvane | satyasandhena Kāmeṇa tat sarvaṁ chāna-vājaśkataḥ | 6. Tatāḥ yasyaṁ dharmāṇāṁ tā tat sarvaṁ yogam āsthitah | purā yat tatra nirvṛttam pānō āmalakaṁ yathā | 7. Tat sarvaṁ tattvato dṛṣṭeṣaṁ ityādi | 3. “Whatever actually occurred to Rāma, Lakṣmana and Śītā, to king Dasaratha 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 (Parasurāma, see above, p. 177) of his celestial abode, that he conferred final emancipation on Jātāyu (Rāmaṇa, 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 bibhyati devāḥ cha). In v. 84 Rāma is said to have been honoured, or worshipped, by all the gods (pūjitah sarva-devatah); while on the other hand he is said, v. 86, to have received a boon from the gods (devatāḥyo varam prāpya). In verse 32 Rāma and his party, while living at Chitrakūṭa, are compared to gods and gandharvas (deva-gandārva-sankāśakāh). In section 2, verse 32, the epithets dharmātmānāḥ bhagavataḥ, and dhīmataḥ, "righteous," "divine or venerable" (an epithet constantly applied to Kṛṣṇa, 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 Vishnu 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 *pitaram rochayāmāsa tadā Daśaratham nīpam* ("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. Tato yajne samāpte tu rūṭi

naṁ śat samatyayuḥ | tataś cha
dvādaśe māse chaitre nāvamike ti-
theu | 9. Nakshatra 'diti-daivatye
svoccha-saṁstheshu panchasu grah-
eshu karkate lagne Vākpatāv Indunā
saha | 10. Prodyamāne jagannā-
thāṁ sarva-loka-namaskritam | Kau-
salyā 'janayad Rāmāṁ divya-laksh-
aṇa-saṁyutam | 11. Vishnu ardham
mahābhāgam putram Aṅkhvāku-
nandanaṁ | lohitāksham mahābāhūṁ
raktoshtham ṅundubhi-svanam | 12.
Kauśalyā susubhe tena putreṇā-
mita-tejasāḥ | yathā varena devānām
Aditir Vajrapāṇīṇā | 13. Bharato
nāma Kaikēyyāṁ jajne satya-parā-
kramah | sākṣhād Viṣṇoḥ chaturbhā-
gaḥ sarvaiḥ samudito guṇaiḥ | 14.
Atha Lakṣmāṇa-S'atrughnau Su-
mitrā 'janayat sutau | virau sarvī-

[GORR. ed., sect. 19, vv. 10 ff.]

10. Tāsāṁ prajajnire putrāḥ chat-
vāro 'mita-tejasāḥ | Rāma-Laksh-
maṇa - S'atrughna - Bharatāḥ deva-
rūpāṇāḥ | 11. Janma - tejo - guṇa-
jyeshtham putram apratimaujasam|
Kauśalyā 'janayad Rāmaṁ Viṣṇu-
tulya-parākramam | 12. (almost the
same as v. 12 of the Bomb. ed.)
13. Bhavāya sa hi lokānāṁ Rāvanasya
badhāya cha | Viṣṇor viryārdhato
jajne Rāmo rājiva-lochanah | 14.
Tejo - viryādhikah śūraḥ śrīmān
guna-gaṇakaṁ | babhuvānavaraṁ
chaiva S'akrād Viṣṇoḥ cha pa-
ruṣhe | 15. Tathā Lakṣmāṇa-S'a-
trughnau Sumitrā 'janayat sutau |
ādṛṣṭha-bhakti mahotsāhau Rāma-
syāvarajau guṇaiḥ | 16. Tav'apy
āstām chatur-bhāgau Viṣṇoḥ sam-
pinditāv ubhau | ekaṁ eka-chatur-
bhāgād aparasmād ajāyata | 17.

8. "After the sacrifice had been completed, the six seasons passed; and then in the twelfth month, in Čaitra, 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) Kauśalyā brought forth Rāma, the lord of the world, adored by all worlds, possessed of celestial marks, (11) a son of high destinies, the half of Vishnu, and gladdener of the race of Ikṣvāku, with red eyes, great-armed, with red lips, and with a voice like a kettle-drum. 12. Kauśalyā received luster from this son of unbounded might, as Aditi did from the chief of the gods who wielded the thunderbolt. 13. [A son] called Bharata, of real valour, possessed of all virtues, was born of Kaśyipī, who was manifestly the Bhārata nāma Kaśeṣṣyāḥ putraḥ satya-parākramāḥ | dharmaītma cha mahātma cha prakhyāta-bala-vikramāḥ | . . . 19. Sa chaturbhīr mahā- bhāgavaḥ putair Daśaratho vītah | bābhūva parama-prīto devair īva Pitāmahaḥ | 20. Teshām ketur īva śreshṭho Rāmo loka-hite rataḥ | Svayanbhir īva devānāṁ sarvēṣhāṁ sama-darṣanaḥ | [Gorrosio's edition.]

After naming Daśaratha's wives, the narrative proceeds:

10. "To them were born four sons, of boundless might, Rāma, Lakshmana, Sātrughna, and Bhārata, in fashion like the gods. 11. Kauśalyā brought forth Rāma, a son of unparalleled vigour, the first in birth, might, and qualities, equal in valour to Vishnu. 12. (= v. 12. of the Bomb. ed.) 13. 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.3 14. 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 Sumitrā bore two sons, Lakshman and Sātrughna, firm in devotion, of great energy, second to Rāma in virtues. 16. These two also, combined, were two

3 This verse, though not in the Bombay edition, is to be found in Schlegel's as the fifth.
fourth part of Vishnu. 14. Then Sumitri bore two sons, Lakshmana and Satrughna, heroes, skilled in all weapons, who had [each] the half [of the fourth] of Vishnu. But Bharata, of tranquil mind, was born under the lunar mansion Pushya and the sign of Pisces; while the sons of Sumitri were born under Sarpa (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 Vishnu 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 Daśāratha's sons being incarnations of Vishnu might be omitted with little injury to the connexion. The account of Bharata, Lakshmana, and Satrughna, given in vv. 13–15 (as they now stand), has a certain awkwardness, inasmuch as after leaving Bharata, and introducing (v. 14) Lakshmana and Satrughna, 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 Sumitri'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 Daśāratha's
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 Vishnu [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 Vishnu) 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 avatara of Vishnu in Rāma was an interpolation in the epopee. If Rāma was a corporeal manifestation of Vishnu, and consequently Vishnu himself in a human form, the epithet ‘not inferior to Vishnu,’ 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 devarshi-gandharvāḥ siddhāś cha saha chāraṇāḥ | āchāḥ parama-santarastāḥ guhyakās cha parasparam | chatur-dāsa sahasrāṇi rakṣasām bhima-karma-nām | ekaś cha Rāmo dharmātmā kathāṃ yuddham bhavishyati | Rāmo no vidito yo ’yaṃ yatīṃ cha vasudhāṃ gataḥ | manushyataṃ tu mateśa ’syā kārṇyād vyāhitam manāḥ | nardantīva chamūś teshāṃ rakṣasām kāma-rāpiṇām | nānā-vikṛita-prāṇāṃ Ramāṣramam upāgamat | “Then the gods, rishis, Gandharvas, Siddhas, Chāraṇas, and Guhyakas, being greatly terrified, spoke thus among themselves: ‘There are fourteen thousands of Rākṣasas, terriﬁed 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 Kāṇḍa 68, 38 (Bombay ed.), Rāma and Lakṣmanā are compared to the chiefs of the gods, Vishnu and Vāsava (Indra, surendrāv iva Vishnu-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 Rākṣhasas, 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 chāraṇāḥ | sameyuṣca mahātmano yuddhā-daṛśana-kāṅkṣhayā | 20. Rishayas mahātmano loke brāhmaṇa-sattanāḥ | sametya chochen sahitās le 'nyonyam punya-karmanah' | 21. Scasti go-brāhmaṇānānca lokānāṁ cheti saṁsthitāḥ | jayatāṁ Rāghavo yuddhe Paulastyān rajanī-charān | 22. Chakra-hasto yathā yuddhe sāravān asura-pungavān | evam uktvā punah prochul ālokya cha parasparam | 23. Chaturdāsa sahārasāṇi rakhasāṁ bhāma-karmanāṁ | ekaś cha Rāmo dharmātma kathaṁ yuddham bhavisyati | 24. Iti rājārṣayaḥ siddhāḥ sa-gaṇāḥ cha dvijārṣabhaḥ | jāta-kauṭūhalas tathur vimāna-sthās cha devatāḥ | 25. Āvīśṭāṁ tejasu Rāmaṁ sangrāma-sūra-sīraṁ śhītanāṁ | drīṣṭvā sāravāṁ bhūtāṁ bhuyāṁ vivyathire tadā | 26. Rūpaṁ apratimāṁ tasya Rāmasyākliśṭa-karmanāḥ | babhāva rūpaṁ kruḍhasya Rudrasyeva mahātmanāḥ | . . . . . 35. Tasya rūṣṭasya rūpaṁ tu Rāmasya dadṛśe tadā | Dākshasyeva kratuṁ hantum udātasya Pinākinaḥ | 19. "Then the great gods, Gandharvas, and Siddhas, with the Chāraṇas, (20) and the great rishis, the most excellent Brahman 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 Brahmans, and upon the worlds! may Rāma conquer in battle the Rākṣhasas, the descendants of Pulastya, (22) as the god who bears the discus (Vishnu) [overcame] the chiefs of the Asuras.' Having thus spoken, and looked at each other, they said again: 23. ‘There are fourteen thousands of Rākṣhasas, terrible in their deeds, and the righteous Rāma is but one:

7 Adirghatva arsham | Comm.

8 The following is the commentator’s note on ‘the last toil’ ṛṇās of this line, of which it is difficult to make any sense as they stand: "Lokānāṁ ye ‘bhisanatāḥ’ iti pūthe lokānāṁ lokapālānāṁ saṅgatāḥ havir-homāda-devār upakārāḥ ity arthaḥ. “According to another reading, lokānāṁ ye ‘bhisanatāḥ’, 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 rishis 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 Pīnākin (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 Kānda, 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-Lakshmanor eva sarva-deha-bhidāḥ sarān | bhṛśām āvesa-gāmāsa Rāvanīḥ samitindryāya | nirantara-śarirau tu tāv ubhau Rāma-Lakshmanau\(^{10}\) | kruddhenendrajitā vírau pannagaiḥ saratāṁ gataiḥ | tayoḥ kshata-ja-mārga-vāma vīraścaryā rudhiram bahu | . . . 16. Buddhau tu sarabandhena tāv ubhau rāṇa-mūrdhani | nimeshāntara-mātrenā na sekahir avakshitum | . . . 22. Papāta prathamaṁ Rāmo viddho marmasau mārga-naiḥ | krodhād Indrajitā yena purā S'akro ṛtiv nirjitaḥ | "The son of

\(^{10}\) Instead of tāv ubhau Rāma-Lakshmanau, Gorresio's edition (vi. 20, 8) reads kritau tāv sāyakais tādā.
Rāvana, victorious in battle, discharged numerous arrows which pierced the whole bodies of Rāma and Lakṣhmāna. 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. . . . Anvaśocheha Rāghavau | acheshtau manda-nisvāsau sonitena pariplutaun | sarā-jiññācitau\(^{14}\) stabdhaqu sayānau sara-talpa-gau | nisvastaun yathā sarpau nischeshtau dina-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. Vibhīshaṇa comforts the monkeys by saying that the good fortune of Rāma and Lakṣhmāna would not forsake them (vv. 38 ff.): Athavā rakshyatāṁ Rāmo yāvat sanjñā-viparyayaḥ | labdha-sanjñau hi Kākutsthan bhayaṁ nau vyapa-neshyataḥ | naitat kinekana Rāmasya na cha Rāmo munūrshatī | na ky enam āṣyate 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.e. 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 sekatur avehshītaun | tiḍrisūv ēva sthitau manushyatā-natānāya iti bodhyam | . . . “Could not, looked upon, 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 Kāūḍa, 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 sarā-jiññāritau.
It will be observed that nothing is here said of the divine nature of Rāma; and nothing is said of Lakshmī 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 Rākshaśi Trijaṭā (v. 14), to the spot where Rāma and Lakshmana 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 Lakshmana, 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 Āindrayām Vāyāryam eva cha | āstram Brahma-sīras chaiva Rāghavau pratyapadyata | 17. Adrisyāmānena rane māyāyā Vāsuvopamau | mama nāthaḥ anāṭhīyāḥ nihatau Rāma-Lakṣmanau | 18. Na hi drishti-patham prāpya Rāghavasya rane ripuḥ | jīvan pratiniḥsteta yadyapi syād manojavaḥ | 19. Na Kālasyātibharo 'sti kritāntaḥ ca sudurjayaḥ). Sītā is then consoled by the Rākshasī Trijaṭā, who tells her (v. 22) that her husband is not dead; and explains why she thinks so. In vv. 30 ff., she says: Namau śakyaun rane jetoṁ sendrair api surāsuraiḥ | tādriśāṁ darśanam drishtvā māyā. chodiritaṁ tava | idaṁ tu sumahach chitrama śarāṁ paśyasva Maithili | visanjanau patitāv etau naiva Lakṣhmīr vimun- chati | prāyena gata-satīvānam purushānāṁ gatāyushām, drisyaṃśesu vrātānu vaktreshu pavaṣṭati vaikūṭtam | "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 (Lakshmī)

15 The commentator says on this verse: Pratyapadyata pratyapadyetāṁ | eka-va- chanam ārsham | "nany" itaṁ pūrvāṁ tatt kāṁ idāṁṁ na suṁritam iti śesah.
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): Elasminn antare Rāmo pratyabudhyata vīryavān | "thiravat satya-yogāchhaś 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 Lākṣmana, whom he supposes to be dead; and ascribes the misfortune to his own bad generalship (v. 18: Imām adya gato 'vasthām mamānāryasya durnayaḥ).

In sect. 50, Vībhishāṇa laments the condition of Rāma and his brother, and the disappointment thereby caused to his own hopes of becoming king of Lāṅka; but is comforted by Sugrīva, who says to him (vv. 21 f.): Rāyjyam prāpyasi dharma-jna Lāṅkāyān neha saṁsayaḥ | Rāvanaḥ saha putreṇa sva-kāmaṁ neha lapsyate | 22. Garuḍā-dhishṭhīhitav etāv ubhau Rāghava-Lakṣmaṇau | tyaktvā mohaṁ badhiśhyet eṣa-gaṇaṁ Rāvanaṁ rage | "Thou, O [prince], well skilled in duty, shalt without doubt obtain sovereignty in Lāṅka; but Rāvana and his son shall not obtain the object of their desire. 22. Both Rāma and Lākṣmaṇa are watched over by Garuḍa: having escaped from their swoon, they shall slay Rāvana with his hosts." Sugrīva, however, proposes to his father-in-law Susheṇa, to remove Rāma and Lākṣmaṇa from the scene of action to Kishkindhā; and promises that he himself will slay Rāvana, his sons and kinsmen, and bring back Sītā, as Indraj recovered the lost Sīrī (24 f. : Saha śurair hari-gaṇair labdha-saṁjñāv arindamau | gachha tvāṁ bhrātaraṇu grihyā Kishkindhāṁ Rāma-Lakṣmaṇau | abhaṁ tu Rāvanaḥ hātvā sa-putraṁ saha-bāndhavam | Mathilim anayishyāmi. Saśkapo nashiṁ iha Sīriyam)." 17

Susheṇa, 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 Brīhāsparśaḥ 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

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16 Mahā-bala-yuktavat | 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 Garūḍa 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.—

Vāyuḥ kare vacho vravīt | Rāma Rāma mahābahu atmānaṁ smara vai hridā | Nārāyaṇas tvam bhagavān Rākshasārthe vatūritaḥ | smara sarpa-bhujāṁ devaṁ Vainateyam mahābalam | sa sarpa-bandhād ghoṣaṁ tu yuvāṁ sammochayishyati | sa tasya vachanaṁ śrutāḥ Rāghavo Rāghunandanaḥ | sasmāra Garuḍaṁ devam bhujagnānāṁ bhayaṁvaham | “Then Vāyu, approaching him, spoke this word in his ear: ‘Rāma, Rāma, great-armed, recollect thyself in thy heart: thou art the divine Nārāyaṇa, who hast descended [to earth] on account of the Rākshasas. Call to mind the snake-devouring god, the strong Vainateya (the bird Garūḍa); he shall deliver you twain from the dreadful bonds of the serpents.’ Hearing Vāyu’s words, Rāma called to mind the god Garūḍa, 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 Garūḍa, is represented as inquiring, and consequently, as being ignorant, who his benefactor is, although, according to Gorresio’s edition, he had just before called Garūḍa 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 Garūḍa: 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, 17 ff.):

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40. Tejo vīryam balaṁ chanjaḥ utsāhaṁca mahāguṇaḥ | pradarsanancha buddhiśca smṛitiś cha dviguna: 19 tayoh | tadb utthāpya mahātejah Garuḍo Vāsavo pana hu, ubhau cha sesajya hriṣṭo Rāma'ś āśāūmā ṣhā (bha: | bhavat-prasādād vyaśanām Rāvaṇi-prabhavam mahat | upāyena vyati-krāntau śīgṛhau cha balinau kṛitaḥ | yathā tātām Daśarathōḥ yathā 'jancha pitāmaham | tathā bhavantam āśāya hṛidayam me prāsidati |

44. Ko bhavān rūpa-sampanno divya-srag-anulepanaḥ (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 Garuḍa, having touched and saluted the descendants of Kakutstha, soothed with his hands their faces brilliant as the moon. Touched by Garuḍa, their wounds closed up, and their bodies became speedily sleek and of a beautiful colour. 40. Their fire, strength, force, vigour, and energy became many degrees greater, and their insight, understanding, and memory, were doubled. The powerful Garuḍa raised up and embraced those two [princes] resembling Indra; and Rāma, delighted, thus addressed him: ‘By thy favour, and through thy appliances, we have quickly got over the great calamity inflicted by the son of Rāvaṇa, 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, 20 distinguished by beauty, adorned with celestial garlands, and unguents?’” etc.

19 In his remarks on vv. 40, 41, the commentator, in the Bombay ed, explains this as follows: Dviguna Vainateya-spāsyat purva-tyo adhiṅka | atra anyair devair avatīrva bhagavato Rāmaśya mūla-mūraṇe ounayā upakāraḥ sampūdito Garuḍena tu sva-rūpataḥ eva iti bodhyam | . . . “Though latterly great, their insight, etc., became doubled from the touch of Garuḍa. Here it is to be understood that the assistance was rendered by the command of the divine Rāma, the root [of all things] by other gods descending to the earth, but by Garuḍa in his own form.”

