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ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS.
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, Vishnu, and Rudra, and of the goddess Ambikā, in the Vedic hymns and Brāhmaṇas, with the accounts which we find in the legendary poems called Itihāsas and Purāṇas, and to show, so far as the materials at our command will allow, to what extent, and by what steps in each case, the earlier conceptions were gradually modified in the later works.

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

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

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

Three of the acts which the earlier legends ascribe to

* See Professor H. H. Wilson's Essay on the Padma Purāṇa, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. V., p. 309, reprinted in vol. iii. of his collected works, pp. 74 ff.; and the same author's Oxford Lectures, p. 21. In the preface to his edition of the Nārada Panchārtāra, published in the Bibliotheca Indica in 1866, p. 4, the Rev. K. M. Banerjea refers to this subject: "Of the three select divinities," (Brahmā, Vishnū, and Siva) "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 ff. It had been previously related that Brahmā had exorted his son Nārada to take a wife and so people the world (prītiṁ kuru mahābhāya kīrtā dūrā-paśīrahām, v. 5). Hereupon Nārada, who was a votary of Kriṣṇa, becomes angry, affirms that devotion to that god is the sole way to attain felicity, and denounces his father as an erring instructor (vv. 7–22). Brahmā in reply curses Nārada, and dooms him to a life of sensuality and subjection to women, etc. (vv. 23–39). Nārada pays back the imprecation in the laoes translated by Mr. Banerjea, which I give in the original, with some of those which follow: Tātāsya vacanam śrutā chakopi Nārado muniḥ | dasīmā piterāṁ śīghrāṁ dāryaṁ cha yatkośītim | 31. Apiyo bhava dvāsva tvam tevā-mantaśvahakah kutaḥ | aghoshgamanaśūri te bhavishyati na saro'yaḥ | 32. Nāradasya tu śūpma so 'piyo jagataṁ vidhiḥ | śīktvā eva-kanyā-rūpaṁ cha patehā dāneitvām purū | 33. Pūnaś evadhinā tatyāja bharitatā Sahakādhibhiḥ | anātaḥ kama-yuktā ca punar Brahmā bahūva saḥ | 34. Nāradas tu namsakrītya piterāṁ kamaśūrāvas | vipra-dhāma pravītyāya gandharvasa cha bahūva 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 lust after her who is no fit object of thy desires.'

32. Through this curse of Nārada, the creator of the world ceased to be an object of worship. Beholding the beauty of his daughter, he formerly ran after her. 33. Afterwards, being reproached by Sanaka and others, he abandoned his corporeal form. Brahmā afterwards became ashamed, being a slave to lust. 34. And Nārada, having made obeisance to his lotus-born father, forsook his Brahmānical body, and became a Gandharva." His loves are then related.
him, or to Emūsha, the assumption of the forms of a tortoise, a boar,* 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 Tattiriya Samhitā, 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 Sūrya, 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 Kṛishṇa, 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 Kṛishṇa 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, Vishṇu and Rudra (Mahādeva) are both described by their respective votaries as one with the Supreme Spirit; while in some places they are identified with one another.

The Third Chapter (pp. 299-437) traces the mythological history of Rudra as he is represented in the Rigveda (pp. 299-320), in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (321-331), in the Atharva-veda (332-339), in the Brāhmaṇas and Mahābhārata (339-355), in the Upanishads (355-363), and in various further texts from the Itiḥāsas and Purāṇas which describe some of this god's proceedings, and indicate the struggles of his votaries to introduce his worship, as illustrated in the story of Daksha's sacrifice (363-393). A summary of the conclusions deducible from these Sections is given in pp. 393-405. Pages 405-420 contain an inquiry into the origin of the Linga worship,—though unfortunately nothing better than a negative result is obtained;—and into the question whether or not Mahādeva's worship was most prevalent in the South of India in the epic era. This Chapter concludes with an account of the different representations of the goddess called variously Ambikā, Umā, Kāli, Karāli, Pārvatī, Durgā, etc., which we find in the Kena and Muṇḍaka Upanishads, in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, in the Rāmāyaṇa, Harivaṃśa, and Mahābhārata, and in the Mārkaṇḍeya 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, Vishṇu, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Umā, etc.

It will be apparent to all Sanskrit scholars that the
main results at which I have arrived in regard to Vishnu, Rudra, and Ambikā, are not new. Rosen (in the notes to his translation of the R.V. p. li.), Burnouf (Pref. to Bhāg. Pur. vol. iii. p. xxii.), whose remarks are subjoined in a note,* and Wilson (Pref. to transl. of R.V. i. p. xxxiv.), had already drawn attention to the text of Yāska and to the Commentary of Durga, by which it is shown that the three steps of Vishnu 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 Vishnu of the Vedas is in no way the Vishnu of the mythologists. A commentator of a certain authority, Durgāchārya, explaining the Nirukta of Yāska, when he arrives at the text of Medhātithi published by Rosen," (i.e. R.V. i. 22, 17 ff.) "says positively that Vishnu 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 Vishnu 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 forms either so different, or so easy to be confounded, that we cannot judge of the details without having understood and embraced the whole."
discover to have any bearing on the subjects which I have handled.

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

With the exception of a variety of additions, interspersed through the work, which in all fill about 60 pp., but little alteration has been made in this Edition. The most important additions, chiefly in notes, will be found in pp. 39 f., 78 f., 126, 131, 138 f., 143 f., 151–156, 165, 167, 200–203, 255 f., 261 f., 267, 278, 289 f., 298, 301–303, 304; 310, 314 f., 317, 321, 327 ff., 337, 341, 347 f., 381, 393, 403, 406, 413 f., 420, 425, 441 f., 456, 464 f., 472, 474, 476, 491–493, 494, 496, and in the "Additional Notes." The addition in pp. 151–156, from the Matsya Purāṇa, contains a statement (unusual, if not altogether unknown in other Indian works) in reference to Vishṇu'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 (Vishṇu) had slain. At the same time it is affirmed, strangely enough, that these incarnations, though occasioned by a curse, were intended for the repression of unrighteousness when it should become dominant on the earth.
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ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS.