20 In his remarks on this verse, the same commentator says: “Ko bhavān” ity ayaṁ praśna: ’pi manimayya-sārīropchita-ṣa, vṛ̣hāraḥ eva tat-satyata-pratyāparārthah | atra Rāma-sampīdgaścānām-paryantam paksya-ṣa, ṛ uñca-γatiya samnīdhi-mūtraṇa nāga-bandhanaṁca nirasya Rāghava-sparsāṇadī-artheḥ puruṣāḥkaraṇa eva uvaḥsyā- | tāvān iti bodhyam | “This question ‘who art thou?’ also harmonizes with [Rāma’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 Rāma’s human character the entire narrative from [Garuḍa’s] appearance in the form of a bird, his removal, by his mere proximity, of the fetters of the snakes, and his touching Rāma, and ending with his near approach to the latter,” etc.
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 Indra. He warns him that in dealing with the trachorous Rākshasas he must proceed warily, and finally assures him that he shall slay Rāvana and recover Sītā; and then departs after walking round and embracing him (v. 60: Pradakṣinaṁ tataḥ kṛtvā parishaṇya cha). 21

There is another passage in Gorresio's edition (book vi, sect. 33) in which it is related that after the fall of Praḥasta, one of the Rākshasas, Mandodāri, Rāvana'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 mānusya-mātro 'sau Rāmo Daśarathatūnajāh | ekena yena vai pūrcam bahavo rākṣasāḥ 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 Rāvana with an iron lance given to the latter by Brahmā (v. 105–7); but that when Rāvana tried to lift his fallen foe, he was unable (v. 109 f.): Himavān Mandaro Merus traṅgkāṃ vā saḥamaraḥ | sakyaṃ bhujābhyaṃ uddhartum na śakyo Bharatānusajñaḥ | saktyāḥ brahātya | Śūnmitris tādito 'pi stvāntare | Vishnoḥ amimāṇṣya-bhāgam ātmānaṁ pratyانب marat | "Himavat, Mandara,

21 From this last circumstance the commentator infers the divine nature of Rāma. His words are: Pradakṣinaṁ kṛtvā iti anena dīya-devatāvatāro Rāmaḥ iti sarvō pākṛita-kapīṁ 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 Brahmadeva, recollected himself to be an incomprehensible portion of Vishnu.22 Similar words are again ascribed to him in v. 120: *Vishnor bhāgam amālmasyam ātmānam pratyayumsmaran.* 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. 88 are *Vishnor achintyo yo bhāgo mānushaṁ deham ācīthitaḥ | “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: *Amoghaya Bhrama-dattaya stānántare āhataḥ Saumitrī Vīṣṇuḥ amālmasyaṁ niśāṣmasya Vishnuḥ-bhāgatavantam iyattayā chintaytum āsakyaṁ vā Vishnuḥ bhāgam ātmānam pratyayumsmarat avamāvat| na hi śīrṣaya śvaṁ hinasty ity āśayena Brahmaḥ-sakti-mūlaṁ (?) trāṇārtham bhagavat-tejo ‘ṁśaḥ eva aham asmi iti dhyātavān| nāta-vad angikrīta-manusyatvaśya itaravīṁ śrīdhara-pratity-artha-parāṁ na sarvādaṁ tathā dhyānam| evaṁ cha Brahmaḥ-bhāvanāya Lakṣmaneṇa sava-kārūrasya garīyastvaṁ āpīṭidam ity uktam bhavati| "Being struck on the breast with the unfailing (dart) given by Brahmadeva, 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 reference 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: *Idaṁ cha bhakta-mātra-sugrahavatvam bhagavato bhagavad-avatāroจน cha svabhāva-siddham eva iti bodhyam| evaṁ cha Rāma-Lakṣmanayor ajñāna-saktiṁataṁ-tātpratyataṁ bhāsamanāṁ vachanāṁ mānusha-veśha-nirvahana-mātra-parāṁ iti bodhyam| tad uktam Bhagavate | "Mṛtyu-vatāras tv iha mṛtya-sikṣaṁṣan raksha-badāhyāvina na kevalāṁ vibhoḥ| kuto ‘nyathā syuh ramataḥ sve ‘ātmanaḥ Sītā-kriyāni vyaśānaṁ śvarasya|! "This capability of being taken up by a devoted person alone is to be understood as resulting from the nature of the Deity and of His incarnations. And so it is to be understood that the expressions which seem to ascribe incomprehensibility of ignorance to Rāma and Lakshmana are only intended to serve the purpose of carrying out Vīṣṇu 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.v. sīkṣaṇa), ‘The Lord’s incarnation as a man on this earth was meant for the instruction of men, and had 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?’"
Appendix.

(fifty-ninth, Bombay ed.) Hanumat tells Rama to mount on his back, as Vishnu on that of Garutmat or Garuda (Vishnur yathā Garutmantam āruhya); and in verse 125, Rama is said to have rushed on Ravana as Vishnu rushed on Vairochana (Vairochanāṁ iva kruddho Vishnur ityādi).

In the same sect. (59, 135 ff., Bombay ed.) it is related that Ravana was defeated by Rama, but spared, and sent back to Lanka. After his return he thus speaks (sect. 60, v. 5 ff.): Sarvāṁ tat khalu me moghaṁ yat taptam paramaṁ tapaḥ | yat saṁlāno Mahendrena mānushena vinirjītāḥ. 6. Idam tad Brahmano ghoraṁ vākyam māṁ abhyupasthitāṁ. “mānushēbhya vijānīhi bhayaṁ tvam iti tat tathā | 7. Deva-dānavagandharvair yaksha-rākshasa-pannagaiḥ | abadhyatvam mayā proktam mānushēbhya na yāchitam” | 8. Tam imanī mānusham manye Rāmaṁ Daśarathātmajam | Ikshvāku-kula-jātena Anaranayena yat purā | “Utpatsyati hi mad-vāṁ śa purusho rākshasadham | yas tvāṁ sa-putraṁ sāmātyam sa-balaṁ sāśva-sārathim | 10. Nihānisyati sangrāme tvāṁ kulādhana durmate” | saptōḥ ham Vedavatya cha yathā sū dharmātī purā | 11. Seyaṁ Sitā mahābhāgā jātā Janaku-nandini | Uма Nandīścaras chāpi Rambha Varuṇa-kanyakā | 12. Yathoktās tan mayā prāptān na nityāḥ rishi-bhāṣhitam | etād eva samāgamyā yatnam kartum ihārathā | “All the extreme austerity that I have undergone is then, since

23 See Wilson's Vishnu Purāṇa, p. 371: “Whose (Sambhūta's) son was Anaranya, who was slain by Rāvana in his triumphant progress through the nations” (tito 'naryas | tāṁ Rāvaṇo dīg-vijāye 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 Rāmāyaṇa, is referred to.

The story of Anaranya is, however, told in the Uttara Kānda of the Rāmāyaṇa, section 19. Dushkhāpta (sic), Suratha, Gāḍhi, Gaya, Purūravas (though, as the commentator remarks, they lived at different periods [bhīna-bhīna-kūla-vartino 'pi Duskhatādayāyaḥ svā-svā-kāle Rāvaṇam prati jītata-vādaiṁ vara-dānād ukta-vantaḥ], yet they all in their own times) submitted, without fighting, acknowledging themselves conquered, to Rāvana on his victorious march through the world in consequence of the boon Brahmah had given to him (v. 5). Anaranya, a descendant of Ikshvāku, and king of Ayodhyā, however, when cauṣṭ 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 Rāvana triumphs over his prostrate foe, the latter says that he has been vanquished, not by him, but by fate, and that Rāvana is only the instrument of his overthrow (v. 26); and he predicts that Rāvana should one day be slain by his descendant Rāma (v. 29: Utpatsyate kule hy' asminn Ikshvākāṁ mahātmanāṁ | Rāmo Daśarathir nāma yas te prāṇān harisyatu).

Yathoktavantaḥ . . . . yad uchus tan mayā iti pāthāntaram | 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 Anaraṇya of the race of Ikśvāku; ‘There shall arise among my posterity a man, who shall slay thee in battle, thou lowest of Rākṣasas, and wicked wretch, along with thy scās, 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, Nandīśvara, Rambhā, and the daughter of Varuṇa25 (Punjikasthālā) uttered, has befallen me. What has been spoken by rishi26 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 Uttarā Kāṇḍa, and I shall supply an abstract of them here. That of Anaraṇya 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 Himālaya, 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 (vāṁmayī kanyā) of Vṛhaspati’s son, the rishi Kuṭahvāja, sprung from him during his constant study of the Veda. The gods, Gandharvas, 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-yuktāh uchyante | “The word “rishi” denotes persons distinguished by austerity.” It would thus refer to Vedavatī and others.
APPENDIX.

459

to Vishnu, the lord of the world, whom he desired for his son-in-law (v. 12: Pitru tu mama jāmātā. Vishnuḥ kila sūreśvarah | abhipretas tri-lokeśas tasmān nāgasya me pītā | dātum ichhati tasmāi tu). This resolution provoked Sambhu, king of the Daityas, who slew her father, Kuśadhyāja, while sleeping, on which her mother (whose name is not given), after embracing his body, entered into the fire (15). Vedavatī then proceeds (v. 16): Tuto manoratham satyam pitur Nārāyaṇam prati | haromiti tam evāham ṛādayena samudvāhe | iti pratijnām āruhya charāmi vipulām tapah | . . . . 18. Nārāyaṇo mama pitir na tu anyah purushottamāt | āśraye niyamam ghorām Nārāyaṇa-paripsayā | “In order that I may fulfill this desire of my father in respect of Nārāyaṇa, I wed him with my heart.” 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; prays 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 commend 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.): Yasmāt tu dharṣhitā chāhām tvayā pūpātmanā vane | tasmāt tava badhārtham hi sūmupatsatyā aham (sūmupatsyati sūmupatsye ity arthaḥ) | Comm. punah | nahi śakyah striyā hantum purushah pūpa-nīśchayah | śāpe tvayi mayotsrishtē tapasaś cha vyayo bhuvet | yadi tv asti mayā kinchit kritam dattam hutaṁ tathā | tasmāt tv aṣyoni- jā sādhvi bhavaṁ dharmānā su trapsa | evam uktvā praviṣṭaḥ sā jvalitaḥ jātavedasam | pāpāta cha divo dīvyā rājha-vrīshthī samantataḥ | saishū Janaka-rājasya prasūtā tanyā prabho | tavā bhāryā mahābhāho Vishnuḥ tvam hi sanātanah | pūrvaṁ krodha-hataḥ śatrur yayā satru nihatas tvayā | upṣrayītīvā saḷābaḥ tava viryam 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 Vedavati in the Krita age, v. 38) has been born (in the Treta 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: Aneha Sitā eva Rāvana-badhe mukhyaṁ kāraṇam Rāme tu hantritvam āropitam iti sūcitam | "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: Aneha Sitāyāḥ Lakshmitvāṁ sphuṭatam evoktam | tad uktam Parāśareṇa "Rāghavavate 'bhavat Sitā Rukmini Krishṇa-janmani" iti | "By this it is clearly affirmed that Sitā was Lakṣmī. Parāśara says: 'In the god's life as Rāma, she became Sitā, and in his birth as Krishṇa [she became] Rukmini.'"

I have not noticed in the Uttara Kāṇḍa any separate legend about Umā, but the commentator28 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 Saravana, 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 Nandiśvara, 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-jāpah | Kailāśa-sikhara-chālana-velayāṁ Rāvanasya stri-nimittam naraṇam ity evam-rūpam ity āhuḥ | "They say that at the time when he shook the summit of Kailāśa, a curse was pronounced on Rāvana that he should die on account of a woman."
demands who Sānkara (Mahādeva) is, and laughs contemptuously at Nandiśvara, who has the face of a monkey. Nandiśvara, who was another body ( aparā tapyah) of Śiva, 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 Rāvana’s race (v. 17: Tasmād mad-virya-samyuktah mad-rūpa-sama-tejasah | utpatsyanti badhārthān hi kulasya tava vānarat). Nandiśvara adds that he could easily kill Rāvana now, but that he has been already slain by his own deeds (v. 20). Rāvana 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 Śiva continually sports on that spot, and boasting that he must now be made to know his danger. Rāvana 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 tudā ślīṣṭā Mahēsvaram). Śiva, however, presses down the mountain with his great toe, and along with it crushes the arms of Rāvana, who utters a loud cry, which shakes all creation. Rāvana’s counsellors then exhort him to propitiate Mahādeva, the blue-throated lord of Umā, who on being landed will become gracious. Rāvana accordingly praises Mahādeva with hymns, and weeps for a thousand years. Mahādeva is then propitiated (v. 35), lets go Rāvana’s arms, says his name shall be Rāvana 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 Rambā is narrated in the twenty-sixth section of the Uttara Kāṇḍa. Rāvana goes with his army to Kailāsa, to conquer the gods. He there sees the Rambā, the most beautiful of all the Apsaras, 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). Rāvana says the Apsaras 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 (chakshur-ādind.iva-gaṇāṁ sarvan | Comm.) with water, launches the following curse against Rāvana: v. 54. Akām ā tena yasmāt tvam balād bhūḍre pradhārshita | 55. Tasmāt sa
I have not noticed in the Uttara Kāṇḍa any story about the daughter of Varuṇa, but the commentator on the text (vi. 60, 11) explains the allusion to her thus: Varuṇa-kanyākā Punjikasthālā tan-nimittam brahma-śāpah stri-dhārene maraṇa-rūpah | “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 Kumbhakarna (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. Kumbhakarna 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: Mānushān no bhayaṁ rājan tumulāṁ samprabādhate | ityādi); when he assures them that he will destroy their foes, and himself drink the blood of Rāma and Lakshmanā. After drinking two thousand jātras 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. Kumbhakarna, 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. Kumbhakarna then promises (vv. 30 ff. of the same section) to destroy the enemies of his brother. But before this last speech of Kumbhakarna, which is given in the forty-second section of Gorresio’s recension, that text introduces another speech of...
the same personage, which occupies vv. 30–53 of the fortieith 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 Kumbhakarna 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.): Evam ukte tu vacane Brahmā devān uvācha ha | abadhyatvam maya dattam deva-daiyaiśca rākshasaiḥ | māṇushebhya bhayaṁ tasya vānarebhyaścha devataḥ | surā-sura-sūmeḥ'pi badhas tasya na vidyate | tasmād ēśa Harīr devaḥ padma-nābhas tricikramaḥ | putro Daśarathasyaṁ tu chaturbhūṁ sanātanaṁ | bhavantu vasudhāṁ gatvā Vishnur asya mahātmmanah | vānarāṇāṁ tanum kritvā sahāyatvam karishyatha | “When [the priest of the gods Vrīhaspati] 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 (Vishnū), 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 Vishnū.’” Kumbhakarna says that Vishnū 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 Vishnū (sect. 41, 2 ff., ed. Gorrr.): Ko’ṣau Vishnur iti khyāto gasya tvam tāe bibhyase | devate na namasye taman tathā nyān devata-gaṇaṁ | manushya-yataṁ gate tasmin kim bhayan tvam upasthitam | nityam samāra-bhītās tu māṇushaṁ saṁmahābala | khādayiteva tu tān pārvaṁ katham pashchād namāmy aham | praṇamya māṇushaṁ Rāmaṁ Sitām dabvā tu tasya vai |
hāsya-bhūtas tu lokānām anuvāyāyīm prīṣṭhataḥ | Rāghavāṁ tam mahā-bhāho dīna-rūpo 'tha dāsa-vat | riddhiṁ cha paśyamāno 'syā kathaṁ śāksh-yām jīvītum | hṛtvā tasya purā bhāryām mānāṁ kṛītvā sudārunām | prāyamī Rāvaṇo Rāmam eṣa tu budḍhi-mārṇayaḥ | yadi Rāmaḥ svayam Vishnuḥ Lakṣmaṇo 'pi Satākrațaḥ | Suṇrivas Tryambakāḥ sākṣhīt svayam Brahmaca tu Āmbavān | aho śastraṁ adhitām-yāya tu budḍhir idrīśi | atītāśramaṁ Rāmaṁ yo nāmaskartum ichhāsi | devatāṁ yāh parītyajya mānushiṁ yonim āśritaḥ | asmān hantum khitāyaḥ sa sandheyaḥ katham mayā | yadi ष Rāghavo Vishkhar evaktaṁ tu śrotam āgataḥ | devatānāṁ hālāṁ tu pravishṭo mānushiṁ tanum | sa vānaraṇāṁ rājānaṁ Sugri-vāṁ śaṇaṇāṁ gataḥ | aho 'syā sadyaśaṁ sakhyaṁ tiryagyonya-gataiḥ saha | vīrya-hīnas tu kīṁ Vishnuḥ yaḥ śritaḥ riksḥa-vānarān | uthāvā vīrya-hīna 'sau yena pūrṛam mahāsuraḥ | vāmanāṁ rūpam āsthyāya yācitās tripadāḥ padam | Balis tu dikṣhito yajne tena tvāṁ sakhyaṁ ichhāsi | yena dattā mahā sarvaḥ sa-sāgara-vānāṇavā | upacāra-kṛitā pūrṇam sa bhaddho yajna-dikṣhitaḥ | upakāri hataṁ tena so 'smān rakṣati vairiṇaḥ | yadā me nirjītāḥ devāḥ svargāṁ gatvā tvayā saha | tādā kim nāsti Vishnutvaṁ tasya devasya Rākṣhase | śāṃpratāṁ kutaḥ āyataḥ sa Vishnuḥ yasya bibhyase | sārīrā-rakṣāṇārthāya brīśhe tvāṁ ēkyaṁ idrīṣam | nāyaṁ kāvyaṁ tu kālaḥ kālo yoddhum niśāchara | svāmyam Pitāmahāt prāptaṁ trailokyaṁ rasa-gaṁ kritaṁ | Rāghavam prānāme kusumād hīna-vīrya-parākramam | tad gachha śaṇyāyāṁ tvam piva tvam vigā-jevaraḥ | śayamānaṁ na hānyāt tvāṁ Rāghavo Lakṣmaṇas tathā | ahaṁ Rāmam badhisyaṁ Sugrīvanca sa-Lakṣmaṇam | vānaraṇāṁsa hanishyāṁ tato devān mahāraṇe | Vishnuncaiva budhishyāmi ye cha Vishnvo-anuvāyinuḥ | gachha gachhasva tat kṣetraṁ chiraṁ jiva sukhi bṛvā | bhrātaṁ tu evam uktvā 'sau Rāvanāṁ Kālā-choditaḥ | sāvalepaṁ sa-garjancha punar vachanām abravit | janāmi Sitāṁ dharāṇi-prasūṭāṁ janāmi Rāmam Madhuṣū- danarcha | etad hi jāne tv aham asya badhyas tevākṛitaṁ me Janakāṭma- jaṣāḥ 30 | na kūmaṁchaiva na krodhāḥ dharāṁ Janakāṭmājām | nihato gantum ichhāmi tad Vishnoḥ parasṛṣam padam | 30 A verse resembling this in most of its clauses had previously occurred in a similarly defiant speech of Rāvana's in sect. 34, 7, of Gorresio's recension: Jānaimi Sitāṁ Janaka-prasūṭāṁ jānāmi Rāmam Madhūsūdanaṁ cha | Etaṅ hi jānāmy eham asya badhyas tathāpi sandhiṁ na karomy anena | "I know Sitā to be Janaka's daughter, and Rāma to be Madhūsūdana; 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 dharanī-prasūṭi applied to Sitā, I may quote these lines from the Rāmāyaṇa (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 Jambavat were Brahmā—O thou hast [well] studied the Sutras, 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—

Janaka says of his daughter: Attha yē kriṣhataḥ kṣetraṁ tāngalād utthitā tatah | 14. Kṣetraṁ śodhayatā labdha nāmā Sītéti viśrutā | bhūtalād utthitā sā tu eva- 

vārdhata namātīnā | etc. 13. "Now as I was ploughing my field, there sprang from the plough (a girl), (14) obtained by me while cleansing my field, and known by name as Sītā (the furrow). This girl, sprung from the earth, grew up as my daughter." In the next verse she is styled ayonija, "not born from the womb." The commentator quotes the following lines from the Padma-purāṇa on the same subject: Attha lokāntari Lakṣmiṇi Janakasya pāre svatah | endencies kṣetre hâthākāte tāre chottara--phālgune | ayonijā nāme-kārā hātārka-satā-sannihā | Sītā-mukhe

samutpānna hālā-hāvēna sundari | Sītā-mukhodhavanā Sītā ity asayai nāma chōkarot | tato bhūd aurasī tasya Urmilā nāma kānakā | iti | "Now Lakshmi, the mistress of the worlds, was born by her own will in the city of Janaka, in a beautiful field opened up by the plough, under the star in the second half of the month Phālguna. She sprang from the womb of no female, with a lotus in her hand, like a hundred young suns, but arose from the opening of the furrow, beautiful, in the form of a child. He gave her the name of Sītā, because she sprang from the opening of the furrow (sītā). Then his daughter Urmilā was born by ordinary generation."
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 Vishn? Whence has this Vishn 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, Râkshas, but for fighting. I have obtained dominion from Brahmâ; the three worlds are subject to me; why should I bow down before Râma who is destitute of energy and valour? Go, therefore, to thy couch; drink, free from disquiet. Neither Râma nor Lakshmana will kill thee when thou art sleeping. I shall slay Râma, and Sugrîva, and Lakshmana, and the monkeys, and then the gods also in a great battle. I shall kill Vishn too, and all Vishn’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, Râvana said again: ‘I know Sitâ to be sprung from the earth; I know Râma to be Madhusûdana. 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 Vishn.’

Compare the quotation from the Vishn Purâna, given above, regarding Sîsupâla, pp. 215 ff., note 212.

The change of tone in this last short speech is remarkable. The defier of Vishn 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 Râvana’s death, Mandodari, 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 mânuska-nâkshena ‘Râne na yudhi nirjitaḥ na vyapratrapas rûjan kim idam râkshasevara| 6. Katham trailokyam âkramya šrîyâ viryena chânvitam | avishahyaṁ jaghâna tvâm mânusho vana-gocharah | 7. Mânuskâhâm avishaye charaṭah kâmarûpinah | vinâsas tava Rûmeṇa saṁyuge nopapadyate | 8. Na chaitat

31 Such is the sense—apparently not a very suitable one—of the words.
karma Rāmasya śraddadhāni chāmu-mukhe | sarvataḥ samupetasya tava tenābhimarshaṇam | 9. Athāvā Rāma-rūpena Kṛītāntaḥ svayam āgataḥ | māyāṁ tava vināśayā vidhāyapratītarkitaṁ | 10. Athāvā Vāsavena tvāṁ dharshto 'si mahābāja |.11. Vāsasya tu kā saktis tvāṁ drasāṁturn api samyuge | Mahābalaṁ mahāvīryaṁ deva-satrum mahayuṣam | 12. Vyaktam esha mahāyogī pāramātmaṁ sanātanaṁ | an-adī-madhyo-na-nidhano mahatpaḥ paramo mahān | 13. Tamasah paramo dhātā śankha-chakra-gadādharaḥ | 14. Sṛivatsa-vakshāṁ nitya-śīrṣa ajayyaḥ śāsvato dhruvaḥ | mānushaṁ rūpaṁ āsthāya Vīṣṇuḥ satya-parākramah | 15. Sarvaīḥ pari-vritto devair vānaratvan upāgataiḥ | sarva-lokeśvarāṁ śrimān lokānāṁ hīla-kānyāyā | sa-rākṣasas-parivāraṁ deva-satrum bhavyaṁ | 16. Indriyāṇi purā jītvā jītanām trībhucanāṁ trayā | snaradbhīr āva tad vairam indriyair eva nirjītaḥ | 17. Yādaiva hi Janasthāne Rākṣasair bahubhir vītaḥ | Kharas tu nihato bhrātā tādā Rāmo na mānushaḥ | "5. Art 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 (Kṛītāntaḥ) 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 (Mahāyogī), 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 sṛivatsa on his breast, who

32 Svādhvīkāsa-rvya-sakti-yuktaḥ | Comm.
33. This knowledge of the truth, says the commentator, was derived by Mandodarī from the divine favour (satyaṁ evam Mandodarījānte Bhagavaṁ-kripayā).
34. The commentator does not say in what sense the word mahat should be taken.
35. The commentator says that tamasah paramah means prakṛiteḥ pravartakeḥ, "he who causes the activity of Prakṛiti (or matter)." Instead of tamasah, he adds, some read tapasah.
enjoys perpetual prosperity, the invincible, everlasting, unchanging, Vishnū, 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],\(^3\) 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 Sītā, etc.] overcome by thy senses, which, as it were, remembered\(^3\) [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."

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. Athava Rāmega-rūpeṇa Vishnūcha svayam āgataḥ | tava nāsāya māyābhīḥ praviśyāṇupalakshitāḥ | 10. Yadaiva hi Janasthāne rākshasair bahubhir vritah | Kharaś tava hato bhrātā tadaivūsau na mānushāḥ | “Or Vishnū 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 Rāmāyaṇa made no allusion to Rāma being an incarnation of Vishnū, it might at first sight seem as if the ninth and tenth verses of the Bombay text,

\(^3\) It is necessary (with the commentator, who says hatavān iti śesah) to supply the words in brackets, or some others of a similar tenor, in order to make sense.

\(^3\) This clause the commentator explains thus: “Purū” Bhāgarad-uddeśena tapo-nushthānā-kāle | “tad vacraṁ” svā-jaya-nimittaṁ vacraṁ smaradbhir indriyair akarma-pravṛtti-sampādānena nīrijitaḥ |
which represent Death (Kritānta), or Indra, as taking the form of Rāma, were more genuine than the corresponding verse of Gorresio's edition, which declares that Viṣṇu assumed the form of that hero. In this case, verses 12 ff. of the Bombay edition, which represent Rāma 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 Rāma'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 Viṣṇu, but specifies the birth of Śita as the means whereby Rāvanā is to be destroyed. After the Rākshasas had been defeated by Rāma and driven back into Lanka, 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 vā yadi vā Viṣṇur Mahendro vā Satakratuḥ hanti no Rāma-rāpeṇa yadi vā svayam Antakaḥ.
Hata-pravirāḥ Rāmeṇa nirāsāḥ jivite vayam | apasyanto bhayasyāntam anāthaḥ vilapāmahe.
Rāma-hastād Daśagrīvah śiro datta-mahāvaraḥ | idam bhyam mukhyaḥoraṁ samutpannam na būhyate.
Taṁ na devaḥ na gandharvāḥ na piśāchāḥ na rākshasāḥ | upasṛishtam pṛcitrātum śaktāḥ Rāmeṇa samyuge.
Utpātāścāpi drisyante Rāvaṇasya rāne rāne | kathayanti hi Rāma Rāvaṇasya nibarkhaṇam |

38 Apaśyanto 'paśyantasyah | Comm.
39 Upasṛishtam hastum ārabdhām | Comm.
30. Pitâmahena prîtena deva-dânava-râkshasaih | Râvanaśyahâyam
37. Eshâ devaih prayuktâ tu kshud yathâ dânavân purâ | bhaksha-yishyati naḥ sarvân râkshasa-ghna sa-râvañān | 38. Râvanaśyaparitaṇâna durvinitasya durmateh | ayaṁ nishtânako 43 ghoraḥ sokena samabhiiplutaḥ | 39. Tan na pâsyâmahe loke yo naḥ saraṇa-do bhavet | Râghavendra-parsish-\[tănâm kalena yugakshaye | 25. ‘Either Rudra, or Vishnû, or the great Indra Satakratu, or Death himself, slays us in the form of Râma. 26. Having had our heroes destroyed by Râma, we despair of life. Seeing no end of our apprehension, we lament, deprived of our protectors. 27. The heroie Daśagrîva (Râvana), who had received a great boon [from Brahmâ] does not perceive this great cause of alarm which [comes] from the hand of Râma. 28. Neither Gods, nor Gandharvas, nor Pišâchas, nor Râkshasas, are able to deliver him when assailed by Râma in fight. 29. Portents, too, regarding Râvana are seen in every battle, which foretell his destruction by Râma. 30. Pitâmaha, gratified, granted to Râvana security against Gods, Dânava and Râkshasas, 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: Dânavaḥ râkshasaḥ cha bhayena prabhritâh devabhoyo bhayaṁ bhûdrânhâh eva vicharishyante | devâḥ svatah parato va 'smân pridyishyante ity arthaḥ | “The Dânava and Râkshasas shall roam about entertaining fear of the gods: viz. that the gods themselves, through others, would distress them.” This verse is thus given in Gorresio’s edif. on (74, 36 f.): Adya-prabhriti lokânsa bhûtaḥ bhaya-varjitaḥ | bhayaśartam te punar ita vicharish-\[yante râkshasaḥ.

41. “Purâ” para-kale | devâḥ dânava-nâdistham prayuktâ kshud yathâ dânavaṁ harati sma | Comm. “As formerly,” in a former Kalpa, Hunger, being appointed by the gods for the destruction of the Dânava, carried them off.”

42 Apanitena anayena | Comm.

43 Nishtânako nâsâḥ | Comm.
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 Danavas and Rākshasas shall roam continually through the three worlds, influenced by fear.' 35. But all the gods,44 with Indra at their head, assembled and propitiated Mahādeva, whose banner is a bull, and who destroyed Triśura (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 slayer45 of Rākshasas, being commissioned by the gods, shall [now] devour all of us, including Rāvana; as Hunger formerly [devoured] the Danavas. 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 Devavati, extracted above (p. 458 ff.) from the Uttara Kānda. 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 Kharā, 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: Ecam Brahmanaḥ prāṣādāt sabhayvatvā-mātram prāptam | saṁhārādhiḥkṛta-Rudra-prasādeva tu nāsiḥ evāṃkāsm ity āhuh | "Thus by the favour of Brahmā, the gods only obtained that the [Danavas, 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 (sa esā Sītā eva ity āhuh). Gorresio's text has Saśīḥa āiva-prasvīśatī tu kshudhitā Janakātmāṇā, etc.
antare devā śāh rāṇaśāh saha sangatāh | dundubhiśchāhbinighnantāh
pushpa-varshaṁ samantataḥ | 30. Rāmasyopari saṁhriśtaṁ vacarśhur
vismitāṁ tadā | ardhasaṁkārā-muṁrtēna Rāmeṇa-nilītaṁ śaṁhāh | 31.
Chaturdāsā saharāṅi rakṣhasāṁ kāma-rūpinām | Khara-Dūṣhāna-
mukhyānāṁ nīhatāṁ mahārāmīḍhe | 32. Aho bata nāhat kurnā, Rāmasya
vidītāṁ mānaḥ | aho viṁyam aho dārdhyām Vishnu eva hi drīṣyate | 33.
Itv evam utkā te sarve yāyur devāh yatāgataṁ | 27. “Burnt up by
the fire of the arrow, Khara fell like Antaka, who was formerly con-
sumed by Rudra in the Svetâ (white) forest." 46. He fell like Vṛitra
smitten by the thunderbolt, like Namūchī by the foam, 47 or like Bala
by the lightning of Indra. 29. At this moment the gods, joined with
the Chāraṇas, beating kettle-drums, delighted, (30) rained on Rāma
a shower of flowers all round, and [said] in astonishment: ‘In a
muhūrta and a half (two hours) (31) fourteen thousand Rāḳḥaṇaśas,
changing their shapes at will, headed by Khara and Dūṣhāna, have
been slain by Rāma with sharp arrows in a great fight. 32. O what
a mighty exploit of Rāma, who knows himself! 48 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 Rāma 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 rishiś are introduced as [among

46 On this legend the commentator informs us as follows: Andhakāsuraḥ Svetā-
ranaye Rudrenā hataḥ iti purāya-prasiddham | 30. “Svetāranye yathā ‘ntakah
iti prachurah pāthaḥ | tatra Kauveri-tira-vartini Svetāranye Mārkaṇḍeya-chirajvi-
vāya Antaka-saṁhāro Rudrenā kṛitaḥ iti taṁ-māhātmye prasiddhīḥ | Kaurme tu
uttarakhaṇdo Svetasya rājarṣeḥ paraṁsaivasya Kālāñjare parvate tapasya abhi-
ratasya māraṇaṁ āgataśya Antakasya Sivasya vāma-pāda-praḥāreṇa saṁhāraṁ kṛitaḥ
iti śaṭṭhreśe ‘dhvaye uktam | ‘The asura Andhaka was slain by Rudra in the
Sveta forest, as is well known from the Purāṇas. . . . The reading, ‘as Antaka in
the Sveta forest,’ is frequently met with. Regarding him it is told in the Glorifica-
tion of Mārkaṇḍeya that, to prolong the life of that saṁc, Antaka (the Ender, Death)
was destroyed by Rudra. But in the latter part of the Kūmār-purāṇa, sect. 36, it
is related that Antaka, who had come to kill the royal rishi Svetā, an eminent votary
of Siva, who was addiction himself to austerities on the Kālāñjara mountain, was
destroyed by a blow of Siva’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 Vītītāmānaḥ. This epithet is not explained by the commentator.
other things] applauding Rāma for displaying the qualities of a Kshatriya (dharmajna vardhase dishtfä kshatradharmena 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 (jayāśirbhiḥ), 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 celestials' cars" (nmaśchakre vinānasthānādrishtvā'dēvēdivaukasah).

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 Aksharādhikyam ārsham | Comm.
APPENDIX.

suchir bhûtvâ dhanur âdâya viryâvän 30. Râvana mây preksya hrîshťatmâ Jayârthâm samupâgamat | sarva-yathena mahatâ vritis tasya badhe bhalvat |

31. Atha râvir avidad nirikshya Râmana mudita-manâh paramam prâhrîshyamâga | niścharapati-sankshayam viditvâ su-râ-ga-na-madhya-gato vachas tvareti |

"The divine Agastyà then beholding [Râma] fatigued with the conflict, standing anxious in the battle, and in his front Râvana, who had drawn near to the combat, [Agastyà, I say], (2) who had arrived to see the conflict, joining the gods, and coming near to Râma, said: 3. 'Râma, Râma, great-armed, hear the eternal mysterious [prayer], by which, my son, continually muttering it,—(4) the holy Âditya-hṛdiyâ ('heart of the sun'), which destroys all enemies, brings victory, is undeceiving, 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—they shall conquer all thine enemies in battle. 6. Worship the rising Vivasvat, 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 Brahmâ and Vishnu, Sûva and Skanda, Prahâpati, Indra, Kuvera, Kâla (Time), Yama, Soma, and the lord of waters (Varûna), (9) the Pitris, Vasus, Sûdhyas, Āsvins, Manu, Vâyu, Agni, created beings, breath, the former of the seasons, the producer of light, (10) Âditya, Savitri, Sûrya, moving in the sky, Pûshan, the radiant.

50 The commentator will not allow this apprehension to be real: Evam bhaya-nâtanam tan-mulakam Agastyâd upadeśâ-grahantâ lokanugrahâya lokasya jaya-sûdhana-vastu-prakâsanârtham iti tattvam | "The truth is that this acting (or simulation) of fear, and the acceptance of instruction from Agastyà 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 Brahmâ was offended by having this appellation, vaisra, "my son," applied to him by Vishnu. If, then, the poet here intended to represent Râma as possessing a divine nature, he must have conceived of Vishnu as less susceptible than Brahmâ, when he makes Agastyà address him trs.

52 Compare the hymn to Sûrya in the Mahâbh. iii. 166 ff., of which some specimens are given in the fifth volume of this work, p. 161. It is there said, v. 190: Tâm Indram âhus tvam Vishnu tvam Rudras tvam Prajâpatiḥ | tvam Agnis tvam manâh sûkshmaµ prabhûs tvam Brahma sâvatam | "They call thee Indra; thou art Vishnu, Rudra, Prajâpati: thou art Agni, the subtle Mind, thou art the lord, the Eternal Brahma."
of golden hue, 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) Brahmesānāichyutesāya,53 "to the lord of Brahmā, Īṣāna (Sīva), and Adbhuta (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 Rāvāna." 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 Rāvāna 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 Bākshasas, 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 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

53 Brahmesānāichyutesāya sṛṣṭi-jāmāra-sthīti-kartrinām īsāya svāmine "sṛṣṭi-sthity-anta-kā tu bhū Bṛhma-Viṣnun-S'ivātmikām sa sanjñām yāti bhagavān ekāḥ eva Janārdaṇāḥ" iti smṛiteḥ | "To the lord of Brahmā, Īṣāna, and Adbhuta, who are the authors of the creation, destruction, and continuance (of the world); according to the Smṛti text: 'The divine Janārdaṇā above receives the conjoint title of Bṛhma, Viṣnun, and S'īva, 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 dushto va'py adushto va'kim esha rajanicharaḥ | sūkshmann aphy ahitaiṁ kartum mama saktaiṁ kathanchana | piśāchān dānavān yakṣān prithivyāṁ chaiva rākṣaśān | angulya-agrenā tān hanyāṁ ichhan hari-ganesvara | "Whether the Rākṣasa be 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 This mode of expression

54 On this the commentator remarks: Anena sankalpa-siddhir aśiśvaram chīhnam uktam | yady evam asmadādi-sangraho vyarthas tatra-āha "ichhāṁ" iti | svasya nirātiṣaya-mahimāṁ tāttvikān Brahma-bhāvam prakāśikartum ichhan yadi syām tādā tathaiva kuryāṁ | sampatti tu deva-bhāvo-piṣa-vilāsaṁ aśeśhaṁ "abadhyaṁ vam asya maiva dattam" iti tattvāpatanāya sva-divya-bhāvāṁ sva-saktyā eva antardhāya mānusha-mārtya-vyāyāṁ sthityā tad-bhāva-prakātānāya eva Sitā-vigya-prayuktā-rodana-vad bhavārdīśa-sahāya-melanām | vastuto'na svātīrākta-sahā-yaṅtariṇkṣhā mama | manushyāṁ sāṁśāra-marṣāda-jānāpanāṁ tad-eyovahāra-phalam 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 as 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 wept 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
erexpression 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" (sakto 'ham sahasā hantuṁ 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 Uttarā 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 wit-
nesses 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 Brahmad to say that when he (Rāma, i.e. Vishnun), 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 ent-
treated Rāma to assume the function of Preserver, and that the latter
had in consequence become Vishnun, being born as the son of Aēti
(v. 9 f.), and had determined to deliver mankind by destroying Rāvana,
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
Durvasas56 comes to visit Rāma, and when Lakshmana asks him to wait
a little, insists on being introduced into the presence of the former im-
mediately, 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 Rama with Time, enters the palace, and reports the rishi’s message to Rama (v. 9). Rama dismisses Time, comes out, and receives Durvasas, and when the sage has got the food he wished, and departed, Rama reflects with great distress on the words of Time, which require that Lakshmana should die (vv. 10-16). Lakshmana, however (106, 2 ff.), exhorts Rama ‘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.), Rama abandons Lakshmana, (v. 13) who goes to the river Sarayu, suppresses all his senses (nigrihya sarva-srotāmsi), 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). Rama 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.). Rama’s subjects are filled with grief, and say they also will follow him wherever he goes (vv. 9 ff.). Kuśa and Lava, Rama’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 Madhurā, and he also resolves to accompany Rama (108, 1-14); who at length sets out in procession from his capital with all the ceremonial appropriate to the “great departure” (mahā-prasthāna, 109, 1 ff.), silent, indifferent to external objects, and to ease, with Śrī 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 Gāyatrī, the Omkāra, the Vashaṭkāra, by rishis, by earthly divinities (i.e. Brahmans, mahīsurāḥ), by his women, female slaves, old and young, eunuchs (varshavarāḥ), 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. Rama, with all these attendants, comes to the banks of the Sarayu (sect. 110). Brahmā, and all the gods, in innumerable celestial cars, now appear,

57 See Wilson’s Vishnu Purāṇa, vol. iii. p. 318 (Dr. Hall’s ed.).
and all the sky is resplendent 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 Apsarases, Rama enters the waters of the Sarayū; and Brahmā utters a voice from the sky, saying: "Approach, Vishnu; Rāghava, thou hast happily arrived, with thy god-like brothers. Enter whatever body thou pleasest, thine own body as Vishnu, 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, Rama enters the glory of Vishnu (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 sañcānākān). 58

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 (chatuṛvidhāḥ praṇāḥ Rāmaḥ svargāṁ nītrā 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 bhūtāni Rāma Daśarathir babhau | rishīnāṁ devatānāṁ cha mānushānāṁ cha sarvasaḥ), but no reference is made to his being an incarnation of Vishnu. The word iva 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 (Kramena 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 uttaram kechit ślokāḥ “ramante, rātatāṁ tatrā nāribhiṁ bhāsvaram-prabhāḥ”* (v. 50) ity antāḥ ślokāḥ prakṣiptāḥ prāchīna-pustakeshv anupalambhā́d iti Katakāḥ | “Kataka (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-uttaram Bāli-Sugrīvatpattitihāso Rāvaṇasya Svētadvipa-gamanetiḥāsaḥ cha katipayaiḥ sargar Agastyoktilayā kvachit pustakesh dṛisyante | te tu pūrva-sargānte eva Agastyasya svāśrama-gamana-kathād asangatāḥ Kataka-Tīrtha-anādīpitaṁvāḥ cha mayā ’pi na vyākkhyātāḥ | “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 uttaram śvamātur akhyānamī gridhrlokākhyānanceh kvachid dṛisyate | Tīrtha-Katakādy-asprishtatvena prakṣiptam iti na vyākkhyātām | “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. xlvii. 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 Viṣṇu 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, (Rāmapākhyāna) which is told to Yudhishtīra 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. xlvii.): “Among the names here assigned to Viṣṇu some of a sufficiently suspicious character are found, such as that of Kuśa, 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 Rāvana 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 Rāmāyana, 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 Vaiśravaṇa (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 Viśrava, vv. 15884 (tasya kopāt pītā rājan sasarjātmānam ātmanā | sa jajne Viśravāḥ nāma tasyātmārdhena vai dvijāḥ | and again, v. 15889 : Pulastyasya tu yaḥ krodhād ardhadeho 'bhavad muniḥ | Viśravāḥ nāma ityādi). This Viśrava looked upon Vaiśravaṇa with indignation. The latter strove to pacify his father 60 (v. 15890 ff.), and with this view gave him three elegant Rākshasīs to attend on him: Pushpotkaṭā, who had two sons, Rāvana and Kumbhakarna; Mālinī, who bore Vibhīṣaṇa; and Rākā, who bore Khara and Sūrpanakhā. These sons were all valiant, skilled in the Vedas, and observers of religious rites; but perceiving the prosperity of Vaiśravaṇa, they were filled with jealousy. They accordingly (except Khara and Sūrpanakhā) began to practise austerities to propitiate Brahmā, and at the end of a thousand years Rāvana 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). 61 He ordained that Rāvana should have heads and shapes at will, and should be invincible, except by men; that Kumbhakarna, who was influenced by the quality of darkness (tamas), should, according to his request, enjoy long sleep 62 (sa vaivre

60 Viśrava is here meant, although according to v. 15883 ff. Pulastya reproduced himself as Viśrava after the birth of Vaiśravaṇa, and in consequence of the latter having deserted his father in his original form as Pulastya. Vaiśravaṇa means the son of Viśrava, and in v. 15923, Vaiśravaṇa (Kuvera) is said to be the brother of Vibhīṣaṇa, who must have been the son of Viśrava, as his brother Rāvana is called in v. 15930.