VOLUME FOURTH.

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 Vishṇu and Rudra which are given in the hymns of the Rig-veda with those which we find in the productions of a later age. On the same occasion I intimated my intention of treating the same subject in greater detail in a subsequent portion of my work. In pursuance of this design, I propose to collect in the present volume the most important texts regarding the origin of the universe, and the characters of the three principal Indian gods, which occur in the Vedic hymns and Brāhmaṇas, and to compare these passages with the later narratives and popular speculations on the same subjects which are to be found in the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, and the Purāṇas.

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

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

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

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

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

TEXTS FROM THE VEDIC HYMNS, BRĀHMAṆAS, AND PURĀṆAS, ETC., RELATING TO THE CREATION OF THE UNIVERSE, AND TO THE DEITIES VISVAKARMAṆ, BRAHMAṆASPATI, DAŚKHA, ADITI, HIRANYAGARBAṆ, SKAMBHA, PRAJĀPATI, PURUSHĀ NARAYĀṆA, BRAHMĀ, ETC.

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

SPECULATIONS ABOUT CREATION,—RIG-VEDA, X. 129 ( = TAITTIRĪYA BRĀHMAṆA, II. 8, 9, 3).

R. V. X. 129, 1 ff.—Na asad āsida no sad āsīt tadānāṁ na āsīd rajo no vyoma paro yat | kim ānveśaḥ kuha kasya sarman āmbhaḥ kim āsīd gahanaṁ gabhiraṁ | 2. Na mṛtyur āsīd amṛtaṁ na tarhi na rātryaḥ ahnaṁ āsīt prakṛtaṁ | ānīd avatāṁ svadhayaṁ tad skāṁ tasmād ha anyad na paraḥ kinehanāśa | 3. Tamaḥ āsīt tamasaṁ gūhāṁ agre āprakṛtaṁ sālaṁ sarvam āḥ ēdam | tucchayena ābhām apihitam yad āsīt tapasas tad

1 The Vishnu Purāṇa, i. 2, 21 ff., quotes (from some source which is not indicated) a verse which seems to be in some degree founded on the text before us, and employs it in support of the Sāńkhya doctrine of Pradhāna: Veda-vāda-vāda vipraṁ niyataḥ Pradhāna-vādinaḥ | patanta vai tam svārtham Pradhāna-pratipādaḥ | 22. Nāho na rātir na nābhāḥ na śūnir nāśī tamo jyotir abhūd na vā 'nyat | śrotridī-buddhyānupalabhya ekaṁ pradhānikam Brahma pūrṇam 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. 23 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 Sūtrāpātha Brāhmaṇa, x. 6, 6, 1 (=Bṛhad Áraṇyaka Upan-
mahina 'jaya-taikam | 4. Kama3 tad agro samavartatahdi manase retha
prathamam ya'd ait | sato bandhum asati niravindan hridi pratishya
kavayo mantaha | 5. (Vay. S. xxxiii. 74) Yuvadhinena titata rakshir eham
adha eitv uparir eitv ait | retodha eit sahan mahimana eit sahan svadha
avastit prayatit parastat | 6. Ko anga vedha ka'ha'ha tha pravochat kuta
ajata kuta'ha iyam uirishita | arvad devad asea vishunma aha ko vedha
yata'ha abadhava | 7. Iyam uirishitra yata'ha abadhava yadi va dadhe yadi
va na | yo avadhayakha'ha paramo vyomam sa anga vedha yadi va na veda |

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

ishad, pp. 26 ff., in Bibl. Ind.), it is said, Na esa the kinehama agro ait | mrityanu
esa idam agiratam ait | "Originally there was nothing here. This was enveloped by
Death," etc. See also the Taitt. Br. ii. 2, 9, 1 ff., quoted in the first volume of this
work, p. 27.

3 In the passages which I shall quote from the S'tapattha Brhmana, etc., further
on, we shall see that the creative acts of Prajapati are constantly said to have been
preceded by desire: so 'kamayata, "he desired," etc. In a hymn of the Atharva V.
(ix. 2) Kama 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 3, and the quotations
which are given further on, from R. V. x. 82, 5 ff., x. 72, 6; the S'tapattha
Brhmana, etc.

5 See Bouëtlingk and Both's Lexicon under the words abha and tucchya.
source this creation arose and whether [any one] made it or not, — 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.

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

R. V. x. 81, 1 ff.—Yaḥ imā viśvā bhuvanāṁ juhved ṛṣhir hotā
nyasitaḥ pīṭā naḥ | sa āśīhā droviṣam iḥhamānaḥ prathama-cahind
avarān' aviṣcita | 2. Kīṁ vcid āstā adhiśṭhānam ārambhaṇaṁ kathamat
evīt katha 'ṣṭā | yato bhūmiṁ janayan Viśvakarmaṁ ētī dyām avṛnd
mahāṁ viśvachakhaṁ | 3. (A. V. 13, 2, 26) Viśvatachakshur uta
viśvatomukho viśvatobhalur uta viśvastapāt | sam bāhubhyāṁ dhamati
vṣid vanāṁ [R. V. x. 31, 7] kha u sa vṛtkaḥ āsa yato dyāva-prithivin
niḥstatakahuḥ | mantāṁ to mnaṁ prīcchāta uṣā tad yad adhyāṭhāhāh bhuv-
anāṁ dhārayan | 5. Yā te dhāmāṁ paramāṁ ya 'vamā yā madhyamā
Viśvakarmaṁ utemā | atikaḥ sakhibhyo havishi svadhāvaṁ svayaṁ yajasa
tanvaṁ vṛṭdhanāḥ | 6. (=S. V. 2, 399.) Viśvakarmaṁ havishā vṛtvrddhā-
aṁ svayaṁ yajasa prthivīṁ ute dyām | muhyantu anye abhito
janaṁ | 7. (=Vāj. S. 8, 45.)
Viśvastapīṁ Viśvakarmāṇam utaye manojuvaṁ vāja adya huveṇa | sa no
viśvāni havanāni joshāḥ viśvastambhur avasa sādhukarmaṁ |