61 See above, p. 223 and p. 488, below.

62 This disagrees with the statement in the Rāmāyana (quoted above, p. 462) that he was doomed to long sleep as a curse.
mahātiṃ nidrāṁ tamasā grasta-chetāṇah, v. 15916). Vibhīśaṇa asks that even in the greatest misfortunes he may never meditate any unrighteousness, and that the Brahmā's weapon may become manifest to him without being learned.63 Brahmapromises him immortality. Having obtained the power above described, Rāvana expels Vaiśravaṇa (Kuvera) from Lankā (v. 15920). The righteous Vibhīśaṇa follows his brother64 (v. 15925), Kuvera, who had retired to Gandhamādana (v. 15921). Rāvana having been installed as king, and begun to exercise his power tyrannically, the rishis resort for deliverance to Brahmap (v. 15929 ff.), who promises that as Rāvana could not be killed either by gods or Asuras, the four-armed Viśnu, the chief of

63 Asikshitaṇca bhogavan Brahmāstraṃ pratibhitu 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 Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa below in p. 489. In v. 15897 Vibhīśaṇa is said to be the handsomest of Pulastya's sons (rūpeṇa sarvebhyo 'bhvadhikah), and a protector of righteousness, and practiser of religious rites (dharma-goḍṭa kriyārāthi).

64 In v. 16157 f. Vibhīśaṇa 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 Sugriva, it might appear to be implied that he came from Lankā, as is expressly related in the Rāmāyaṇa, vi. 17, 1, Bombay ed. In Gorr. ed. (Sunḍara Kāṇḍa, 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 Rāvana, Vibhīśaṇa came immediately to Rāma. Gorroso's text adds that after leaving his brother, Vibhīśaṇa first tells his mother all that had happened, and then went, through the air to Kailāsa, the residence of Vaiśravaṇa (Kuvera, v. 4). Before his arrival, however, Mahādeva had gone with Umā and his attendants to the abode of Kuvera (v. 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 juncture Mahādeva sees Vibhīśaṇa 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 Rākşhasas (v. 11 ff.). Vibhīśaṇa arrives, kneels and touches the ground with his forehead, when the two gods give him the advice which Mahādeva had proposed (v. 21 ff.), Vibhīśaṇa 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 seek him, the root of the whole world, Rāma" (v. 39) (Tasmad uttiṣṭha gachha tvam puruṣam prabhun avayam| adhāraṁ sarva-bhūtānām śāvatvam nigraṇa-vraham| 40 Sa hi dharma-nidhānam cha ghati gati-matān varah | kṛṣṇasya jagato mūlaṁ tasmo gachhasta Rīghavam). Vibhīśaṇa 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 avatirg’ ‘sau man-niyogāḥ chaturbhujoh | Vishnuḥ praharatām śreshṭhaḥ sa tat karma Karishyati). No account is, however, given of the way in which Vishnu was to become incarnate in one or more of the sons of Deśaratha; 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 Dundubhi, who was born on earth as the hunchbacked Mantharā, and stirred up enmity by urging Kaikeyī to claim the succession to Daśaratha’s throne for her own son Bharata (vv. 15934 f., and 15960 ff.).

Whether the portion of the episode which relates the earlier history of Rāvaṇa, 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 tānayo bala-vān Viśvakarmaṇaḥ | “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 Rāmāyaṇa: 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-pravesaṁ vīna Rāvaṇa-badhasyaśak-yataya tat-siddhaye devaḥ-preritāyāḥ krita-kubjā-veshayāḥ Mantharāyāḥ Rāmābhiseka-vighna-pravṛttiṁ . . . . . vaktum upakramate | “Now since Rāvaṇa 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 Rāvaṇa’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 Kumbhakarna as a curse, but in the episode to have been granted as a
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 f.): *Nalakūṭa sūpēna rakṣitā hy asi andñitā soprā pūpo badhūn Rambhān parāmśrīkan | na sāknoty avarān nārīm upātum ajitendriyaḥ | "Thou art protected, charming one, (i.e. Sītā) by the curse of Nalakūṭa. For this wicked being of unrestrained passions (Rāvaṇa), 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.

"Not intentionally," says the commentator on v. 8, "but like (dried) grass and fire" (trīṇagñi-nyāyena na tu buddhi-pūrvam).
at a distance, but the threat had not been heard by the daughter of the royal-rishi Trīṇavindu, 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 muni Bharadvāja, who bore him a son, to whom Brahmā gave the name of Vaiśravana = Kuvera (sect. 3, vv. 1 ff.). The latter performed austerity for thousands of years, when he obtained from Brahmā 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 Vishnu, 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-vamaśād udbhūtah rākshasāḥ iti naḥ śrutāḥ | idānīm anyatas chāpi sambhavāḥ kirtitas tvayā). He therefore asks who was their ancestor, and what fault they had committed that they were chased away by Vishnu. Hearing the polished (samskārālankritam) words of Rāma, Agastya replies (vv. 9 ff.) that when Brahmā created the waters, he formed certain beings—some of whom received the name of Rākshasa—to guard them. The first Rākshasa kings were Heti and Praheti (v. 14). Heti married Bhayā, the sister of Kāla (Time). She bore him a son Vidyutkesa (v. 17), who in his turn took for his wife Sālankaṭankaṭi, the daughter of Sandhyā (v. 21). She bore him a son Sukeśā (v. 32), whom she abandoned (v. 24), but he was seen by Sīva, 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.
APPENDIX.

487
to that of their mothers (v. 30 f.). Sukeśa married a Gandharvī called Devavatī (sect. 5, v. 3), who bore three sons, Mālyavat, Sumāli, and Māli (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 Trikūṭa, on the shore of the southern ocean, which he had built (vv. 18 ff.). They marry the three daughters of the Gandharvī Narmadā. Mālyavat’s wife, Sundari, bears Vajramushi, Virūpāksha, Durmukha, Suptaghna, Yajnakopa, Matta, Unmatta, and one daughter Anala (v. 35 ff.). Sumāli’s wife, Ketumati, bears Prahasta, Kampana, Vikaṭa, Kālikā-mukha, Dhūmrāksha, Daṇḍa, Supārśva, Sanhrādi, Praghasa, Bāhāsakarna, and four daughters, Rākā, Pushpotkāṭa, Kaikasī, and Kumbhīnasī (vv. 39 ff.). Māli’s wife, Vasudā, bore Anala, Nila, Harā, and Sampāti (v. 43). The three Rākshasas, Mālyavat 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-urishty-antā-kartāram ajan avyakta-rūpinam | ādihāram sarva-bhūtanām), who, having regard to his protegé Sukeśa (the father of Mālyavat, 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.). Mālyavat remonstrates with Viṣṇu, who was assaulting the rear of the fugitives, on his unwarriorlike conduct (na jātishe-kshātraṁ dharmam purūtanam),69 and wishes to renew the combat (sect. 8, v. 3 ff.).

69 The next verse (4) adds: Purūnmukha-vaidham pūparam yaḥ kuṭi saṅkaroti | sa hantā na gataḥ svargam labhate punya-karmānām | “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 fulfill his promise to the gods by slaying the Râkshasas, and that he would destroy them even if they fled to Pâtâla (v. 7 ff.). The battle is renewed, but Mâlyavat and Sumali are driven into Lankâ (v. 20), and being unable to withstand Vishnu, at length retire to Pâtâla (v. 22). These Râkshasas, Agastya says, were more powerful than Râvana, and could only be destroyed by Nârâyana, i.e. by Râma himself, the eternal indestructible god (v. 24 ff.). Sumali with his family lived for a long time in Pâtâla, while Kuvera dwelt in Lankâ (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 Râvana (v. 29) whose birth was succeeded by portents, of the huge Kumbhakarna (v. 34), of Sûrpanakhâ, 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 Kaikasi takes occasion to urge his son Râvana to strive to become like his brother (Kuvera) in splendour. This Râvana 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, Râvana 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 Brahmadeva appears (v. 12 ff.), and offers a boon. Râvana 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 Brahmadeva (v. 22), together with the recovery of all the heads he had sacrificed, and the power of assuming any shape he pleased. Viśravas.

This account varies from that of the Mahâbhârata (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 f.) 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-gatasyāpi dharme mama matir bhavet | asikhitame brahmāstram bhagavan pratibhātu me? | yā yā me jāyante buddhir yeshu yeshv āsrāmeshu cha | sā sa bhavatu dharmishthā tām tām dharmam 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, besidesrishis 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 stupañcation should be inflicted on him (v. 39). Brahmā thinks on Sarasvatī, who arrives (v. 40), and by Brahmā’s command (v. 42. Vāni tvam Rākṣa-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).? 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: Asikhitame sad-gurūpadeśāna vināpiyty arthaḥ | brahmāstraṁ brahma-vidyā | etad varṇam aśeṣa-brahma-vidyā-siddhī-pratibandhaka-nivṛttaye | “Unlearned, that is, [may it appear to me] even without the instruction of a good teacher. The Brahan’s weapon is the science of Brahma (or of the veda). This choice of a boon seeks the removal of all obstacles to the attainment of divine knowledge.” The commentator also says that by dharmena (“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 vīgra-havān dharmahḥ” ity ukyet atra dharmo-padena Nārāyaṇaḥ) anyathā “sā sa bhavatu dharmishthāḥ” ity avena paśuparuktiyān syāt |.

72 The commentator remarks here: Evam iti | atra śan-māsāḥ arvaḵ jāgaranaṁ na iti śrīyamah | tad-adhikāḥ pāḥ niḍrā tu bhavaty eva iti vara-sevaṁ bodhayam | atah eva śan-māsaḥ-śavapitī iti pūrvaṁ Vibhishṣaṅktyā varṣāṇy anekāni iti Kumbha-karyoktya cha pūrvoktasya na virodhāḥ | “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 longer time. Wherefore, although it was formerly said by Vibhishana 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 Lanka 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 vyākaraṇam grīhīṣṭhaṃ sūryonmukhad prasāṭhmanāh kapīndraḥ | udayad-girer asta-girimi jaṅgama gvantham mahad dhārayan aprameyāḥ | 45. Sa-sūtra-vṛtti-artha-padaṃ mahārthaṃ sa-sangraham mahīyati vai kapīndraḥ | na hy asya kaśchit sadṛśo ’sti sāstre vaisārude chanda-gatau tathaiva | sarvādu vidyāyu tapo-vīdhāne praspar-dhate ’yaṁ hi guruṁ surāṇāṃ | 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 vārttika (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: Udayad-girer udaya-girer mahad grantham dhārayan artha-tathā pāṭhaṇaḥ cha grihim | dhārayan aprameyāḥ iti nuḥ-abhaṇa ārshaḥ | sūrya-sām̐ukhyārtham tārad gamanam | 45. Ko ’sau gvanthas tatraḥ “sa-sūtra” iti | sūtram ashtādhyā-ḥyā-lakṣhaṇam | vṛttis tātkālikā-sūtra-vṛttih | artha-padaṃ sūtrārtham-bodhaka-padaud vārttikam māḥrtham mahābhāṣyam Pa-tanjali-kritam | “sa-sangraham” Vyādi-krita-sangrāhākhyā-granthasahitam | “sidhyati vai” “siddho bhavaḥ śastraṁtvareṣu apiṣy arthaḥ | tad evaḥ | na hy asya sadṛśaḥ sāstre kaśchit | “cchanda-gatau” pūrvottara-mimāṃsā-mukhnena vedārthā-nirṇaye “vaisārude” vaisārude | viśishya navama-vyākaraṇa-kartā Hanumān 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 (ārṣa). 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 (ashtādhyāyī). The vṛtti is the contem-
poraneous gloss on the sūtras (sūtra-vṛitti). The artha-pada is the vārttika, containing sentences explaining the sense of the sūtras; the Mahārtha is the Mahābhāṣya composed by Patanjali. 'With the sangraha' means with the book called Sangraha, 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 Uttara Mīmāṃsā. 'In skill,' i.e. in learning. When specifying, it is well known that Hanumāt was the ninth author of Grammar; such is Katakā's explanation.'

The other eight grammarians are mentioned by Colebrooke—Essays, ii., pp. 39, 48 (ed. 1837).

NOTE E.—Page 261, note 29, line 3 from bottom.

With this compare the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa xiv. 11, 28, where it is said: Indro Yatin sālāvrikhebhyaḥ prāyačchat | tam aśliṭā vāg abhyavat | so 'suddho 'manyaṭa | sa etat suddhāsuddhiyam apasyat | tena aśudhyat | "Indra gave up the Yatis to the jackals. An evil voice addressed him" [charging him with the murder of Brāhmanas, 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 Brāhmaṇa xviii. 1, 9, where it is said that instead of beholding the "Suddhāsuddhiya," Indra went to Prajāpati, who gave him the "Upahavya" (Prajāpatim uppāhavat | tasmai etam upahavyam prāyaḥchat). 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 Yatin sālāvrikhebhyaḥ prāyačchat | teshāṁ trayah udāśishyanta Prithurāśmir Brihadgiriḥ Rāyovājaḥ | te 'bruvan "lonah inān putrān bhārishyati" iti | "aham iti Īvedo 'bravit | tān ahiṣṭidhiyā parichāraḥ charah vardhayaṁ tān vardhayitvā 'bravit "kumārakāḥ varān vinidhvaṁ" iti | "kshatram māhyam" ity abravit Prithurāśmirḥ tasmai etena pārtharāśmena kshatram prāyaḥchat | kshatrakāmam etena stuvita | kshatrasya iva asya prukāso bhavati | "Brahmavarchasam māhyam" ity abravid Brihadgiriḥ | tasmai etena bārhadgireṇa brahmavarchasam prāyaḥchat | brahmavarchasāḥ-kāmāḥ etena stuvita | brahmavarchasāḥ bhavati | "paśūn māhyam" ity abravid
Rāyovājaḥ | tasmai etena rāyovājyena pasūn prāyachhat | paśukāmāḥ
etena stuśita | paśumāṇ bhavati | 18: Pārtharaśmaṁ rājanyāya brahma-
sāma kuryāt bārhadgīram brahmaṇāya-rāyovājyaṁ. vaisyāya | stena eva
enāṁs tad-rūpeṇa samardhayati stomaḥ | “Indra gave up the Yatis to
the jackals. Three of them were left; Prithuṛaśmi, 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.’ Prithuṛaśmi said, ‘May regal
power be mine!’ He accordingly gave him regal power by means of
this ‘pārtharaśma’ 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 ‘bārhadgīra’ sāman. Let him
who desires this characteristic offer praise with this sāmaṇ; 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 ‘pārthara-
śma’ be the ‘brahma-sāman’ performed for a Rājanya, a ‘bārhadgīra’
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” (veda-
viruddha-ṇiyamopetāḥ); on xiii. 4, 17, to be “the persons so called who
were hostile to sacrifices” (etat-sanjnakāṇ yajña-virodhi-janāṇ); on
xiv. 11, 28, to be “persons hostile to rites” (karma-virodhi-janāṇ); and
on xviii. 1, 9, to be “Brahmans who did not celebrate the jyotishṭoma
and other sacrifices, but lived in another way” (jyotishṭomādy akṛitvā
prakārāntarena vartamānāṁ brahmaṇān). The Yatis are also men-
tioned in the Taitt. Sanhitā ii. 4, 9, 2, in these words: Yatīnāṁ adya-
mānāṇāṁ śīrśāṇi parāpatan | te kharjūrāḥ abhavaṇ | “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 Yatīn sālāyvikebhyaḥ prāyachhat | tān dakṣinātāḥ uttava-
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: Pāramahāṃṣya-rūpaṁ cha-
turthaśramam prāptānāṁ yeshāṁ Yatīnāṁ mukhe Brahmātmaka-pratipādako vedānta-lābho nāsti tān Yatīn Indraḥ āranyebhyah śvabhyaḥ prayachchhat | tathaḥ Kaushitakibrahmgnopanishadi Indraseya pratijñā samānnāyate "Arumukhān Yatīn sālāvrikebhyah prāyachham" iti | patitatvāt teshāṁ tathātvāṁ yuktam | tathā cha smaryate "nitya-karma parityajya vedānta-śravānāṁ vina | kartamānas tu sannyāśi patatv eva na saṁsayaḥ" iti | teshāṁ cha sālāvrikair bhakṣhaṇāṁ shasṭha-kānde samānnāyate . . . . iti | vedānta-śravānāṁ vānchhaṁ vinā nitya-karma-parityaktavatāṁ bhacatām api īdriśi gatir iti darśayitum vedi-samipe bhakṣhaṇam eva | “Indra gave up to the wild dogs those Yatis in whose mouth (although they had attained the fourth stage of life [āśrama], that of Paramahāmsas) 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 Smṛti, ‘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 Śaṁyāṁ, 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 śravas, as there are two roots śru. There is not only, he considers, a root śru, "to hear," but a second śrūv = 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: Vīru chīḍ yasya samrītāu śrūvat vaneva yat sthiram| "Even the strong quakes at his attack, and even the firm shakes like trees;" and R.V. i. 39, 6: A vo yāmāya prithivī chīḍ atśrot | "Even the earth trembled before your rush." From this root is derived śrōta, "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 gacchet, śṛyeta, 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 jētārāṁ lokapālānāṁ kṣēptārāṁ S'ankarasya cha, "conqueror of the guardians of the world, and caster down (or, contemner) of Sankara." Sankara 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. 466 f., it will have been seen, however, that Rāvaṇa was really no match for Sankarā.

The following is a summary of the story of Indra and Indrajit, as
given in the twenty-seventh and following sections of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa. Rāvaṇa in the course of his expeditions goes to Indra-loka. Indra tells the gods to get ready for battle; but, being afraid, resorts 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 Rāvaṇa,—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 Rāvaṇa (v. 21). A battle takes place between the gods 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 Rāvaṇa, 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 Rāvaṇa (vv. 29 ff.), whom he eventually captures (sect. 29, v. 18 f.). Meghanāda (son of Rāvaṇa), 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: Srūya-tām vā bharat Siddhit Sotakratu-vimokshane | 12. Mameshtām nityaśo havyair mantraik sampūja Pāvakam | sangrāman avarartum cha satru-nirjaya-kānkṣhinaḥ | 13. Aśva-yukto ratho māhyam uttishtet tu Vibhāvasah | tal-sthavāmaratā syād me esha me niśchito varaḥ | 14. Tasmin yady asamāpte cha japyahome Vibhāvasau | yuddhyeyam deva-sangrāme

73 See similar cases above, pp. 223 and 482.
APPENDIX.

| 15. Sarvo hi tapaśa deva vṛṇoty amaratām pumān | 16. Evam astu iti tam chāha vākyāṁ devaḥ Prajāpatiḥ | muskaś chendrajitā S'akro gataś cha tridivaṁ surāḥ |
| Tadā me syād vināśanam | Vikramaṇa mayā tv etad 'amaratvam pravartitam | "Listena: or let me attain perfection by releasing Satakru (Indra)."

"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."

"For, O god, every man desires by austerities to attain immortality. And by my valour I have sought for this immortality."