R. V. x. 82, 1 ff.—Chakshusah pīṭa manasaḥ hi dhītro āhritam 11 one

6 Ob Einer se schuf oder nicht. Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, under the root
dhī (p. 903).
7 Paramahādo vare | T.S.
8 The A.V. reads yo viśvachakṣuḥ yur uta viśvatomukho yo viśvastapāṅgur uta viśva-
tasprīcchāh | sam bāhubhyāṁ bharati, etc.
9 Instead of prithivīṁ uta dyām the S.V. reads tanvāṁ svā hi te.
10 Instead of jmanāṁ the Vāj. S. reads sapamāṁ.
11 Compare R. V. v. 82, 8. See the fifth volume of this work, pp. 140 ff.
RIGVEDA X. 81 AND 82; VIŚVAKARMA.

vijanaad namnamān | yaddä iḍ antāḥ adadrihantu pūrvo ād iḍ dyavā-
prithivi apratihatam | 2. Viśvakarmā vimanāḥ ād 13 vihāyāḥ dhātā
vidhātā paramā uta samādrik 12 | teshām iṣāṇi sam iṣā madanti yatra
saptā rishin paraḥ ekam dhuḥ | 3. (=A. V. 2, 1, 3.) Yo naḥ pitā
janītā yo vidhātā 14 dhāmāṇi veda bhuvanāni viśvā 16 | yo devānāṁ
nāmadhāḥ okaḥ eva tam samprāṇam bhuvanā yasti anyā | 4. To
āyajanā ṇaṛiṣiṇāṁ sam asmi rishayāḥ pūrvo jātīro na bhunā
[=Nir. vi. 15] asurtō sūrtō rajāsi nish Bates 16 ye bhūtāṁ samakriyān
imāni | 5. Paro divā paraḥ onā prithivyā paraḥ devebhir asurair yad
asti 17 | kāṁ svād garbhām prathamaṁ dadhre āpō yatra devāḥ sama-
pāyanta viśe | 6. Tam id garbhām prathamaṁ dadhre āpō yatra devāḥ
samagachhanta viśe | ajaya nābhab ādy ākam arpitāṁ yasmin viśvāni
bhuvanāni tathāḥ 18 | 7. Na tam vidāthā yaḥ imā fejāna anyād yushmā-
kan antaram babhāva 18 | nṛhāreṇa praśritāḥ jalpya ča asaṃtrīpaḥ uktha-
sākā charanti |

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

12 Manasā 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 vidhātā the A.V. has sa uta bandhūḥ.
15 Yo naḥ savto abhi ājajyāna | T. S.
16 Asūrtā sūrtā rajase vimāne | T. S.
17 Gubhā yat | T. S.
18 After this verse the Taitt. Sank. has the following [=Vai. S. xvii. 32]: Viśva-
karmā hy ejanīṣṭa devaḥ ād iḍ gandhārīvo abhavā deviyāḥ | triṣṭayaḥ pitā janītī
oṣadhinām apām garbham eyaṭadāḥ puruṭrā | “The god Viśvakarman was born
then the Gandharva was produced the second; the third was the father, the generator
of plants; he divided into many parts the source of the waters.”
19 Bhavīti | T.S.
20 Compare R.V. x. 73, 2, below, p. 11; and R.V. iv. 2-17 (=A. V. xviii. 3, 22):
Āpo na devāḥ janimā dhamantāḥ | “The gods blowing on [or shaping] productions,
like iron.”
the earth? Inquire mentally, ye sages, what that was on which he took his stand, when establishing the worlds. 5. Do thou, Viśvakarman, grant to thy friends those thy abodes which are the highest, and the lowest, and the middle, and these. Thou who art strong in the oblation, exhilarated, thyself offer up thyself. 6. Do thou, Viśvakarman, delighted by the sacrifice, thyself offer up heaven and earth. Let other men who are round about me become confounded. May a generous son remain here to us. 7. Let us to-day invoke in our conflict the lord of speech, who is swift as thought, Viśvakarman, for succour. May he who is the source of all prosperity, the beneficent, with a view to our protection, receive graciously all our invocations.”

R. V. x. 82, 1.—“The father of insight, wise in mind, impregnated with sap these two worlds as they bowed down before him. When their remotest ends were fixed, then the heaven and earth extended. 2. Viśvakarman is wise, energetic, the creator, the disposer, and the highest object of intuition. The objects of their desire inspire them with gladness in the place where men say that the One dwells beyond the abode of the seven rishis. 3. He who is our father, our creator, disposer, who knows all spheres and creatures, who alone assigns to the gods their names, 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 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. tvam, 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. 56, 9; viii. 26, 12. This sense is perhaps also recommended by the parallel in R. V. i. 181, 4, between sumakhasya sūrīḥ and dvāraḥ putrāḥ.
24 Nāma hā piśāc eva harsī | Mahābhārata.
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. 17–28, 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. 28; the second half of R. V. x. 82, 4 in Nir. vi. 15; and R. V. x. 82, 7 in Nir. Pariśāhṭa, 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, 61,46 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 Bhuvana, 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 Viśvakarma). See also

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46 Prapātir Viśvakarmā vimunchatu.
the Aitareya Brâhmaṇa, iv. 22, and Professor Haug’s translation, p. 299.