"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 because 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 reprehended by the sage, expelled from his 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 Vaishāva sacrifice by which he would be purified (v. 47 f.). (Compare the forty-eighth and forty-

74 The commentator remarks on verse 49, where the performance of this sacrifice is mentioned: Devānāṁ na yajneshe adhikāraṁ iti Jaiminy-uktāṁ tu pramadād iti nīrūpitaṁ prātk | "The saying of Jaimini that the gods have not the prerogative of sacrificing has been before determined to be an inadvisable." The end of the remarks on Rāmāyaṇa i. 29, 7, quoted above, p. 131, note 53, may be here referred to by the commentator. Besides the text cited in p. 262, note, mention is elsewhere where found of sacrifice being offered by Indra. See the story of Nahusha adduced in the first volume of this work, pp. 307 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 yajñāṁ S'akro pavyayishyāmi vajrīnam | punyena hayamedhena mām ishtvā Pākaśasanah | punar eshyati devunāṁ indratvam akutobhayah | Vishnu
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 buddhyā prajāh srishtās tathā prabho | eka-varṇāh samābhāsāh eka-rūpās, cha sarvasāh | 20. Tāsām nāsti viśesho hi darṣanāc lakṣayate 'pi vā | tato 'ham ekāgra-manās tāh prajāh samachintayam | 21. So 'ham tāsāṁ viśeshārthāṁ striyam ekāṁ vinirmame | yad yat prajānāṁ prayāgyāṁ viśishtāṁ tat tad uddhītam |
22. Tato mayā rūpa-guṇāir Ahalyā stī vinirisita | Halaṁ nāmeha vairāpyaṁ halyaṁ tat-prabhāvam bhavet | 23. Yasāpaḥ na vidyate halyāṁ tenāhalyetī viśruta | Ahalyety eva cha mayā, tasyāḥ nāma prakīrtītam |
19. "O chief of immortals (Indra), all creatures were by my understanding 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 appearance 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 fashioned by me. Hala means ugliness, and halya that which springs from ugliness. 23. She who has nothing sprung from ugliness (halya) is known as 'Ahalya.' 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 Rātri-sūkta, which, in the Sanhitā MSS. of the R.V., follows a hymn addressed to Night (the 127th of the Tenth Maṇḍala=Ashtaka, 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 Prāsīṣṭa:

R.V. x. 127.—1. Ratri vi akhyad āyati purutrā devī akshabhiḥ | viś-vāh adhi śriyo 'dhita | 2. Ā uru aprāh amartyā nivato devī udbhataḥ |

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. 497
APPENDIX.

jyotishā bādhate tamaḥ | 3. Nir ā svasāram askrita uṣhasam devi āyati | apa iḍ u hāsate tamaḥ | 4. Sā no adya yasyāḥ vayāṁ ni te yāmān aviksha- мaḥi | vṛikeshe na vasaṭiṁ vayaḥ | 5. Ni grāmāśa avikshata ni padvanto ni pakṣiṇaḥ | ni śyenāsāḥ chid arthinaḥ | 6. Yavaya vṛīkṣaṁ vrikaṁ yavaya stenam ārmye | atha nāḥ sutarā bhava | 7. Upa mā pepiṣat tamaḥ krish- naṁ vyaktam asthita | uṣhaṁ riṇā īva yātaya | 8. Upa te gāh īva a akaraṁ vriṇīśva 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.”


75 For yuktāsah, the A. V. reads drashtārah, “seers.”
76 This, Professor Aufrecht remarks, is imitated from R.V. i. 35, 1 : Rātrīṁ jehato niveśanēm.
77 The final pādas of this and the three following verses are, as Prof. Aufrecht observes, borrowed from R.V. i. 99.
APPENDIX.


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 we 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 Durgā be propitious for our good in difficulties. He who always every night reads this holy Durgā-stava,—(the night, Kuśika, Saubhara, the rātri-stava, gāyatri),—he who continually mutters the rātri-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 Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, sect. 99, vv. 52 ff.: Yā jihvā bhavataḥ Kālī kāla-nishthā-kari prabho | bhayān naḥ pāhi pāpebhyaḥ aihikāchcha mahā-bhayāt | 53. Karālī nāma yā jihvā mahā-pralaya-kāraṇam | tayā na pāhi ittyādi | 54. Manojavā cha yā jihvā laghimā guna-lakṣaṇaḥ | tayā ittyādi | 55. Karoti kāmam bhūtebhyo yā te jihvā Sulohitā | tayā ittyādi | 56. Sudhūmravarnāḥ yā jihvā prāṇināṁ roga-dāyikā | tayā ittyādi | 57. Sphulinginī cha yā jihvā yataḥ [yā te?] sakala-puḍgalā | tayā ittyādi | 58. Yā te Viśvā sadā jihvā prāṇināṁ śarma-dāyini | tayā ittyādi | 52. "By thy tongue Kāli, the 'final destroyer [of the world], preserve us from sins and from great present alarm. 53. By thy tongue Karālī, the cause of the great mundane dissolution, preserve us, etc. 54. By thy tongue Manojavā, 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 Sudhūmravarna, which inflicts diseases on living beings, preserve us, etc. 57. By thy tongue Sphulinginī, the loveliest of all, preserve us, etc. 58. By thy tongue Viśvā, which always bestows blessings on living beings, preserve us, etc."

In the course of this hymn to Agni he is said (v. 41) to have been formed eightfold: Tvām ashtadhā kalpayitvā yajnam ādyam akalpayan |
“Having formed thee in eight ways, they performed the earliest sacrifice.” This seems to refer to the legend from the Brāhmaṇas 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 seventieth verse of this hymn: Yat te Vahne śīvan rūpaṃ ye cha te sapta hetayaḥ | taiḥ pāhi naḥ sloto deva pitā putram ivātmajam | “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 tataṃ viśvam idāṃ charāeharam Hutāśanaiko bahudhā tvam 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 sandriś 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 anvaśaye 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. S'aye 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. satalēhu, that the words here referred to occur in the Taittiriya Āraṇyaka x. 1, 8. I quote in full the verse in which they occur, as well as that which precedes it: Aśvakrānte rathakrānte Vishnukrānte vasundhara | śirasā dhārayīshyāmi rakṣasava mām pade pade | bhūmir dhenuṁ dharaṇī loka-dhāraṇī | uddhritaśi varāhena krishnena śatabāhunā |
ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

See Tândya Brâhmaṇa, xx. 14, 2 ff.; the commencement of which corresponds with the text from the Paûxhaviṁśa Brâhmaṇa, quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 392.

See Tândya 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 Sāyaṇa’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 Tândya Br. viii. 2, 10.

xi. Page 56, line 11.
Compare Tândya Br. vii. 4, 2; where it is told that the gods failed to gain heaven by either the Gāyatrī, the Trishtubh, the Jagatī, or the Anushubh metres, but gained it by the Brihatī.

xii. Page 58, last line of the text.
Compare Tândya 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 Tândya Br. vii. 8, 1 f.

On the word mātri, “measurer,” Böhtlingk and Roth have the following explanation: “Sāyaṇa brings under this head the verse 1, 61, 7, making the word equivalent to ‘the world-creating (-sustaining) sacrifice.’ Benfey translates ‘carpenter.’ But Ṛṣtra’s mother may be here spoken of.”
ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

xv. Page 78, line 11 from the foot.

See also Tāṇḍya 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 vavridhe).


"The Aśvins," etc. Read "Ye, Aśvins, 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'ipivishṭāya: Yajno vai Vishṇuh | paśoṣuḥ śiṇiḥ | yajnah eva paśuhu pratishṭhati | "‘Vishṇu’ means sacrifice, and ‘Śipi’ means victims; for sacrifice depends upon victims.” See also the Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa ix. 7, 9 ff. R.V. vii. 100, 6, is translated by Prof. Roth in his Illustrations of the Niṣṭuktā, p. 59. I am indebted to Prof. Aufrecht for the following remarks on “Śivipishṭa:” “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: ‘Why should any one, O Vishṇu, have found a subject for reproof when thou didst say, ‘I am Śivipispisha’? Do not conceal even that shape of thine from us, as thou wearest another form in public.’ Now Aupa-manyava says clearly that ‘Śivipispisha’ is ‘kutsitārthiya’ (has a bad,
or contemptuous, sense). The commentator on the Taittiriya Sanhita ii. 2, 12, 5 (vol. ii., p. 390) says that it is used for atyanta-rogin.

The complete words of Aupamanyava are as follows: S'ipivishito Vishnuh iti Vishno dre namani bhavehah kutsirshthiyam purvam ity Aupamanyavaḥ “Aupamanya says that there are two names of Vishnu, S'ipivishtha 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” tvam “yad” yasmāt kāraṇat “S'ipivishtho asmi” iti prakarsha “vavaksha” punah punar vakshi tasmā “te” tava manasi “kim it pari- chakshyam bhūt” kim idam garhaṇīyam abhū ṣ na etad garhaṇīyam vṛthā eva tava lājā ity abhipriyāḥ | yadyapy eton nāma loke atyantaragīny | udghaṭita-guhya-tva vimūḍhaḥ pravṛjyante “S'ipivishto 'yam” iti tathāpy avayavārthahā bhārmaheḥ vyākhyātavād nāṣṭy atra tava lājā-kāraṇam | tasmā “etad varpo” varishtthāṁ nāma “asmad mā apagūhāḥ” asmākam agr̥ guṇām mā kuru | “yad” yasmāt tvāṁ guṇāṇāya eva samīthe yuvādhe kavachaśīrṣhanyābhīḥyān guṇoḥ “anyārūpo habhūthāḥ” bahbhūvih | tad anyathā yathātathā vā bhavatu tathāpy asmad-viddhau (quere buddhau ?) prāṣastam idam mā gopāya ity arthah | “O Vishnu, since thou repeatedly sayest ṣ an S'ipivishtha, 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'ipivishtha,’ yet as the sense of its component parts is expounded in this Brāhmaṇa (ii. 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 other wise, do not conceal that which in our estimation preserves praise.”

The word “S'ipivishtha” also occurs in the Satarudriya (Vājas. Sanhita 16, 29); and is thus commented on by Mahādhara on the verse: S'ipivishthāya Vishnuurūpāya “Vishnuḥ S'ipivishthah” iti śruteḥ | yaḍvā śipishu paśuḥu vishtah praviṣṭahḥ | “paśavo vai śipih” iti śruteḥ | sarva-prāṇiḥ saṁtyāyām sthītaḥ ity arthah | yaḍvā “yajno vai śipih” | yajno dhiṇaṅvātāvena pravīṣṭahḥ | śipir ādityo vā maṇḍalādhiṣṭhātya ity arthah | tasmāi namaḥ | “śipayo 'tva raṣmaīyaḥ ukhṇyante tair avīśto bhavati” iti Yāskotkoṭhī (Nirukta, 5, 8). “To S'ipivishtha, i.e. to him who is in the form of Vishnu: for the Veda says S'ipivishtha is Vishnu. Or, according to the Vedic text, that ‘śipī’ means cattle, S'ipivishtha will mean, who enters into cattle, i.e. who is present in all creatures, pervading them. Or ‘S'ipī’ means sacrifice; and so S'ipivishtha may signify him who has entered into sacrifice as its presiding deity. Or, ‘śipī’ is the all who presides over the circle of the sky—to him be reverence; according to what Yāska says (Nirukta 5, 8) ‘S'ipī’ means rays; by them he is pervaded.”

Professor Weber, has the following notice of ‘S'ipivishtha’ in his Indische Studien ii. 37 f., no. 3. This is one of those words which already gave trouble to Yāska (Nirukta 5, 9). Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśja has the following: Nirvēṣṭīta-sāhāya (śepā 5) | sarvād devādūr-vana-pradeśādau vā yathā ādiyātmane | yathā Skanda- ĕrānā Sāityāḥcchamatacchāya (5) vā śipī vāri prakāshkhate | tatpānād rakṣhānād vā ‘śipayo ṛṣmaīyaḥ’ | teshu praviṣṭhāḥ savītā S'ipivishtha ihoṣayate | yaḍvā paśavo śipayāḥ “yajno vai Vishnuḥ paśavo śipih” iti śruteḥ sarva-prāṇiḥ- antāyātāvena pravīṣṭah ity arthah | [Prof. W. then quotes the passage of the Mahābhārata, 13229]. “Śipī is akin to ‘śepā, ‘śipra,’ Kiefer, hip, Hüfte, cippus.”
This piece of information is taken from the Amarakosha, where it is said, Sīpivishṭaḥ tu khalatau duścharmaṇi mahēśvare. Halāyudha and Hemachandra have the same. Aṇara 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 'Sīpivishṭa' means either bald-headed, or one who has a skin disease. So long as the sense of 'sīpi' is undetermined, it will be difficult to choose between the two. The word 'sīpi' is not found used separately. For what the Taittiriya Sanhitā ii. 5, 5, 2 (quoted above) says, yajno vai Vīṣṇuḥ | pāsaṇah sīpiḥ (Tāndya Br. xviii. 6, 26\(^\text{81}\)), and all that the modern Hindu commentators say, about 'sīpi,' is worthless. A glimmer of light is cast upon 'sīpi' by 'sīpitam,' 'defective,' in the Sātap. Br. xi. 1, 4, 4.'\(^\text{82}\)

**xx. Page 91, note \(^\text{67}\).**

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 Vīṣṇu is mentioned is one in the funeral hymn, R.V. x. 15, 3: Ā ahan pitṛm suvidatrān avṛtṣi nāpataṁ cha vikṛdanaṁ cha Vīṣṇuḥ | "I have found the beneficent Fathers, and the path and the stride of Vīṣṇu." Napāt is explained by Mahīdhara in Vāj. S. 19, 56, thus: Nāsti pāto yatṛa sa nāpāto deva-yāma-patho yatra gatānām pāto nāsti. "Napāta means that on which there is no

81 This passage is as follows: Eṣāḥ vai Prajāpateḥ paśuṣṭhā tanūr yat Sīpivishṭāḥ | prāṇo brihat | prāṇaḥ eva paśuṣtu pratiśīthaḥ | "This Sīpivishṭa is that body of Prajāpati which abides in victims (or beasts), The Brihat is breath: and it is breath which abides in victims." On which the commentator remarks: "Yajno Vīṣṇuḥ | pāsaṇah sīpiriḥ" iti śṛutya-antārāt | Vīṣṇuḥ Prajāpatīvāt Sīpivishṭāḥ iti | "For another Vedic text says that Vīṣṇu is sacrifice, and Sīpi denotes victims. Since Vīṣṇu has the character of Prajāpati, he is Sīpivishṭāḥ," etc.

82 The Commentator's note on this passage is as follows: Akāle nirūptaṁ haviḥ sīpitam | tad-āsrito doṣa-viśeṣah | tad-yuktam eva yajnasya śārīram bhovati; Prof. Aufrecht proposes to correct this as follows: Akāle—sīpitam | sīpitam taw- āsrito doṣa-viśeṣah, etc. According to this corrected reading the sense will be: "An oblation offered at a wrong time is 'sipita.' Now 'sipita' means a particular defect residing in the body. With it the body of the sacrifice becomes affected, as it were."
fall, the path leading to the gods, on which those who go along it do not fall." Sāyāna 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 (ākāśa) 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 "pravinakti" read "pravrīnakti."

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 Tāṇḍya 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 Hārivarṇa" (tad enam pāpiyam vāchaṁ vadad anvavartata "vira-hanm adruho 'druhaḥ" iti | tad na rīchā na sāmnā apahantum asaknot | tad hārivarṇasya eva nidhanena apāhata)

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."
For "ii. 2, 29," read "xi. 2, 29."

xxxiii. Page 303, line 22.
For "commentorial," read "commentatorial."


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 "xiii. 8, 17," read "xiii 4, 17."
INDEX.

A.

Abyaguni, 320
Achbavaka priest, 84
Aditi, 11 ff., 80, 84, 114 f., 133 f., 136, 229, 306, 365 etc.
Adhvaryu priest, 66, 160
Adhvaryu Brahmana, 14
Aditya, 117
Aditya, 14, 26 f., 46, 65, etc.
— is lord of Brahma, Vishnu and Rudra, 475
Aditya-brjdaya, a hymn, 474
Adityas, 14 f., 54, 114 ff.
Æschylus, Prometheus Vinetus, 66
Agasty, 473, 480, 485
Agnây, 161
Agni, 9, 22 f., 26, 28 f., 45, 58, 61, 66, 70, 76, 76, etc.
— texts in praise of, 111
— one of triad of gods, 66, 70, 160 ff.
— breaks down castles, 312
— his eight forms and names, 340 ff.
— enamoured of Rishis' wives, 352 ff.
— his tongues, 429, 497
Agnibhotra, 57
Agni Purana iv., 5—151
Ahal, 48, 496
Abankara, 42 f.
Ahamaniya fire, 359
Ahi, 82, 101
Ahriti, 253
Aindra-vaišnavava oblation, 79
Ait 16
Aitareya Brâhma—
1. 1—129
— 30—129
ii. 8—289
iv. 22—9
vi. 15—84, 123
— 33—319
Aita, 319

Aitâśa-pralâpa, 320
Aitihâsikas, 92
Aja, 378, 383 (see Brahma)
Akûsa (ether), 33, 119
Akhandala (appellation of Indra), 190
Amaravati, 246
Ambikâ, 321, 422
— is sister of Rudra, according to the Yajurvedas, 321. See Uma.
Ambitâmâ, 424
Aûsâ, or Aûsû, 14, 115
Anakadundubhi (name of Vasdeva), 273
Anaranyya, 457 f.
Andhaka, 336, 472
Agras, 246
Angiras, 91
Angirases, 107, 116
Aniruddha, grandson of Krṣna, 435
Aûrita-deva, 410
Antaka, 336, 472
Anukramanikâ, 77
Aûshtubh, 162
Âpah. See Waters
Aprâ, 431. See Umâ
Apsaras, obtained by Kshatryyas, slain in battle, 277
Apsaras, 461
Arañati, sense of the word, 317
Arbuda, 107
Archaka, 336
Arjuna, 161 and passim
Arjuna (Kârttikeya), 177, 255
Arthavâdas, 131
Arundhati, 334
Arumukha Yatis, 493
Arurughas, 493
Âryas, 76
Arya Bhûta, 110
Aryaman, 14, 68, 78
Asâni, 342, 347
Asita Devala, 432
Asura (the Spirit), 109
Asuras, 26 f., 40, 54, 58 ff., etc.

Asuras, their castles, 203, 223 ff.
Asuri, 123
Aṣvatthâman, 186
Aṣvamedha, or horse-sacrifice, 167 ff.
Aṣvins, 46, 48, 68, 76, 128, etc.
Atharva-sûras, 166, 172
— quoted, 356
Atharva-veda, quoted or referred to—
2, 1, 3—6
— 27, 6—332, 403
3, 16, 1—313
— 20, 4, 7—96
4, 2, 1—15 ff., 18
— 21, 7—312
— 28, 16—332
— 30, 5—318
5, 3, 3—96
— 21, 11—333
— 25, 5—96
— 26, 7—66
6, 93, 1, 2—333, 403
— 141, 1—333
7, 26, 1—3—68
— 26, 4—7—63
— 42, 1, 2—313
— 44, 1—83
— 50, 6—106
— 79, 4—16
— 80, 3—16
— 87, 1—333, 358, 403
8, 2, 7—333, 403
— 5, 10—333
— 8, 11—337
9, 2—4
— 6, 29—63
— 7, 7—334
— 10, 17—76
10, 1, 23—334, 403
— 2, 7—23
— 3, 9—11
— 7, 25—11
— 7, 7 ff.—18 f.
— 8, 2, 11, 44—19
— 8, 29—258
— 11, 2, 1—334 ff., 403
— 6, 2—115
— 6, 9—338, 403
INDEX.