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

_Tatretihānam achakshato Viśvakarmā Bhuwanāḥ sarvamadhe sarvāni bhūtāni juhavanākahāsa ētāmānam apy antato juhavanākahāsa | tad-abhivādinyo eva rīg bhavati ‘yaḥ imā viśvā bhuwanāni juhavo’ 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 ‘yajāḥ ritubhir deva dōvān eva yajāva 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 6th verse of the hymn before us to be understood; svayaṁ yajāva tanvaṁ vridhānaḥ | ‘sacrifice to thyself for thine own glorification’: the idea of self-immolation has arisen from a misunderstanding of the word tanū and of the construction of the root yajī. The 1st verse of the same hymn (R. V. x. 81, 1) is, as it appears to me, to be understood in a similar manner: ‘He who received all these creatures as offerings.’ In the passage before us (the

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 Böhtlingk and Roth’s Lexicon, under the word Tanūnapāt.
6th verse of R. V. x. 81) the words would therefore be rendered as follows: ‘Viśvakarman, glorify thyself by the sacrifice, offer up to thyself heaven and earth.’ The idea of sacrifice is introduced, because every portion of the created universe which is given as a possession to the gods, comes to them in the shape of a sacrifice. The god who takes anything into his possession is said to offer it to himself. The various reading which we find in the Sāma-veda, ii. 939, as compared with the verse before us (viz., tatoṁ svā hi te, ‘offer thy body, for it is thine,’ instead of prthivīṁ 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 Puruṣa 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 Puruṣa 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:

23. Vastūny oshadayaṁ snehāḥ rasa-loha-mṛido jalam | rīccha yajñaviśe sāmāṁ chāturhotrancha sattama | 24. Namadheyāni mantrāṁ cha daksināṁ oha vratāṁ cha | devatōmukrāṁ kalpaḥ sankalpas tantram eva cha |

"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 Puruṣa. 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 Rīṣe, the Yajush, and the Sāman, the functions of the four priests, the names [of the rites], the texts, the
gifts, the vows, the list of deities, the ritual rules, the designs, the forms, the arrangements, the meditations, the expiation, the dedication,—all these essentials of sacrifice were derived by me from the members of Purusha. Having thus drawn from the members of Purusha all these appliances, I by this means offered up Purusha, the lord [himself], as a sacrifice."

In his note on the Nirukta, vi. 15, Professor Roth translates the 4th verse of the second hymn before us (R. V. 82) as follows:

"They who in still, in moving, and falling vapour (rajasa) created those beings . . . . . . . furnished to him the material." In his Lexicon, however, he renders the word *asūrta*, not by "still," but by "distant;" and quotes A. V. x. 3, 9, as another passage in which it occurs.

The later conception of Viśvakarman, as the artificer of the gods, is found in the following passage of the Mahābhārata, i. 2592: Viśvākarmā mahābhāgya jagne śilpa-prajāpatiḥ | kārtā śilpa-saharaṇām tridekānām cha vardhakīḥ | bhasyagānāṁcha sarvākām kārtā śilpa-vatāṁ varaḥ | yo dīyāṇi vimāṇāṃ tridekānām chakāra ha | manushyaḥ chopajjāvante tanya śilpaṁ mahātmānaḥ | pūjayanti cha yaṁ nityaṁ Viśvākarmāgam avyayaṁ | "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."

**Brahmaṇaspati, Daksha, and Aditi.—Rig-veda, x. 72.**

R. V. x. 72, 1 ff.—Devānāṁ nu vayaṁ jānda pracocharaṁ vipanyayaṁ | ukthe uṣhayāṁ medhāya yaṁ paśyād uttaro yuge; 2. Brahmaṇaspatir etā sam karmāraṁ | ivādhamat | devānām pūryo yuge asataḥ sad ajayata

— This hymn is also translated and illustrated in the fifth volume of this work, pp. 48 ff.

20 See Benfey's Glossary to the Śāma-veda, under the word *yuga*; and the first volume of this work, p. 45 f.

20 Karmāraḥ | sa yathā bhastreyo 'ghnim upadhamaty evam udepādayat | (Śaiva) "As a blacksmith blows up a fire with a bellow, so he created them." Compare R. V. x. 81, 3, above p. 6, and note 20, there.

21 Compare Atharva-veda x. 7, 26.—Bṛhaṇaṁ nāma te devāḥ ye'ataḥ pari jñāne | ekāṁ tad angam śakambhaya asad āhuḥ para jñāḥ | "Great are those gods who
3. Devanāṁ yuge prathame asataḥ sad ajāyata | tad ākāh anv ajāyanta
tad Uttānāpadas pari | 4. Bhūr jagne Uttānāpado bhuvāḥ ākāh ajāyanta |
Aditer Daksho ajāyata Dakshād u Aditi pari | (comp. R. V. x. 90, 5.)
5. Aditer hi ajaniṣṭha Daksha ya duhitā tava | Tuṁ devāḥ anv ajāyanta
bhadrāḥ amṛita-bandhavaḥ | 6. Yad devāḥ adāḥ satile suṣahrbhāḥ
atishṭhata | atrā vo mṛityatam iva tīvra renur apāyata | 7. Yad devāḥ
yatayo yathā bhuvanāṁ apinvata | atrā samudre agulham ā sāryam aja-
hartana | 8. Ashtau putrāgo Aditer ye jātās taneas pari | devān upa
prait septabhīḥ parā Mārtānādā āyat | 2. Septabhīḥ putrair Aditer
upa prait pārvyam yugam | prájyai mṛityavo tvat punar Mārtānād
ābhavat |

"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
Uttānāpad. 4. The earth sprang from Uttānāpad; 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 interpreta-
tion, to be contrary to the doctrine of the Ohhāndogya Upanishad. Tad ha eks ākūr "asad
evedam agno asid sham evādṛiṣyāṁ tasmād asataḥ saj jāyeta." Kutas tu khalu suṣūma
evāṁ 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.

33 Compare R. V. x. 129, 1, 3, above, p. 3.
34 Hero Sāyaṇa makes yatayāḥ meghāḥ, "clouds." See the fifth volume of this
work, p. 49, note 92.
35 Parāśāyata = upāri pṛākāṣipat, "tossed aloft" (Sāyaṇa).
36 Ahaṁvat = uhaṁvat = dyūloko adhārayat, "placed in the sky" (Sāyaṇa).
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] Märtaṇḍa [the sun]. 9. With seven sons [only] Aditi approached the former generation of gods. Again, for birth as well as for death she disclosed Märtaṇḍa.”

In R. V. vi. 50, 2, mention is made of certain luminous gods (upyotisahasah) as being the sons or descendants of Daksha (Daksha-pitrā). 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. Uttanapada is said in the Vishnu and other Purānas to have been a son of Manu Svayambhuva by Satarūpā (ibid. pp. 65, 72, 106, 114).

On the fourth verse of this hymn Yāska remarks as follows in the Nirukta, xi. 23: Aśītyo Dakshaḥ ity āhur Āditya-madhya cha stutah | Ādir Dhakṣa[y]āṇi | “Adītir Dakshaḥ ajayata Dakṣaḥad u Adītiḥ pari” iti cha | tath katham upapadyeta | samāna-janmānau svatām ity api vā dēna-dharmena itaretara-janmānau svatām 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. 151), translates the 4th and 5th verses of the hymn before us: “Bhū (the world) was born, and from her opened womb (Uttanapada) sprang the Spaces: from Aditi was born Daksha (spiritual force), and from Daksha again Aditi. Yes,

26 The word Märtaṇḍa is compounded of two words mārta, apparently derived from mṛtyu, death, and aṅga, an egg, or place of production. The last line seems to contain an allusion to this derivation of the word. The Harivamśa v. 549, thus interprets the word: Na khalo ayam mṛto vāstahāḥ iti usmah abhākṣata | ajñānat Kasyapa tamid Märtaṇḍah iti chochyate | “Kasyapa, from affection, but in ignorance, said, ‘he is not dead, abiding in the egg;’ hence he is called Märtaṇḍa.’” See the fifth volume of this work, p. 49, note 94. Böthlingk and Roth, e.v., assign to the word in this passage the sense of “bird.” See R. V. ii. 38, 8–25.

27 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:

"Aśṭau putrāsāḥ putraḥ Mitradayo 'diter bhavanti | "Ye Adityes taneas pari" bharāj "jātāḥ" utpannāḥ | Aditer ashta-putraḥ Ādhy- 


varyaṣa-brāhmaṇa pariganītāḥ | tathā hi | "tān anukramishyamo Mitraḥ cha Varuṇaḥ cha Dhatā cha Aryāmaḥ cha Aśkaḥ cha Bhagāḥ cha 


Vivasvān Ādityas cheti" | tathā tatraiva pradesāntara Aditim prastutiya 


annatam “tasyaḥ uchchhasanām adadhus tat prābhat | sā reto 'dhāta 


tasyai chatrāraḥ Ādityaḥ ajāyata sā dvitiyam apibad” ityādina ash-


tanān Ādityānām utpatitir varṇitā |


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

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

Aśṭau ha vai putraḥ Āditeḥ | Yāṁ to etad "dvāḥ Ādityaḥ" ity 


āchakhaṣe saṣṭha ha eva te | avikṛitarāḥ 30 ha ashtaṃmah janayānchakara 


Mārttānaṃ | sanadgho 30 ha evāsa | yāvan evordhau tāvāna tīrya 


puruṣa-sammitaḥ ity u ha eko āhuḥ | 4. To u ha eto uchur dvāḥ Ādityaḥ 


"yad aśmaṃ ane ajanīma tad amuyeva bhad | hanta īmān vivaravāna" 


iti | tām vīchakram yathā 'yam puruṣaḥ vikṛitas tasya yāni māṃśāni 


saṃkriyā sanyyaṣus tato hasti sāmabhavat | tasmād āhur "na hastinām

30 Avikṛitarāḥ kara-charanādi-vikṛtāḥ iti tad-rahitam | Comm.
30 Samyaḥ upachītaḥ samāḥ orāśīt | Comm.
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, Mārtanda, 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."
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
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 (āyu) 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 f.; 390 ff.

The whole of this hymn is to be found repeated in the Vājassaneyi Sanhitā, the first eight verses in the Taśtriśya Sanhitā iv. 1, 8, 3 ff., and most of the verses recur in the Atharva-veda. In making my translation, I have had the assistance of Mahādhara's Commentary on the first-named Veda, as well as of the version given by Professor Müller in his Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 569 f. In his annotation on Vāj. S. 27, 5,—verse 7, the commentator Mahādhara refers to the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 1, 6, 1: "Apo ha vai idam agré salilam evāsa | "This [universe] was in the beginning waters, only water;" and explains the words garbhām dadhānāḥ, "containing a germ," thus: tathā garbham Hiranyagarbhalakshanaṃ dadhānāḥ dhārayantyaḥ ataḥ eva agnim janayantih agni-rūpaṃ Hiranyagarbham janayantyaḥ utpādayishyantyaḥ | "And also containing an embryo (garbha) distinguished as the golden

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Compare R. V. vi. 50, 7, quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 345; and the quotations from the Satapatha Brahmaṇa and other works in the next section.
embryo Hiranyagarbha); and consequently generating, being about to produce, fire,—Hiranyagarbha in the form of fire.” The Atharvaveda reads this seventh verse somewhat differently, thus (A.V. 4, 2, 6): Āpo agre viśam āvan garbham adhānāḥ amṛitāḥ ritajñāḥ | yasov devah adhi devah asit kasmai ityādī | “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 vatsam janayantīr garbham agre samairayan | tasya jāyamānasya ubaḥ asid hijranyayaḥ | kasmai devāya ityādī—“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 (aus) 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 Brahmaṇas 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 anatudyam janāḥ vidūḥ | Skambhās tadagre pṛāśinaḥ hiranyāṁ loka antarā | “Men know Hiranyagarbha, the supreme, the ineffable: before him Skambha [the Supporter] shed forth gold in the midst of the world.”

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

Extracts from the Atharvaveda, x. 7, and x. 8.