Atharva-veda, continued—
12, 1, 8—24
— 4, 17—338, 403
13 2, 26—5
— 4, 26 ff.—338, 403 f.
15, 5, 1—7—338
18, 1, 40—308
19, 10, 9—84
— 53, 10—27
20, 17, 5—106
— 87, 3—103
— 89, 9—106
— 90, 2—104
— 106, 26—89
— 111, 1—89
— 114, 1—104
— 126, 1—106
Atigrāhyas, 62
Atikāya, son of Rāvana, 412
Aufrecht (Prof. Th.), his aid acknowledged, 7, 59, 78, 81, 84, 90 f., 102, 106, 117, 152, 232, 261, 302, 306, 310, 314, 409, 411, 494, 502, 504
— his Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., 161, 188, 228, etc.
Aupamanyava, 88, 505
Aurāgavāha, 64 ff., 97, 156, 439
Avindya, Minister of Rāvana, 413
B.
Babbru, 212
Badari, 188, 232, etc.
Bāhikas, 328, 339
Balvriṣār S'rutti, 144
Balarāma or Baladeva, 245, 249, 258, 260
Balarāma incarnation, 156
Balī, 133 f., 155, 465
Bauerjea's (Rev. K. M.) dialogues on Hindu philosophy, 49
Bangas, 216
Benfey's (Prof. Th.) Glossary to Sāma-veda, 11, 81 f., 102
— translation of Sāma-veda, 63 f., 87, 89
— of Rigveda, in Orient und Occident, 63 f., 68, 102, 229, 302, 315 f.
Bhadra, 212
Bhadrakāli, 416
Bhaga, 14, 80, 115
— his eyes knocked out by Rudra, 200, 268, 383
Bhagavadpītha, 163, 381
— 3, 20 ff., and 4, 7 f., quoted, 6, 153
Bhāgavata Purāṇa quoted
1, 3, 7—36
— 3, 1ff., & 26 f.—156
— 3, 16—27
2, 5, 34—44
— 6, 21ff.—10
— 16, 10—44
3, 12, 28ff.—47
— 20, 12ff.—43
— 26, 50ff.—43
— 30, 10—381
4, 1, 47ff.—378
— Scts. 2—7—377 ff.
— 5, 20—202
— 25, 6—381
5, 19, 5—466
6, 6, 24, 36—121
— 6, 41—202
8, Scts. 15—23—137 ff.
— 23, 29—72
— 24, 4ff.—39
10, 1, 21ff.—254
— 33, 27ff.—49f., 182, 253
— 34, 8—249
— Scts. 43ff.—215
— 64th and previous sections—178
— 74, 34—206
Bhāgiratha, 365
Bharadvāja, 96, 486
Bharata, epiph. of Agni, 28
Bharata, brother of Rāma, 175, 445 f.
Bhava, 43, 328, 332
Bhavas, 331
Bhāvāni, 405
Bhavītra, 81
Bhūmasena, 211
Bhūṣma, 266
Bhūṣmaka, 215
Bhogavati, 263
Bhoja, 253
Bhīrīgus, 177
— reviles Rudra, 382
— his beard plucked out by Rudra, 383
Bhīrīgus, 140
Bhū, 14
Bhūr, bhūrab, svar, 25
Bhūtādi, 42 f.
Bhūvana, 9, 369
Boar, or Varāha, 39, 67
Boar incarnation, 27, 33 ff., 36 ff., 156, 390
Böttlingk and Roth's Lexicon, 13, and passim
Bollesen's (Dr.) articles in Jour. Germ. Or. Soc., and Benfey's Orient und Occident, 306 ff.
Bombay edition of Rāmāyana, 53, 131, & passim
Brahma, 19 f., 29 f., and passim
Brahma (the Veda), 22
Brahma, 10, 18, 31 f., and passim
— born in an egg, 31 f.
— sprung from the waters and ether, 33
— becomes a boar, 33, 39
— takes the form of a fish, 38
— called Nārāyana, 31, 37, 39, 164
— springs from a lotus issuing from Vishnu's navel, 43, 230, 267, 477
— his passion from his own daughter, 47 f.
— the first god in the Trimūrti, 163, 280
— grants boons to Rāvana and Atikāya, etc., 167, 412, 458, 470
— informs Rāma of his divinity, 181
— created by Rudra, 188, 194
— created by Krishna, or Vishnu, 230, 267, 273
— worships Linga and Rudra, 192 f.
— acts as charioteer to Rudra, 222, 226
— grants boon to Ta-raka's sons, 223
— praises Krishna in a hymn, 236
— is son of Vāsudeva, 237
— mediates between Vishnu, or Krishna, and Rudra, 240, 279
— promises to Rudra a share in sacrifices, 374
— is present at sacrifices, 167, 374, 378
— is father of Dakṣha, 378
INDEX.

Brahma, his dispute with Vishnu allayed by the Linga, 388
--- is a form of Rudra, 392
--- Rudra springs from his forehead, 392
--- identified with the soul of the Universe, 367 ff.
--- curses Kumbhakarna, 462
--- his promise to the gods, 471
--- Aditya called his lord, 475
--- asks Vishnu to become Preserver, 477
--- welcomes Rama to heaven, 479
--- is mental father of Pulasta, 485
--- offers boons to Rama, 485
--- creates the first woman, 496. (See Hiranyagarbha, Prajapati, Vishvakarman).
Brahma-kalpa, 35
Brahman (priest), 66
Brahmanaspati, 12, 177, 162
Brahmavibhanga Purana, 182
Bhradaranyaka, 3, 22, 24, 29
Brihaddevata, i., 13 -- 163
Brihadgiri, 492
Brihaspati, 68, 96, 152, 154, 162
Brihat, 96, 162
Burnout’s Bhagavata Purana, 39, 147
Buddha, 212
--- incarnation, 156

C.
Chatraratha forest, 230, 252
Chandauskika rishi, 292
Charaka Brahmana, 92
Chara, 177
Charyaka, Baksha, friend of Duryodhana, 294 ff.
Chatursvaya, 57
Chakshusha Manvantara, 120
Chedis, 205, 215, 246
Chhandas, 169
Chhandogya Upanishad quoted, 12, 26, 183
Churning the ocean for Amrita, 90, 365
Colebrooke’s (Mr. H. T.), Essays, 66, 110, 245, etc.
Cowell’s (Prof. E. B.), Maitri Upanishad, 267
--- translation of the Kaushitaki Upanishad, 493

D.
Dadhichi, 240, 374
Dadhikra, 85
Daityus, 110
Daityasenai, 350
Daksha, 12 ff., 28, 115, 117 ff.
--- his sacrifice disturbed, 200, 240, 372 ff.
--- reviles and curses Rudra, 379 ff.
--- his daughters, 385
Dambhojana, 235
Danavas, or Danujas, 39, 110, 167
Darsa, 57
Dasaratha, 167, 171 ff.
Dasys, 248
Dattatreya incarnation, 156
Dawn, daughter of Prajapati, 45
Death, personified, 55, 57 ff.
Devaki, mother of Krishna, 181, 183, 257 ff.
Devaraja, 177, 372
Devases, 350
Devavati, 487
Devayani, 194
Dev. See Umá
Devi Bhagavata quoted, 267
Devi Mahatmya quoted, 435 ff.
Dhammapada, referred to, 201
Dhanvantari incarnation, 156
Dharma, 156, 239, 241, 378
Dhatri, 14, 96 f., 115, 204
Dhurjati, 205
Diti, mother of Daityas, 237, 305, 365
Dravida, 95
Dundubhi, a Gandharv, 484
Durgá, 426. See Umá
Durgacharya, commentator on the Nirukta, 63, 74, 117, 161, 355, 409
Durgastava, 427, 498
Durgati, 428
Durvisas, 199, 204, 245, 275, 477
Duryodhana, disbeliefes Krishna’s supernatural character, 216 ff., 220 ff.
--- desires to celebrate Rājasūya sacrifice, 283, 293
--- celebrates Vaishnava sacrifice, 293 ff.
Dūsha, 472
Dushkauta, 457
Dvārakā, 214, etc.
Dwarf incarnation, 66, 107 ff., 130 ff., 156
Dyas, 46, etc.

E.
Earth, the goddess, 38, 46, 80, 161
--- her burden lightened, 215, 255. Compare p. 161
Egg, mundane, 23 ff., 30, 41 ff.
Ekalavya, 249
Ekaparnā, 431
Ekapatālā, 431
Ekavimśa-stoma, 162
Emūsha, 28
Entity and Non-ENTITY, 4
Euripides, his Helena and Orestes quoted, 255
Evayāmarūt, 81

G.
Gada, 246
Gandhamadana, 249, 252
Gándhāras, 245, 249
Gandharva, 6, 112, 165
Ganesa, 278
Gangā, 270, 430
--- her descent, 365
Gangādvāra, 374
Garuda, 159, etc.
Garudi, 353
Gaurī, 359, 422. See Umā
Gautama, 49, 496
Gātputra, 482
Gāyatrī, 65
Gāyatrī, 123, 161
Genesis, Book of, 48
Gharma, 96, 126
Ghora Angirasa, 183
Giriraja, 288
Gods, how they became immortal, 54
Gods, how they became superior to the Asuras, 58
— how they became unequal, 61
— by birth are alone objects of sacrifice, 131; work—gods may themselves offer sacrifice, 132, 496
Gokarna, 284
Goldstücker’s (Prof. Th.) Pañini, or Mānavakalpa Sūtra, 5, 169
— Sanskrit Dictionary, 62
Gopālī, 253
Gopīś, 50 f.
Gorresio’s Rāmāyaṇa, 34, and passim ...
— opinion regarding Rāma’s incarnation, 447, 481
— opinion regarding Śiva’s worship in Southern India, 411
— remark by him, 415
Govinda, 38, 219
Graba (Rāhu), 190
Grabas, 62
Guha, 350. See Kārttikeya
Gunās, 43

- XI.

Habakkuk, iii. 6—72
Hall (Dr. Fitzedward), his aid acknowledged, 374, 377, 407
— his ed. of Wilson’s Viṣṇu Purāṇa, 3, and passim
Hansa, name of Kṛṣṇa, 264
Hansa, name of Brahmā, 490
Hanumat, 456
— his merits as a grammarian, 490
Harī, 39. See Viṣṇu
Harivaṃśa quoted, or referred to—
line 35,—32
43,—393
171,—120
549,—13
589,—120
940,—431
2725,—161
3236,—433
4159,—151
Harivaṃśa, continued—
4116,—151
6579,—215
6833,—250
7518,—33
9423,—435
10235,—435
10660,—278
11548,—120
12195,—151
12425,—32
12456,—120
12900,—151
Sections 183 ff., 178
Haug’s (Prof. M.) translation of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, 9, 84, 290, 320, 493
— dissertation by him referred to, 289
Hayagrīva, 39
Heaven (svar), 80
Heti, 486
Himalaya, 230, 269
Himavat, 385, 430
Hiranyagarbha, 15 ff., 31 ff., 188, 355, 388
Hiranyakaśipu, 190, 215.
Hiranyakapura, 234.
Hrīṭi, 168
Hrīṣīkeṣa, 181, 208, etc.

I.
Ikṣvāku, 445
Ilā, 161
Immortality, how acquired by the gods, 54 ff.
Incarnation of a portion of Viṣṇu, 253
— of white and black hairs of Viṣṇu, 257 ff.
India, 22
Indische Studien (Prof. A. Weber’s), referred to or quoted: 23, 28, 123, 200, 277, etc.
Indra, 15, 20, 22, 25 ff., 40, 48, 61, 64, 66, 160, etc.
— texts in which his greatness is celebrated, 99 ff.
— celebrated conjointly with Viṣṇu, 74, 78, 83, 86
— with other gods, 108
Indra conquered by Indra-ji, 495
— corrupts Ahalyā, 49, 496
Indrayumna, 253
Indrajit, son of Rāvana, and conqueror of Indra,
411, 417 ff., 450, 494
Indraṇī, 403
Interpolated passages in Viṣṇu Purāṇa, 479
Indu (son), 77
Irāvatī, 253
Isaiah, xi. 6—190
— xl. 22; xlv. 12, 18—86
J.
Jagātī, 123, 162
Jagīśhāyā, 432
Jaimini, criticized by Commentator on Rāmāyaṇa, 496
Jamadagni, 177, 322
Jāmbavat, 146
Jāmbavatī, wife of Kṛṣṇa, 189
Jambha, 234, 245, 249
Jambudīpa, 440
Janaka, father of Siśa, 175, 372, 464 f.
Janaloka, 38, 146, 388
Jāra, rāksha, a household goddess, 291
Jarāsandha, 212, 245
— destines human victims for Rudra, 288 ff.
— slain by Bhīmasena, 291
— his birth related, 291
Jarāthī, 253
Jāvālī, 171
Jayadratha, 184, 186, 286
— worships Rudra, 286
Jayanta, an Aśvita, 118
Jayanta, son of Indra, 495
Jayantī, daughter of Indra, 153 f.
Jayārtīrthā, 300
Jīva, 44
Job xxvi. 7—101
Journal of American Oriental Society, referred to or quoted, 48, 398
Jvara (fever), 374
Jyeshtha sūman, 193
Jyotishāmaka, 62

K.
Ka (Prajāpati or Kaśyapa), 15, 138
INDEX.

Kaikasi, mother of Rāvana, 487 f.
Kaikéy, 173, 175, 445 f.
Kailása, 230, etc.
Kaitabha, a Dānava, 230, 433, 435
Kālvalya Upanishad, 362
Kālakānjḍe, 234
Kālanemi, an asura, 254
Kāli, 416, 425, 427, 429.
See Umā.
Kālinga, 202, 249
Kalki, 151
Kāliputra, 152 ff.
Kali, 364
Kanadhumapenance, 152 f.
Kapardin, epithet of Rudra, 301, 394
— epithet of Pūshan, 301
— epithet of the Tritus, 301
Kapila, 425, 429. See Umā
Karṇa, 221 ff, 227 f.
Kārttikeya, 254
Kārttikeya, his birth according to the Mahābhārata, 349
— according to the Rāmāyana, 364
Kārūṣa, 214
Kaserumat, 253
Kaśyapa, 13, 27, 33 f., 118, 133, 136, 177, 322, 369
Katara, commentator on the Rāmāyana, on interpretations in that work, 480 f.
Kāṭhaka, 319, 396
Kāṭyāyana's āruta śūtras, 126
Kāṭyāyana, 360, 426
Kaṇḍaland, 171, 173, 175, 445
Kaṇḍitakshi Brūhmang, 343, 423
Kaṇḍikā, 193
Kaṇḍika, 434
Kaṇḍubha gem, 263
Kaṇḍu Upanishad, quoted, 420
Kaśin (the long-haired), 318
Kēśin (his car), 336
Kēśin (a Dānava), 350
Ketumati, 487
Khandaparāśin, 240
Khāndavā, 128
Khāndavā forest, 161, 246

Khara, a rākṣasa, brother of Rāvana, 471, 482
Kimpurush, 289
Kīrāτa, form of, taken by Rudra, 230
Kīrīṭi, 169
Kōsāla Viḍāhas, 328
Krātṛya, 253
Kriṣṇa, 75, 316
Krīṣṇa, his adulteries, 48 ff.
— his self-consciousness, 178
— identified with Rāma, 181
— son of Devakī, and pupil of Ghorā, 183
— renders homage to Mahādeva, 186 ff.
— receives boons from Mahādeva and Umā, 195
— is a great devotee, 251
— performs a ceremony for a son, 259
— recommends worship of Durgā, 205
— his supernatural characteristic disputed by Śiśu-pāla and Duryodhana, 205 ff, 281
— explanation of his names, 218
— identified with the rishi Nārāyana, 185, 228
— his supernatural power and various exploits, 245
— produced from the black hair of Yishnu, 257 ff.
— identified with the Supreme Spirit, 50, 208, 240, 264 ff.
— Brahmā and Rudra produced from him, 230, 267, 273
— one with Rudra, 268, 280
— his fight with: Rudra, 279
— goes to Dvāravatī from Yer of Jārāsandha, 288
— summary of views regarding him, 281 f.
Krita age, 196
Kṛittikās, 350
Kṣayadvīra, sense of the word, 301 f., 399, 507
Kuken's (Prof. A.) Historisch-Kritisch. Onderzoek referred to, 320
Kuhn's (Prof.) opinion referred to, 424
Kuhn and Schleicher's Breiträge, etc., 81
Kulluka on Manu, 3, 31.
Kumāra, 151
Kumāra (a boy), applied to Āgni, 341
Kumārila, 48
Kumbhakarna, brother of Rāvana, 462, 482
Kūrma (tortoise) incarnation, 27, 156
Kūrma Purāṇa, 376, 472
Kurukshetra, 125, 128
Kuśa, son of Rāma, 478
Kutsa, 162
Kuvera, 180, 366, 482 f., 486

L.

Langlois's Harivaṃśa, 250
Lassen's (Prof. Christian) Indische Alterthumskunde, or, Indian Antiquities, referred to, 136, 169, 211, 243, 245, 283, etc.
Lakshmana, brother of Rāma, 175, 445, etc.
— wounded by Indrajit, 449 ff.
— ascends to heaven, 478
Lakṣmi, 182, 450 f., 460, 465
Lava, son of Rāma, 478
Linga Purāṇa quoted—
1, 3, 28 ff.—42
1, 4, 59 ff.—39
1, 17, 5—52—386
1, 19, 8 ff.—391
2, 28—426
Linga worship, 192, 405 ff.
Lingin (receptacle of the linga), 388
Lokamprīna, 57
Lokāyattikas, 138
Madhū, a Dānava, 230, 435
Mādhuki, a muni, 123
Mādhya, a city, 478
Mādhusūdana, 133
Maghabat (Indra), 105 f.
Mahābhārata, quoted or referred to—
i. Adiparvan.
1215—219
2519—118
2692—11
2598—118
2785—50
33
Mahābhārata, continued.
7049—286
7306—259
8196—246
ii. Sabhā-parvan.
582—297
626—287
655—288
729—291
861—289
869—278
1211—205
1333—206
1410—212
iii. Vana-parvan.
166 ff.—117 f., 474
192—371
461—229
471—231
484—136
615—216
1513—184, 230
6054—284
8166—285
8349—285
10209—369
10316—48
10388—388
10932—38
11001—284
12797—38
14287—351
14427—350
15274—293
15777—286
v. Udyoga-parvan.
130—243
147—243
320—261
414—496
1875—247
1917—232
2527—216
2560—218
3450—235
3501—119
4407—250
4409—210
4418—220
vi. Bhishma-parvan.
793 ff.—205, 432
2932—236
vii. Droga-parvan.
382—244
401—191
459—235
2224—470
2355—243
2832—184
9575—203
9632—199
viii. Karna-parvan.
1625—221
ix. S'Alva-parvan.
2434—261
3619—294
x. Sauptika-parvan.
289—191
312—186
780—406
786—373
xii. S'anti-parvan.
241—369
1414—295
1500—263
1748—287
3655—277
6775—35
6805—35
7092—118
10226—373
10272—574
12943—135
13133—266
13152—185, 266
13171—63
13228—219
13229—88
13265—238
13337—241
13723—393
xii. Anusāsana-parvan.
550—187
1160—406
6295—268
6397—189
6889—189
7092—118
7232—369
7356—274
7402—196
7510—405
xiv. Āṣvan'dhika-parvan.
1536—275
Mahādeva. See Rudra
Maحارloka, 146, 388
Mahat, 42
Mahāvīra, 126
Mahendra, 150. See Indra
Mahishma’s commentary
on Vājasaneyi Sanhitā,
7, 15 ff., 17, 104
Maitri Upanishad, quoted, 267
Mākha, 125 ff.
Mākhāvat, 126
Mākha Vaishnava, 128
Mālati-Mādhava, 430
Māli, 487
Małini, 482
Mālyavat, 487
Mānasa (a name of the Creator), 35
Mandara (a mountain), 279
Māndhātrī incarnation, 156
Mandodari, Rāvana’s queen, 455, 466
Man-lion (para-sīhi) incarnation, 135, 156
Manojavā (one of the tongues of Fire), 429, 498
Mānthāra, 484 f.
Manu, quoted—
1. 5 ff.—30
2. 32 ff.—35, 48
iii. 2—43
vii. 38—413
vii. 82—48
ix. 305—117
—308—148
xii. 91—30
—121—164
Manu, the bard, 27
Manu Svāyambhuva, 13
Vivasvata, 33, 113
Manvantaras, (Chākshausha and Vaivasvata), 120
Manu, 349
Marichi, 33 ff., 47, 118, 120
Marka, 155
Mārkandeya, 279
— Purāṇa, 343, 435, 497
Marus, 128
Maruts, 45, 68, 76, etc.
Mārtanda, 13, 15, 115
Matapariṣkṛta, 49
Matsya (or Fish) incarnation, 156
Matsya Purāṇa, 45, quoted
— 47th section of, abstracted & quoted, 151 ff.
Maya, an Asura, 223
Meghañā (or Indrajit), son of Rāvana, 450, 495
Mena, wife of Himavat, 385, 430 f.
INDEX.