A. V. x. 7, 7.—Yaśmin stadbhav Prajāpati lokān sarvān adhārayat | Skambhāṁ tam bruhi katamaḥ svid eva saḥ | 8. Yat paramam avamāṁ

A. V. x. 8, 2.—Skambheṇaṃ visheṣṭhito dvīyaḥ cha bhūmiḥ cha tisheṣṭhaḥ | Skambhaḥ idām sarvam atmanvad yat praṇad nimiśhacheha yat | 11. Yada eyati patati yacheḥa tishṭhati praṇad opraṇaṃ nimiśhaḥ cha yad bhūvaḥ | tad dādhaḥ prīthivim visvarūpaṃ tat sambhūtya bhavaty eskam eṣa | 44. Akāmo dhīro arṣim arṣiṃ svaṃ bhūmih raṣena trīpto na kutaḥcanaṃ | tasm aṣaṃ bīdhaya hrītyor atmanāṃ dhrīram ajaram yuvānam |

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 Brahmas (the divine essence) in the Ṛṣiṣeṇa (Purusha), know him who occupies the highest place (Paramesṣṭhin}: he who knows Paramesṣṭhin, and who knows Prajāpati,—they who know the highest

*48 I know not whether this word has here its ordinary meaning, or the same sense which is assigned to the word evaṣtes in R. V. x. 90, 4, 5; S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 5, 1, 1; and Nṛ. iiii. 21. See also R. V. iv. 88, 6; and S'atap. Br. vii. 5, 2, 11; and the fifth volume of this work, p. 384, note.
Brāhmaṇa (divine mystery), they know Skambha. 24. In the place where the gods, the knowers of sacred science (brahma) reverence the highest Brahma,—that priest (brahmā) who knows them clearly, will be a knower. 32. Reverence to that highest Brahma, of whom the earth is the measure, the atmosphere the belly, who made the sky his head. 35. Skambha 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 sustenance fervour, has pervaded all the worlds, who made soma for himself alone. 41. He who knows the golden reed standing in the water, is the mysterious Prajāpati."

A. V. x. 8, 2.—"These two [worlds] the earth and sky, stand, supported by Skambha. Skambha is all this which has soul, which breathes, which winks. 11. Whatever moves, flies, or stands, whatever exists breathing, or not breathing, or winking,—that omni-
form [entity] sustains the earth; that, combined, is one only. 44. Knowing that Soul, calm, undecaying, young, who is passionless, tranquil, self-existent, immortal, satisfied with the essence, wanting in
nothing,—a man is not afraid of death."

I quote these passages partly because they contain frequent references to Prajāpati, a name which occurs but sparingly in the Rig-veda; and partly because they celebrate a new god called Skambha, the "Supporter," or "Propper," 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, Vishnu, and Savitṛ.

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 Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, Manu, the Rāma-
yaṇa, Vishnu 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.)—
NON-EXISTENCE; SEVEN MALES; PRAJĀPATI, ETC.

Aañād vai idam agro āsita | tad āhaḥ 'kīḥ tad āsaḥ āsita? iti | rishayo vāva
to 'agro āsita āsita' tad āhaḥ | 'ke to rishayaḥ' iti | prāṇaḥ vai rishayaḥ to
yat purā 'nimūt sarvameṣa ādham iñkamataḥ kramena tepaṣa 'rishayaṁ tām-
maid rishayaḥ | 2. Sa yya 'yam madhye prajāḥ osaḥ evamāḥ | tān eva
prāṇān mādhyatāḥ indrasyaināḥ | yad eśāḥ tasmād Indrāḥ | Indhō
he vai tam Indrāḥ ity āchakāhato parokṣam | parokṣa-kāmāḥ hi devaś
to iddhaḥ septa nāma puruḥān arjyanta | 3. To 'brajann 'na vai
itihaṁ sentaḥ sakhyāmaḥ prajayātim śaman evaṃ septa pūruṣān akam
puṣhāhaḥ karmām' iti to stān septa pūruṣān akam pūruṣān akhara
cuvan | yad ārājīvam nābhaḥ tān deva samapējan | yad amśān nābhē
to deva | pakaḥāḥ pūruṣāḥ | pakaḥāḥ pūruṣāḥ | pratishṭhatā ekaḥ
āsīt | . . . . 5. Sa eva pūruṣaḥ Prajāpatīr abhavat eva yaḥ sa
puruṣaḥ Prajāpatīr abhavat ayam eva yaḥ sa yya 'yam Agni
20 oṣhīyata | 6. Sa vai sveta-puruṣaḥ bhavati | sweta-puruṣaḥ hy ayam puruṣaḥ
to chatoṛaḥ atmaḥ trayaḥ pakaḥ-puṣkharī | chatoṛo hi tasya
puṣkaraṁyā atmaḥ trayaḥ pakaḥ-puṣkharī | 21 | atka yaḥ eva sveta-
svamānaḥ vātānaḥ vātānaḥ 'tena viryena ayam atmaḥ pakaḥ-puṣkharī'
uddhakāti | . . . . 8. Sa yya 'yam pūruṣaḥ Prajāpatīr akāmayata
bhīyāna yya, prajāyaya iti | so 'brajīyat sa tapo tāpyata | sa
prāṇaṁ tepāṇo brahma ova prathamaḥ arjyata trayam ova vidyām | sa
ova asmai pratishṭhaḥ 'bhavat tasmād ahūr 'brahma asya sarvayā
pratishṭhaḥ iti | tasmād anūchya pratishṭhati pratishṭhaḥ hy eva
yaḥ brahma | tasyaṁ pratishṭhayām prativitiḥo tāpyata | 9. Sa
po 'rjyata vīchār ova lohād vāg evāsa sa 'srjyata sa idam sarcam
āpnot yaḥ idaṁ kāhā | yad āpnot tasmād āpah | yad arjyot tasmād
vāḥ | 10. So 'kāmayata 'abhyo 'abhyo 'ahi prajāyaya' iti so 'naya trayaṁ
vidyāya saha apah pravīṣat tatha āyuḥ samavartata tad abhyamṛītad
'aste' ity 'aste abhyo 'aste ity eva tad abhavaḥ | tato brahma ova prath-
ramaḥ arjyata troya eva vidyā | tasmād ahūr 'brahma asya sarvaya
pratikṣamajam' ity | api hi tasmāt pūruṣāḥ brahma ova pūrvaṁ arjyata
asāya tad uktam eva arjyaya | tasmād anūchānam ahūr 'Agni-
kalpaḥ' iti | mukhaṁ hy oṣa Agni yad brahma | 22