Närāyaṇas, cowherds so called, 243
Nārāyaṇīya, Upanishad, 426
Narmadā river, 440
Neckund, 427
Nidāra Kālirūpīṇī, 433
Nīghantu—
   2, 7, 10, 17—310, 316
   2, 10—103
   2, 17—74
   5, 3—159
Nikumbhī, place of sacrifice, 416
Nīlakantha, name of Rudra, 427
Nīlakantha, commentator on the Mahābhārata, 260, 265
Nīlāradra, Upanishad quoted, 363
Nimi, 372
Nirmochana, 250
Nirṛiti, 78, 313
Nirukta, quoted or referred to—
   1, 15—355, 403
   1, 17—320
   1, 20—69
   2, 6, 7—69, 73
   2, 11—441
   2, 13—117
   2, 17—74
   3, 7—165
   3, 10—190
   3, 21—19
   4, 19—71
   4, 24—310
   5, 7, 8, 9—88, 505
   5, 11—81
   6, 11—232
   6, 15—8, 11
   6, 17—82
   6, 22—75
   7, 4ff—65, 157ff.
   7, 25—74
   5, 29—114
   8, 11—309
9, 1—28, and 35 ff—159
9, 9—159
9, 10—310
10, 6ff—299, 314
10, 40—100
10, 26—9
10, 27—8
10, 32—114
10, 44—71
11, 9—310
11, 23—13, 159
11, 49—420

Nirukta, continued—
12, 19—64, 156
12, 25—71
12, 26—318 f.
12, 36—115

Nirukta, Pariṣhita—
1—114
1, 1—104
2, 1—71
2, 10—8
2, 12—94
2, 21—76

Nishad, a sort of treatise, 265
Nishādas, 328
Nisunda, 252
Nivātakavachas, 234

O.
Ogha, a rākṣasa, 250

P.
Padma Purāṇa, quoted, 278
Padma-kalpa, 37
Panchadasātoma, 162
Panchaśāna, an asura, 246
Panchavītā Brahmanā quoted, 129
Panchi, a muni, 123
Pāṇini, 405, 490, 302
Panuki metre, 162
Pannagas, 199
Parameshṭhin, 19, 21
Parāśurāma, 156, 170, 175 ff, 227, 287
Parīṣāha, 128
Pārijāta tree, 246
Pariṣīt, 57
Parājanya, 82, 111, 120, 160
Pārvati. See Uma, and Himavat
Paśu-bandha, 57
Paśupati, 289, 336 f. See Rudra
Paśupata weapon, 184, 232
Paśupata rite, 361
Paṭāla, 38, 110
Paulomas, 234
Periplius, 427
Pictet’s (M. Adolphe) Origines Indo-Européennes, 81
Pinakin, 191. See Rudra
Piṣāchas, 188
Piṣṭha, 245
Pliny, 427
Prabhāsā, 252
Prāchyas, 328
Pradāhana, 3, 42, 194, 388
See Prakrīti.

Meru, 42
Mithulā, 175
Mitra, 14, 68, 74
Molesworth’s Marathi Dictionary, 53
Mrida, 379. See Rudra
Mridāni, 405
Mūjavat, 322
Müller’s (Prof. Max) edition of Rigyoda, 314
   his translation of ditto, 66, 68, 105, 111, 801, 314
   translation by him in Zeitschr. der D. M. G., 105
   article on funeral rites of the Brāhmaṇas in ditto, 415
   his, aid acknowledged, 498
Munḍaka Upanishad, 29
   i 2, 4—429
Muni, the, 318 f.
Munjakasavat, 240
Mura, 245, 250
Mūrādeva, 410

N.
Nagamūt, 245, 249
Nahuni, i, 3—64
Nairuktas (or etymologists), 66, 92, 159
Nalakūvara, 461, 485
Namuchā, slain by Indra with foam, 261, 472
Nandīśvara, 380, 460 f.
Nara, 31 f., 119, 156, 185, 228 ff.
Nāraḥ, 31 f.
Nārada, 269
   —— incarnation, 156
   —— denounces Brahmā, Preface, vi
Nārada-panchārātra, edited by Rev. K. M. Banerjea, Preface, vi
Nā.Śatān, an Asura, 219, 250
Nārāsaṅśa, 9
Nārāsaṅśa’s hymns, 159
Nārāyaṇa, 31 f., 37, 119, 156, 185, 228 ff.
Nara-simha, or man-lion incarnation, 133, 156, 215
Nārāyaṇa, commentator on the Mahābhārata, 119
INDEX.

Pradyumna, son of Krishna, 221, 246, 435
Pragjyotisha, 214, 253
Praheti, 486
Prahāda, 149, 152, 154 f.
Prajāpati, 8, 15, 17 ff, 28 f., 33, 37, 54 ff, 97
—— created by the gods out of seven men, 22
—— creates the Veda, 22
—— creates the waters, 22, 439
—— born in an Egg, 25
—— takes the form of a tortoise, 27
—— Agni, Indra, etc., spring from him, 26
—— produced Agni from his mouth, 28
—— is Daksha, 28
—— is supporter of the universe, 28
—— seeks to conquer worlds, 29
—— his passion for his own daughter, 45
—— half of him mortal, 55
—— father both of Gods and Asuras, 59
—— gives names to the Kumāra, 341, 345
—— produces Agni, Vāyu, Chandramas, and Ushas, 345
—— gods depart from him, 348. See Brahma.
Prajāpati in a secondary sense applied to Kas-
yapa, Manu, 138, 273
Prakṛiti, 263, 389. See Pradhāna
Pralambha, 245
Pramathas, 379
Pras'itra, 200
Prasūti, daughter of Manu, and wife of Daksha, 378
Prathas, 96
Pravargya, 126, 128
Prayati, 4
Prisūti, 309, 311, 335
Pris'ningarba, 264
Prishitas, 162
Prithā, mother of Arjuna, 53 ff., 63, 185
Prithivī, 161
Prithurasisni, 492
Prithu incarnation, 156
Pulastya, 482, 485
Puloman, 493

Punjikasthalā, daughter of Varuna, 458, 462
Punjishtha, 328
Purandara (Indra), 120
Purandhi, 82
Purikayas, 237
Prānāmāsa, 57
Pṛṣu, 103
Prurāvas, 457
Prusha, 10, 19, 33, 42, 43, 73, 194
Prusha incarnation, 156
Prusha Narayana, 29
Prushā-sūkta, 10, 29
Prushottama, 252
Prushottama of the Chedis, 297
Pāśa, 68, 76, 95, 115, etc.,
—— his teeth knocked out by Rudra, 200, 383
Pushpotkata, mother of Rāvana, 482, 487
Pūtanā, female demon killed by Krishna, 210
Putrīya iṣṭi, 170

R.
Rādhava, 286
Rāhu, 190
Raiyata-sāman, 163
Raghuvañśa quoted, 53, 117, 138, 153
Rajas, 11, 71, 267, 276
Rajendralal Mitra (Babu), his translation of the
Chhandogya Upanishad quoted, 26
Rajasas 337
Rajāsūya sacrifice, 205, 287
Rākṣa, 482, 487
Rākṣasas, their origin and early history, 486
—— did they specially worship Rudra? 411
Rāma, represented as an incarnation of Vishnu,
168 ff.
—— his miraculous birth discussed, 170 ff., 441 ff., 481
—— ignorant of his own nature, 180
—— told by Brahmā who he is, 181
—— the gods anxious about him, 447
—— congratulated by gods, 472
—— says he can easily destroy Rākṣasas, 476
Rāma wounded by Indrajit, 450
—— recovers his senses, 452
—— told by Vāyu who is, 453
—— does not know Garu-
—— defeats Rāvana, 457
—— defies Rāvana, 463
—— advised to utter a hymn to the Sun, 473
—— his divinity owned by Mandodari, 467
—— ascends to heaven, 479
Rāmāyana quoted or referred to——

i. Bāla-kānda.
1, 4, 81 ff., 84, 86—443
1, 13 & 18—442
3, 32—443
3, 3 ff.—441
4, 14—442
8, 1—170
11, 1—170
11, 20—171
12, —171
13, 36, 54—171
14, 1—165
16, 1—173
17, —173
18, 1 ff.—173, 444
19, 1 ff.—174
23, 10—164
29, 9—250
31, 2 ff.—130
32, 2 ff.—132
35, 20—364
36, 13—430
37, 3, 5—364 f.
42 & 43 —365
45, 21—366
45, 26—50
49, 16 ff.—48
49, 1 ff.—49
66, 7—372
66, 13—464
75, 14—175

ii. Ayuśikyā-kānda.
108, 3—128
110, 2—33
119, 2—34

iii. Aranyā-kānda.
24, 19—448
30, 20—447
30, 27—371, 471
INDEX.

Rāmāyaṇa, continued. 30, 36–373
31, 10–373
32, 5–351
55, 1–443
70, 2–373
iv. Kīṣkindhā-kīṅḍa. 5, 30–371
40, 11–443
40, 54–439
43, 20–366
45, 46–480
49, 54–367
44, 27–366
44, 46–368
44, 117–367
v. Sundara-kīṅḍa. 12, 39–373
24, 44–416
89, 1 ff. – 370, 419, 483
91, 3–477
vi. Yuddha-kīṅḍa. 7, 18–412
17, 1–483
18, 22–476
19, 38–416
26, 8 ff. – 453
33, 25–455
34, 7–464
39, 21–441
40, 44–463
41, 2–463
44, 32–416
45, 50–449.
51, 17–371
54, 23–373
55, 89–371
59, 105–455
60, 5–457
60, 67–482
60, 11–462
63, 2–462
63, 13–418
64, 11–418
65, 12–419
66, 2–418
71, 28, 31–412 f.
72, 62–413
73, 37–371
76, 39–371
84, 14–418
85, 12–418
86, 14–419
87, 2–418
93, 30–413
93, 58–413
95, 5–468
Rāmāyaṇa, continued. 96, 10–414
106, 1–473
111, 23–413
113, 5–466
112, 49–494
112, 112–414
119, 1–178
4, 9–439
16, 1–460
17, 1–458
17, 35–461
19, 8–457
23, 1–480
25, 2, 7–416
27, 30–495 ff.
30, 12–415
30, 19–497
31, 42–406, 420
36, 44–490
37, 4–480
59, 5–480
103 ff. – 477
Rāmopakhyāna, story of Rāma as told in the Vana-parvan of the Mahābhārata, 481 ff.
Rāma’s story as related in the Drona-parvan of the Mahābhārata, 479
Rathantara, 96, 161, 193 ff.
Ratnagarbha, commentator on Vishnu Purāṇa, quoted, 257
Rambhā, an Ajaras, 458, 461
Rātrī-sūkta, 498
Rāvya’s birth, 482, 488
– his austerities, 482, 488
– obtains boon from Brahmā, 482, 488
– drives Kuvera from Lankā, 483
– acts oppressively, 483
– Brahmā promises his destruction, 483
– wounds Lakshmana, 453
– defeated by Rāma, 457
– his reflections, 467
– sues, and then insulst, Vedavatī, 459
– his arms crushed by Rudra, 461
Rāvana violates Rambhā, 461
defies Vishnu, 463, 465
– acknowledges Rāma to be Vishnu, 466
– his body burned with Brahmanical rites, 414
– observes the Vedic ritual, 413
Rāyovājiya, 492
Ribhuksan, 76, 95, 311
Ribhus, 80, 88, 311
Rīchā, 10
Richard, 177
Ruddhi, wife of Kuvera, 370
Rigveda Sanhita quoted or referred to,
Māndala i.
2, 2–76
6, 4–314
7, 3–99
9, 7–310
10, 9–160
10, 11–193, 434
18, 2–317
22, 16–21–63 ff., 97, 402
22, 17 ff. – 75 ff.
24, 8–108
27, 10–299, 395
27, 13–173
32, 1–69
32, 6–102
32, 15–302
33, 11–314
33, 1–502
34, 11–54
39, 6–494
43, 1–6–91, 300, 399 ff.
45, 2–54
50, 7–71, 109
51, 2–68
51, 3–316, 408
51, 5–61
52, 8, 12–14–99
55, 1–99
56, 4–317
59, 5–103, 111
61, 7–67, 92, 503
61, 9–99
63, 7–103
64, 2–300, 400
67, 3–111
81, 4–314
81, 5–99 ff.
85, 1–301, 400
85, 7–68
90, 5, 9–68
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rigveda, continued.</th>
<th>Rigveda, continued.</th>
<th>Rigveda, continued.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>90, 7-71</td>
<td>6, 4-69, 77</td>
<td>16, 39-312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94, 5-71</td>
<td>17, 1-83</td>
<td>17, 4-310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96, 3-28, 82</td>
<td>18, 5-82</td>
<td>17, 7-99, 102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99, -499</td>
<td>26, 7-71</td>
<td>17, 11-81, 92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102, 8-99 f.</td>
<td>30, 5-170</td>
<td>20, 2-82, 98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103, 2-100</td>
<td>30, 9-161</td>
<td>21, 9-82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104, 6-315</td>
<td>32, 7-9-77, 101 f., 109</td>
<td>28, 7-312, 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105, 8-410</td>
<td>33, 4-109</td>
<td>30, 4-99, 103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106, 4-302</td>
<td>4, 3-102</td>
<td>31, 2-103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108, 9-70</td>
<td>47, 1-314</td>
<td>32, 5-109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112, 3-302</td>
<td>53, 6-160</td>
<td>38, 4-310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114, 1-11-301 ff., 309 f., 396, 400 f.</td>
<td>55, 1-314</td>
<td>38, 3-103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115, 1-111</td>
<td>54, 14-77, 97</td>
<td>46, 13-109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121, 2 f.-100, 107</td>
<td>55, 10-77</td>
<td>47, 8-160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122, 1-306</td>
<td>Mandala iv.</td>
<td>48, 13 f.-82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126, 3-302</td>
<td>1, 6-6</td>
<td>49, 10-312, 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126, -159</td>
<td>2, 4-78</td>
<td>49, 13-82, 97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127, 3-494</td>
<td>3, 6-302, 310, 400</td>
<td>50, 2-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128, 2-314 f.</td>
<td>3, 7-78, 97</td>
<td>50, 4-312, 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132, 3-306, 400</td>
<td>5, 7, 13-316 f.</td>
<td>50, 7-17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131, 1-306</td>
<td>6, 6-6</td>
<td>50, 12-82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154, 1-6-68 ff., 73, 75, 82, 97, 101</td>
<td>7, 7-316</td>
<td>55, 2-301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155, 1-6-74 f., 84, 86, 97 f.</td>
<td>16, 5-102</td>
<td>66, 3-312, 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156, 1-5-75 f., 97</td>
<td>18, 11-78, 97 f.</td>
<td>69, 1-8-83 f., 97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164, 6-71</td>
<td>30, 1-99, 102</td>
<td>70, 1-5-108, 310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164, 36-76</td>
<td>36, 9-310</td>
<td>72, 2-101, 107 f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165, 13-314 f.</td>
<td>38, 5-310</td>
<td>74, 1-313, 400 f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167, 4 f.-410, 420</td>
<td>50, 2-82</td>
<td>Mandala vii.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180, 7-410</td>
<td>55, 4-79</td>
<td>1, 6-317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151, 3-82</td>
<td>58, 5-19</td>
<td>3, 5-80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186, 10-76</td>
<td>Mandala ii.</td>
<td>3, 10-314 f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>190, 2-109</td>
<td>1, 3-76, 97</td>
<td>10, 4-313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1, 6-306, 400</td>
<td>20, 1-314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3, 8 f.-114</td>
<td>20, 4-99, 103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3, 11-314</td>
<td>21, 3-8-407, 409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12, 1 f., 9, 13-15, 19,90, 100</td>
<td>31, 7-102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15, 1-3-69,99,101</td>
<td>32, 16, 22 f.-99,103,258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>108</td>
<td>33, 1-301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18, 4-160</td>
<td>34, 21-317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22, 1-77</td>
<td>35, 6-313, 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27, 1-115</td>
<td>35, 9-84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27, 10-108, 114</td>
<td>36, 5-313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28, 10-63, 76</td>
<td>36, 8-317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>33, 1-15-302,337 ff., 396,399 ff.</td>
<td>36, 9-85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34, 2-309, 400</td>
<td>37, 2-314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34, 11-85</td>
<td>39, 5-78, 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38, 4-317</td>
<td>40, 5-85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38, 8-13</td>
<td>41, 1-313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38, 9-309</td>
<td>42, 3-317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mandala iii.</td>
<td>44, 5-85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2, 5-310</td>
<td>46, 1-4-314, 409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5, 6-316</td>
<td>56, 1-2-315, 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mandala vi.</td>
<td>56, 6-319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1, 11-310</td>
<td>58, 5-315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11, 2-7</td>
<td>59, 12-321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>60, 6-314 f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>65, 3-148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>78, 4-314</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Rigveda, continued.

62, 5–108
63, 8–301
65, 1–108
66, 4–314
67, 1–109
68, 2–69
93, 8–85
98, 3–99
100, 1–68
26, 53, 97, 97, 502

Mandala viii.

1, 21–68
3, 6, 8–104
7, 10–81
9, 12–88
7, 97
10, 2–89
12, 8–504
12, 16, 25 ff.
38, 99
13, 20–316
14, 41–261
15, 8 ff.
17, 12–190
18, 14–319
19, 10–302
20, 3–85
24, 7–314
20, 17–316
20, 23–300
21, 13–15
22, 1–506
22, 13–300
25, 5–82
25, 11–14
26, 5–300
27, 5–305
28, 10–90
30, 11–13
31, 10–91
31, 12–317
32, 10–82
35, 1, 14–91
35, 4–104
37, 3–104
42, 1, 2, 10–99, 111, 317
43, 3–357
51, 2–76
57, 1–86
59, 5–104
61, 3–316
64, 12–100
66, 4–81
68, 10–27

Rigveda, continued.

67, 5–105
72, 7–93
77, 3–101
77, 4–105
78, 5–105
82, 11–105
85, 5–68
86, 9–105
87, 2–106
89, 3–37
90, 12–78
90, 11–199

Mandala ix.

1, 4–310
4, 1–113
6, 3–310
33, 3–93
34, 2–93
43, 5–310
44, 6–310
45, 5–90
56, 4–93
59, 1–114
61, 16–112
63, 3, 12–93
65, 20–24
66, 18–63
67, 5, 10 f.
83, 5–113
86, 28–30
87, 5–310
89, 6–112
90, 5–94
96, 5–94
98, 112
114, 10, 14–114
97, 16–103
97, 24–112
100, 6–95
100, 8–113
101, 13–126
107, 7–113
109, 4–113
112, 4–410
114, 3–115

Mandala x.

1, 3–95
7, 6–7
9, 5–302
10, 48
15, 3–506
17, 3–162
25, 1–314
39, 11–310
40, 12–316
42, 9–106
43, 5–106
48, 3–106

Rigveda, continued.

61, 4–7–46
61, 19–341
64, 8–316
64, 15–317
65, 1–95
66, 3–317
66, 4–95
69, 3–310
72, 1–9–11 f.
75, 9–161
79, 3–316
81, 1–7–5 ff.
82, 1–7–5 ff.
85, 3–410
86, 1–106
86, 16 f.
88, 10–65
88, 11–114
90, 2–282
90, 2–105
90, 15–23
92, 5, 9–317
92, 11–95
93, 4, 7–317
94, 2–161
95, 4 f.
99, 1–8–408
102, 8–301
109, 1–24
110, 6–309
111, 1–5–99
113, 1 f.
114, 2–160
121, 1–10–15
125, 6–318
126, 5–318
127, 1–8–304
128, 2–96
129, 1–7–3 f.
133, 2–15
134, 1–25
136, 1–7–318
138, 3–99
139, 5–71
140, 1–310
141, 3, 5–96
142, 2–301
149, 1–101
154, 3–278
168, 3 f.
169, 1–320
171, 2–126
180, 2–69
181, 1–3–96
184, 1–96
Rishabh incarnation, 156
Rishikā, 253
Rishis, 22
Rishyasringa, 167, 172
INDEX.