20 Compare S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa vi. 1, 2, 18, and 21 (pp. 592–3); ix. 2, 2, 2
(p. 712). According to vi. 2, 1, 1; and xi. 1, 6, 14, Agni is the son of Prajāpatī.
21 Comp. vi. 2, 3, 4, and 9.
22 Compare S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa ii. 1, 1, 3; and vi. 1, 3, 1 ff.
23 Compare Taśtarīya Brāhmaṇa ii. 2, 9, 1 ff. quoted in the first volume of this
work, pp. 27 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 (arishha) 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 others into the part below the navel; [one] male [formed one] side; [another] male [another] side: and one formed the base. . . . 5. This [one] male became Prajapati. The male who became Prajapati is the same as this Agui 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) Prajapati 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. 9. He created the waters from the world [in the form of] speech.44 Speech belonged to him. It was

44 This is illustrated by a passage in the S'atapatha Brâhmaṇa, vii. 5, 2, 21 (p. 617), which says: v'ay vao v'ao v'acho vao prajāh Viśvakarmā sajaśa | “Speech is the mover [or, the unborn]. It was from speech that Viśvakarma produced creatures.” And in the Brihad Aranyaka (p. 290 of Bibl. Ind.) it is said | tṛaya lokaḥ ceta eva | v'ay ev'ayāṁ loka mano 'ntariksha-lokaḥ prūgo 'sau lokaḥ | “It is they which are the three
created. It pervaded all this. Because it pervaded (āpye) all this which exists, it (speech) was called waters (āpaḥ); and because it covered (āvyāgita), it was called ēda (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 Prajāpati 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 saṣṭha puruṣāṇām śakam puruṣam akūrovan sa Prajāpatir abhavat | sa prajāḥ asriyata | sa prajāḥ epihaṇāḥ ārdhēvaḥ udakrāmaḥ | sa eṣaḥ lokam agachhad yatra eṣaḥ eṣāḥ tapati | no ha tarhi anāḥ stasmād atra yajniyāḥ āsa tam devaḥ yajnaiva yashuṁ adhiṣṭanta | tasmād eṣad riṣiḥāḥ bhyaṇugāhāḥ | yajnaṁ yajnañca asajanta devaḥ āśiṣāḥ | “These seven males whom they made one male (puruṣa) became Prajāpati. He created offspring. Having created offspring, he mounted upwards; he went to this world where this scorches this. There was then no other being fit for sacrifice: the gods began to offer him with sacrifice. Hence it has been said by the rishi (R. V. x. 90, 16), ‘the gods offered the sacrifice with sacrifice.’” Part of the passage, Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 1, 6 is repeated in Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 2, 2, 5.

II. In the preceding story, the gods are represented as the creators of 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 ff., and the passages quoted from him in the fifth volume of this work, p. 391 ff.

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53 Compare A.V. x. 2, 7 | sa eṣaḥvārti bhvamsakme antar apo vaciṇam hāḥ u tash ekñeta | “He (Puruṣa) 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 Sātap. Br. x. 2, 3, 18.—Satāsvidho vai agra Prajāpatir asriyata. 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 agro sahīlam ovāsa44 | tāh akāmayanta ‘katham nu praṇayamah’ iti tāh abhrāmyaṁ tās tapo ‘tapyanta’ iti tān tapas tapyamantam hiranyayam āṃgaṁ sambhūva | ājāto ha tarhi sahīvataraḥ āsa | tad idam hiranyayam āṃgaṁ yavat sahīvatsaraḥ yevā tāvat parapalaceta | 2. Tātaḥ sahīvatāre puruṣaṁ saṁbhavat sa Prajāpatiḥ | tasmāt u sahīvatsara eva śrīva v āṃ guṇa vā vaśacā vā viyāvate sahīvatsara hi Prajāpatir ajyāta | sa idam hiranyayam āṃgaṁ evaṁ vyārojat | na aha tarhi kācana pratīkṣhā āsa | tad enam idam eva hiranyayam āṃgaṁ yavat sahīvatsaraḥ yevā āśe tāvak pillars parapalaceta45 | 3. Sa sahīvatsara vyājūhaiḥ | sa ‘bhūr’ iti vyāharat vā iyam pritiḥy abhavati | 4. bhūvaḥ iti sā idam antarikṣam abhavat ‘so’ iti vā sa eva nyuḥ abhavat tasmāt u sahīvatsara eva kumbho vyājūhaiḥ | sahīvatsara hi Prajāpatir vyāharat | . . . 6. Sa sahīvatsara vyājūhaiḥ | sa yathā nādyāi pāram parāparāyojena evam sahīvatsaraḥ pāram parācakhyaḥ | 7. So ‘rehaḥ brāmyaḥ chadhāra praṇākamaḥ’

44 Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 7, 1, 17.—Tusya āpo eva pratīkṣhāḥ | apna hi ime lokah pratīkṣhāḥ | “Waters are its support: for these worlds are based upon the waters.” Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 8, 6, 1 (= Brhad Aranyaka Upanishad, p. 974).