Kitadhaman, 180
Rodashi, 420
Roer's (Dr. E.) translation of the Upanishads, 421
Robini, 260, 262
Rosen's (Dr. F.) Latin translation of the Rigveda, 63
Rost (Dr. R.), suggestion made by him, 210
Roth (Professor Rudolph), article by him in Jour. of the American Oriental Society, 48
— article by him in Journal of German Oriental Society, 114, 148
— his Illustrations of the Nirikta, 6, 8, 9, 13, 64, 69, 73, 81 ff., 103, 314, etc.
— his remarks on śravas and śru, 494.
See Böhtlingk and Roth
Rudra, 42, 45, 50
Rudra, as represented in the Rigveda, 299 ff.
— in the Yajurveda, 321 ff.
— in the Atharvaveda, 332 ff.
— in the Brāhmaṇas, 339 ff.
— in the Upanishads, 355 ff.
— in the Rāmāyaṇa, 176, 364 ff., 405
— in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, 378 ff.
— in the Vishnu Purāṇa, 392
— in the Linga Purāṇa, 386 ff.
— in the Harivamśa, 393
Rudra identified with Agni, 339 ff.
— fights with Vishnu, 176, 279
— fights with Arjuna, 231
— identified with Krishna, or Vishnu, 280
Rudra, his linga, 192, 405 ff.
— his unchastity, 191
— worshipped by Krishna and Arjuna, 184 ff., 195
— worshipped by Brāhmaṇa and Vishnu, 193
— his fight with Krishna, 279
— the creator of Brāhmaṇa and Vishnu, 188, 193, 391
— sprung from Brāhmaṇa, 392 ff.
— sprung from Krishna or Vishnu, 267, 273
— identified with Vishnu, 241, 280, 384
— identified with the Supreme Spirit, 185, 232
— destroys castles of the Asuras, 203, 225 ff.
— his vigour increased by hymns, 226
— his third eye formed, 270
— his names applied to Vishnu, 272
— prevalence of his worship as described in the Mahābhārata, 284 ff.
— seizes victims at sacrifice, 284
— human victims devoted to him, 288 ff.
— father of Maruts, 305
— curses Kandarpa, 364
— the lord of thieves, 327
— attributes applied to, or abuse of, him explained away by commentators, 327, 379
— cursed by Daksha, 380
— cursed by Bhṛigu, 382
— plucks out Bhṛigu's beard and Bhaga's eyes, knocks out Pūśhan's teeth, and cuts off Daksha's head, 383 f. (see also 200, 298)
— formerly general of the gods, 365
— receives the Ganga on His head, 365
— swallows poison, 366
— his abode, 367
— identified with Viṣvaka-rman, 369, 376 ff.
Rudra, his linga appears & allays a dispute between Brāhmaṇa and Vishnu, 390
— plays dice with Kuvera, 483
— his linga worship, 178, 405 ff.
— summary of views regarding him, 399 ff.
Rudra Prajāpati, 46
— Vāstuspati, 46
Rudras, 64, 180, 331
Rudrāni, 405
Rudravartini, sense of the word, 316
Rukmin, 215, 286
Rukmini, wife of Krishna, 189

S.
S'achi, 135
Sādhyas, 180
Sagara, 365
Saint John's Gospel, iii.
8–16
S'āivas, 385
S'āivya, 233
S'ākapūṇi, 64 ff., 97, 166
S'akra, 105
S'akti, 383
S'ākvara sāma, 162
Sālankatākata, 486
S'ālya, King of the Madras, 221 ff.
Sāmaveda, parallel passages from, 5, 10, 63, &c.
— i. 90, and i. 361–27
S'ambāra, 86
S'ambhu, 43, 367
S'ambhu, King of the Daityas, 469
Sanaka, 38
Sanandana, 38
S'agda, 155
Sandhya-vidyā, 428
Sāṅkara on Brahma-sūtras i. 3, 28, referred to, 131
Sāṅkhayānā or Brāhmaṇa vi. 1 ff., 343
Sāṅkhya, 3, 41, 224
S'āntā, 174
Sapratthas, 96
Saptadāsa stoma, 162
Sarasvatī, 35, 80, 85, 424, 428
Sarayu, 368, 478 ff.
INDEX.

Sūrṇa, 181
Saru, 78
S'arva, 186, 328, 332
Sarvamedha, 369
S'arván, 463
Satadhavan, 253
S'atgundo, a magical
weapon, 249
S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa
quoted—

i.
2, 3, 6 — 290
2, 5, 1 ff. — 122
7, 2, 22 — 59
7, 2, 24 — 106
7, 3, 1 — 202
7, 3, 8 — 339, 403
7, 3, 18 — 59
7, 4, 1 ff. — 45, 201
9, 2, 34 — 106

ii.
1, 1, 3 — 21
1, 4, 11 — 24
1, 4, 27 — 123
2, 2, 8 — 58
2, 4, 1 — 28
4, 4, 1 — 28
6, 2, 9 — 321

iii.
1, 3, 3 — 14, 115
9, 4, 20 — 27

iv.
1, 5, 1 — 48, 129
5, 4, 1 ff. — 61
5, 7, 2 — 54
6, 3, 1 — 56

v.
1, 1, 1 — 80

vi.
1, 1, 1 ff. — 20 ff., 404
1, 2, 1 — 46
1, 2, 8 — 116
1, 2, 16, 21 — 21
1, 3, 1 ff. — 21
1, 3, 7 ff. — 339, 404.
2, 1, 1 — 21
2, 18 — 72
6, 2, 11 — 61
6, 3, 2 — 61
7, 1, 17 — 24
8, 1, 14 — 28

vii.
4, 1, 19 — 15
4, 3, 5 — 27
5, 2, 11 — 19
5, 2, 21 — 22

vol. iv.

S'atap Brāhmaṇa, contd.

\[ \text{x.} \]
1, 3, 1 ff. — 54
1, 4, 1 — 55
2, 1, 1 — 29
2, 2, 1, 5 — 23
2, 3, 18 — 23
2, 4, 8 — 23
3, 5, 13 — 55
4, 2, 2 — 55
4, 3, 1 ff. — 56
6, 4, 1 — 54
6, 5, 1 — 3

1, 2, 12 — 58
1, 4, 4 — 506
1, 6, 1 ff. — 17, 24
1, 6, 14 — 21
1, 8, 1 f. — 30, 60
2, 3, 1 — 29
2, 3, 6 — 58
2, 7, 26 — 61
3, 2, 1 — 61
4, 3, 1 — 56
5, 1, 1 — 19
6, 3, 8 — 116

3, 4, 1 — 29
7, 3, 1 — 261

2, 4, 1 — 29
5, 1, 1 — 29
7, 1, 1 — 29
7, 1, 14 f. — 369

1, 1, 1 — 124
1, 2, 11 — 27
2, 2, 2 — 24
4, 2, 23 — 29
7, 1, 34 — 131
5, 1, 1 — 258
5, 6, 1 — 24

S'atarudriya, 186, 193,
193, 322 ff.

— its object and name
explained, 349

S'atrupa, 13, 48
Satī (Mahādeva's wife),
373, 385. See Umā
Satruhna, 275, 445
Sattva guṇa, 267, 276

Satyaloka, 388
Sauba, a magical city,
246, 249, etc.
Saumanasa peak, 440
Saumya adhvara, 57
S'auva, 328
Sauviras, 214
Savana, 60
Sāvarni Manvantara, 149,
155
Saviṣṭa, 20, 72, 80, 109.
See Sūrya
Sāvitrī, 48, 379
Sāyana, 11, 12, 14, 46,
261, 303, etc.
Sāyangriha muni, 252
Schiegel's Rāmāyaṇa, 33,
and passim
— his opinion referred
to, 170
Scholia minora on the
Iliad quoted, 255
S'esa, 110
 Siddhas, 165
Siddhāntas, 110
Siddhānta-siromaṇi, 110
Siddhā-rama, 135
S'ipivihita, 87 f., 504 ff.
S'iṣṇadeva, sense of the
word, 407 ff.
S'iṣṭupāla disputes Krish-
ṇa's right to honour,
205 ff.
— his previous history,
211
— slain by Krishna, 215
Sītā, daughter of Janaka,
and wife of Rāma, 175,
and passim
— her birth from the
ground, 464 f.
— threatened by Rāk-
shasis, 416
— sees Rāma wounded,
451
— was formerly Veda-
vati, 460
— born for Rāvana's
destruction, 460, 471
— enters the fire, 178
Sītikānta, 176, 240
S'iva, 176 (see Rudra)
S'ivā, wife of Angiras
Skambha, 11 f., 18 ff.
Skanda (see Kārttikeya)
Skanda Purāṇa, 152
Sky (Dyu), 46 f., 45 f.
Sky, daughter of Prajā-
Soma, 77, 80, 94 f., 108,
113 f., 120, 422

34
INDEX.

Somagiri, 367
Speech, 22
Sphulingini, 429, 498
Sraddhā, 27
Śrī, 76, 168, 273, 453
Śrīdhara Svāmin, 51
Śrīkantha, 211
Śrīvatsa, 241, 263
Stasinus, Cypria, 256
Stevenson (Dr.), on the
ante-brāhmaṇical reli-
gion of the Hindus, 406
Śthānu, 165, 167
Stomas, 162
Svādārana (name of Vish-
ū's chakra), 191, 249
Svādārana, 249
S'uddhāsuddhāya, 491
Suddhānupārṇa, 429
Sugrīva, 452, 465
Sukesā, 486
Sukra, 150, 152 ff.
Sulobhitā, 429, 498
Sumālī, 487, 495
Sumitrā, 173, 175
Sumānāman, 246, 249
S'unasēca, 289, 300
Sundarī, 487
Supārśva (minister of Rā-
vaṇa), 413
S'arṣenos, 245
S'urpeyakā, 482, 488
Śārya, 29, 61, 66
— texts in praise of,
100, 473
—one of the triad of
gods, 66, 160 ff., 298
Śārīyā (goddess), 91
S'usīga, 107
Sutala, 149
Svadā, 4
— sense of the word,
314
Svadāvat, sense of, 314
Svāhā, 353
Svapivāta, sense of the
word, 314
Svārāt, 43
Svayaambhū, 47, 173
Svayambhuva, 13
Svetadvīpa, 241
Svetāvatara, Upanishad,
355
Svishākṛit, 200, 372
T.
Taittiriya, 70
Taittiriya Āraṇyaka—
i. 14, 1 —116
—23, 1 —24
Taittiriya Trāḥmaṇa—
i. 1, 3, 5 ff. —127
xi. 1, 8 —28, 502
—1, 150 —422
Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa—
i. 4, 1, 1 —59
6, 1, 1 —347
6, 44, 10 —321
7, 1, 2 —347
7, 1, 6 —261
ii. 2, 9, 9 —25
6, 9, 1 ff. —21
iii. 1, 3, 7 —129
2, 7, 9 —15
2, 9, 6 —61
4, 1, 1 —289
9, 21, 1 —116
10, 9, 1 —58
12, 3, 1 —29
Taittiriya Sanhitā—
i. 1, 5, 1 —341
1, 8, 1 —126
ii. 2, 12, 5 —505
4, 3, 2 —55
4, 9, 2 —492
4, 12, 2 —78
5, 5, 2 —504, 506
6, 8, 3 —200
iii. 2, 4, 1 —126
4, 5, 1 —129
iv. 1, 8, 3 ff. —17
6, 2, 1 ff. —5 f.
T. 4, 3, 1 —348
5, 7, 4 —348
7, 5, 3 —24
vi. 2, 4, 2 —39
2, 7, 5 —492
6, 8, 3 —160
vii. 1, 5, 1 ff. —24
4, 9, 1 —201
Talaketu, 253
Talavākūra, Upanishad,
420, 422
Tamas, 267, 276
Tandli, 195
Tāndya Mahābrāhmaṇa—
i. 1, 4 —503
vi. 9, 7 —349
vii. 4, 2 —503
—5, 6 —507
—5, 11; 6, 5 —503
—5, 20 —152
—5, 8, 1 ff. —503
viii. 1, 4 —491 f.
—2, 1 —502
—2, 10 —503
ix. 7, 9 —504
xii. 5, 23, 9, 21, 13,
27 —503
—6, 8 —507
xiv. 4, 17 —491
xv. 11, 28 —491 f.
—6, 25 —506
xx. 14, 2 —503
—15, 6 —504
Tanūṇāpāt, 9
Tapoloka, 146
Tāraka, Tārakāksha, an
Asura, 223 f.
Tārshīya, 148
Tides, cause of the, 219
Time, in the form of an
ascetic, 477
Tirtha, a commentator on
the Rāmāyaṇa, 480
Tisya, 316
Trāyāstriṁśa stoma, 163
Trīad of Agni, Vāyu (or
Indra), and Śūrya, 61,
163, 298, 421
—of Brāhmaṇu, Vishṇu
and Śiva (or Rudra),
280
Trījātā, a Rākṣasa, 451
Trīkādrauka, 77, 87
Trīkūṭa, 285
Trīmūrti, 163
Trīnāva stoma, 162
Trīnāvindu, 486
Trīpīṣṭa, 284
Triple science, 60
Trisūtbha, 123, 162
Trīṣūra, 55f.
Trita Aptya, 89, 409
Trivikrama, 67, 273
Trivrit stoma, 161
Trīyambaka, 204, 321
Trūgūna, 128
Tushitas, 120
Tvāṣṭri, 80, 91, 95, 97,
115, 317
INDEX.

U.
Uchhaisravas, 245
Udayagiri, or Udayaparvata, 63, 440
Udgātri, 66
Ugra and Ugradeva, 336, 339, 342 f., 346
Ugrasena, 249
Uktiṭa ritual, 84
Umā, daughter of Dakṣa and Praṣūti, 378, 385
— reborn as daughter of Himavat and Menā, 385
Umā, name, 421 ff.
Umā, whose other name, 431
— her names and attributes, 432
— born as a child of Yaśodā, 434
— connected with Vishnu as Mahāmāya, 435
— identified with the Supreme Spirit, 436
(Called also Aparna, Devi, Durgā, Kālī, Karadī, Parvati, Satī, Yoga-nidrā)
Upahāya, the, 491
Upamanyu, 189
Upendra, 150. See Vishnu
Urmilā, 465
Urukrama, 121
Uśanas, 142 f., 150, 162
Ushas, 91, 340
Uṣiṣe, 112
Uttānapad, 12 f.
Uttānapada, 13
Uttanga muni, 275
Uttara Kuru, 367
Uttara Mimāṃsā, 131

V.
Vāch, 23, 46 f.
Vajayanta, 393
Vāmanīka creation, 588
Vairāja sūman, 162
Vairūpā sūman, 162
Vaishāya rite, 204, 416, 436
Vaishnavas, 377
Vaishravana, 370, 482, 486
Vaitarāni river, 284
Vaivasvata Manvantara, 120, 136
Vājasaneyi Sāhita quoted or referred to—
3, 57-63—321, 420
5, 11—430
Vāj. Sāhita, continued—
5, 15—66
6, 16—86
6, 3—74
8, 4—5
10, 20—16
11, 67—126
12, 102—16
13, 4—15
16, 1—66—302, 322 ff., 505
17, 17—23—5
17, 20—31—5 f.
18, 66—71
23, 3—16
23, 20—171
23, 49—67
26, 12, 13—15 f.
27, 5—17
27, 25 f.—16
30, 5—28
32, 4—358
32, 6 f.—16
33, 74—4
33, 48 f.—80
37, 3—5—27, 126
39, 8—403
Vajāyasravas, sense of the word, 310, 494
Vajramuṣṭi, 487
Vaktra, 286
Vālimki, "sees" the Ramāyaṇa, 441
Vamadeva, 171
Vamana Purāṇa, 228
Vamra, 499
Varadā, 428
Varuḥa, an Asura, 93
— See "Boar"
Varuḥa Purāṇa, 278
Varchin, 86
Varuna, 14, 20, 48, 68, 74, 76, 98
— his majesty celebrated, 108 f.
— his daughter, 458, 462. See Punjikasthāli
Varuṣaṇi, 405
— his bonds or nooses, 148, 250
Vasisṭha, 33, 73, 96, 171, etc.
Vastavya, 202
Vastoshaṭi, 47
Vasudeva, 38, 218, 270, etc.
— of the Purāṇas, 297
Vasu Sāvitrā, 495
Vasu, 64, 91
Vata, 16, 76, 96
Vāyu, 29, 43, 66, 70, 76, 89, etc.
Vāyu, one of the triad of gods, 66, 70, 160 ff.
Vāyu Purāṇa quoted, 188, 267, 278, 375, 377
Vedas, depreciated by the Sāivas, 381
Vedavatī, 458, 471
Vedavyāsa incarnation, 156
Vendidad, 328
Vibhāyadaka, 166
Vibhishāṇa, 370, 450, 452, 476
— his righteous character, 483, 489
— obtains boon from Brahmana, 483, 489
Vibhvan, 80
Vidarbhās, 215
Vidchāṣ, 177
Vidhāṇa, 81, 121, 204
Vidgratha, 246
Vidyutkesa, 486
Vinayaka, 359
Vindhyāvali, 145, 149
Virabhadra, 373, 377
Viraj, 44, 48, 148, 390
Viribhi, Viribhichya, 378, 389. See Brahmana.
Virohana, 183
Visāla, 214
Visēsha, 44
Visnu, 20, 27 f. "1, 34, 36 ff., 47, 219, & passim
— as represented in Rigveda, 63—97
— his three "steps, 63 ff., 229, 439
— his rank in the Rigveda, as compared with other deities, 97—114
— as an Aditya, 114—121, 164
— as described in the Brāhmaṇas, 121 ff.
— a dwarf, 123
— the sacrifice, 125
— his incarnation as a fish, tortoise, boar, 27, 3" ff.
— as a dwarf, 130 ff.
— kills Sūkra's mother, 152
— doomed by Sūkra's curse to be born seven times on earth, 152, 155 f.
— his ten incarnations according to the Matsya Purāṇa, 156
INDEX.

Vishnu, his twenty-two incarnations according to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, 156
—his incarnations innumerable according to ditto, 156
—incarnation as Rāma, 156, 168 ff., 175, 441 ff.
—his incarnation as Krishna, 156, 169, 216 ff., 252 ff.
—one with Rudra, 241
—one with the Supreme Spirit, 38, 50, 181, 264 ff.
—fight with Rudra, 177 f.
—Brahma and Mahādeva produced from him, 230, 267, 273
—his dispute with Brahma, 389
—sprung from Rudra (or Mahādeva), 391

Vishnupada, 65
Vishnu Purāṇa quoted or referred to—

i.

1. 2, 21 f.—3
—2. 25 —41
—3. 1 ff.—36
—4. 1 ff.—36
—7. —385
—7. —385
—7. 12, &c.—35, 48
—7. 26 —35
—8. 9 —385
—15. 90 ff.—119
—22. 36 ff.—262

ii.

5. 19 —110

iii.

1, —136

iv.

14. 4 —215
—1. 1 ff.—254 ff.
—26. 1 —215

Vishvakṣena, 181
Viśravas, 482, 486
Viśvajit sacrifice, 137
Viṣṇukarma, 22, 149, 176, 204, 367 ff., 377, 484
Viśvāmitra, 177, 179
Viśvarūpā, 429
Viṣveda, 89, 128
Viśavat, 14 f., 33 f.
Vṛjya, 50
Vṛṣat, 338
Vṛihadratha, 291
Vṛihapsativava, 382
Vṛīhapsūpā, 86
Vṛitra, 78, 89
Vyādhi, 490

W.

Waters, 17 f., 22 ff., 31 ff., 119
Warriors slain in battle, their future rewards, 277
Weber, Prof. Albrecht, see "Indische Studien"
—translation and remarks supplied by him, 201
—his dissertation on Rudra, 395 ff.

—Umā, 421 ff.
—his article in Journal of Germ. Or. Soc., 131
—Indische Streifent, 289
—article in Kultur und Schleicher's Beiträge, 81
—his notice of the first edition of this work, 298
—remarks on Mundaka Upanishad, i. 2, 4—429
—on Sipivishā, 405
—Westergaard's dissertation on Indian history, 405
—Radices, 299
—Whitney's (Prof. W. D.) remarks on Rudra, 498 f.

Wilkinson's (Mr. L.) translation of Siddhānta-siromani, 110
Williams's (Prof. Monier) Indian Epic Poetry, 161, 166
—Sanskrit English Dictionary, 249
Wilson's (Prof. H. H.) Sāṅkhya-kārikā, 41
—Sanskrit Dictionary, 82
—translation of Rigveda, 66, 171
—of Vishnu Purāṇa, 3, 41, 48, 119, etc.

Y.

Yadus, 50
Yajna incarnation, 156
Yajnikas, 159
Yajush, 10, 96
Yajushmatt, 97
Yakshas, 153, 167
Yama, 48, 180, 203, 333
Yami, 48
Yāska. See Nirukta
Yatis, 491 f.
Yātudhāna, 332
Yatudhāna, 326
Yavana, 253
Yoga, 224
Yoganidrā, 485
Yudhishthira, 205 &passim

—purposes of rājasūya sacrifice, 237, 292

Z.

Zeus, 256

THE END.