—Āpo evad evam agro śrīvaḥ | tāh āpo(st) satyam aurijanta satyam Brahma Brahma Prajāpatim Pratisthitam | “In the beginning waters alone formed this universe. These waters created Truth, Truth created Brahma, Brahma created Prajāpati, and Prajāpati the gods.” Compare Taṅk. Sanh. vii. 1, 5, 1 ff.; Taṅk. Br. i. 1, 3, 5 ff.; and Taṅk. Arany. i. 23, 1 ff. quoted in pp. 31 and 52 f. of vol. i. this work. To the same effect is Taṅk. Sanh. v. 7, 6, 3, Āpo uai idam agro sahīlam āśī. The A. V. xii. 1, 8, also says: yāḥ ‘rgave ‘ātī sahīlam agro ssudhā yām nāyābhīya unnacharana marīkhaṁ | “That earth which formerly was water on the ocean, which the sages followed after by their divine powers,” etc. B. V. x. 109, 1, speaks of the “divine first-born waters” (āpo deviḥ pratīkṣhāḥ). The Sātap. Br. xiv. 2, 2, 2, represents the wind as the ocean, which was the source from which the gods and all creatures issued (syaṁ vai saṃśād yo ’yam puvata | tasmāt vai saṃśād śriye deviḥ śrīviṁ bhūtāni saṁśādavantaḥ | 45 Tusya Prajāpati āśeṣad ākampi na baḥkhiṣva na cha nirākaraṇāt sthānam adakṣamanaṁ idam eva bhūmam hiranyayāyam yam eva sahīvatsara-parāyaṇaṁ bhūrad abhirayantī śriye evāpy apnāyaceti | “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.

46 Compare vol. iii. of this work, 2nd ed. pp. 101, 104, and S’atapatha Brāhmaṇa ii. 1, 4, 11, p. 141.
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 Prajapati. Hence it is that a woman, or a cow, or a mare, brings forth in the space of a year, for in a year Prajapati was born. He divided this golden egg. There was then no resting-place for him. He therefore floated about for the space of a year, occupying this golden egg. 3. In a year he desired to speak. He uttered ‘bhūr,’ which became this earth; ‘bhuvah,’ which became this firmament; and ‘svar,’ which became that sky. Hence a child desires to speak in a year, because Prajapati 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 (devaṃ). To him while he was continuing to create, it became, as it were, daylight (deva). This is the godhead of the god, that to him as he was continuing to

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

The mundane egg is also mentioned in the Chândogya Upanishad (p. 228 ff.): Āditya Brahma iṣṭa ādēṣāḥ | tasyocyākyāhān | atāyā eva idam agro āṣīt | tat sad āṣīt | tat samahavat | tad āṃśān niravartitā | tat sahaṅkarasya mātrān abhaya | tad nirabhidya | te āṅka-kapālā rajataḥ cha suvarnaḥ cha abhavatām | tad yad rajatān sa iyam pritihe | yat suvarnaḥ sa dyaur yaj yajyau tease parvataḥ yad uveah se meko nādira yāḥ dhamanayas tāḥ nādya yad vāste yām udakān sa samudraḥ | atha yat tad ajyata se 'sarv Ādityas tāṁ | jayamānaṃ ghoshāḥ ulālo | 'nuḍatishṭhan ['nuḍatishṭhan?] sarvāṇi cha bhūtāni sarve cha kāmās tasmaṁ tasyodayam prati pratyāyanam prati ghoshah ulālo | 'nuṭi-ṣṭhānti sarvāṇi cha bhūtāni sarve chaiva kāmaḥ | which is thus translated by Babu Rājendralal Mittra: “The Sun is described as Brahma;—its description. Verily at first this was non-existent; that non-existence became existent; it developed,—it became an egg: it remained [quiet] for a period of one year; it burst into two; thence were formed two halves of gold and silver. Thereof the argentine half is the earth, and the golden half the heaven. The inner thick membrane [of the egg] became mountains, and the thin one cloudy fog; the blood-vessels became rivers, and the fluid became the ocean; and lastly, what was born therefrom is the sun, Āditya. On its birth arose loud shouts [or shouts of ‘ulu-ulu’], as well as all living beings, and their desires. Hence on the rising, and re-rising [day after day]

62 Garbhā-veśiṣṭhānāṁ etuḥām | Comm.
64 Sūkṣmāṁ garbhā-parśeṣṭhānām | Comm.
65 Āravāyūḥ (frost) | Comm.
66 Sīrūḥ | Comm.
68 Umravat v āṃśyāṃ-rāvah udatishṭhān utthiśvantaḥ |
69 Pratyāya-vaṃśanam . . . athavā punah punah pratyāya-vaṃśanam |
of the sun, arise shouts of ‘ulu-ulu,’ as well as all living beings and their desires.’” (Bibl. Ind. No. 78, p. 65.)

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

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 4, 3, 5.—Sa yat kūrmo nāma etad vai rūpeḥ kṛiteḥ Prajāpatiḥ praṇah asrāyata | yad asrāyata akarot tad yat akarot tamāt kūrmah | Kaśyapa vai kūrmaṃ tasmād āhuh ‘sarvaḥ praṇah Kaśyapyyah iti | sa yaḥ sa kūrmo ‘sau sa Ādityaḥ | “Having assumed the form of a tortoise, Prajāpati created offspring. That which he created, he made (akarot); hence the word kūrma. Kaśyapa means tortoise; hence men say, ‘all creatures are descendants of Kaśyapa.’”

This tortoise is the same as Āditya.”

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

Thus in the chapter of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa descriptive of Viṣṇu’s incarnations it is said (i. 3, 16): Surāsūragāṁ uḍadhim mathnatām māthanaḥchalam | dadhre kamaṭha-rūpeṇa prīṭhe ekādeṇa 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 Brāhmaṇa, 14, 1, 2, 11, makes the following allusion to the elevation of the earth by a boar: “Iyaty agro utdād” (Vāj. S. 37, 5) iti | iyatā ha vai iyam agro prīthive asa pradeśa-mātri | tām Eṃadhaḥ iti va-rāhah | vyajyādāna | so ‘eyah patiḥ Prajāpatiḥ tenaiva enam eklamithu-nena priyeṇa dhammā | samaradvayati kṛteṇa karoḥ ityādī | “She (the earth) was formerly so large,’ etc.; for formerly this

70 Kaśyapa is mentioned in the A. V. xix. 53, 10 (see the fifth volume of this work, p. 408); as well as in two rather obscure verses of the Śaṁsa-veda, which do not occur in the Rigveda. The first is i. 90: Jätah pareṇa dharmam yat svayābhīḥ sebh padsat | pitaḥ yat Kaśyapasyagnīḥ Sraddhā mātā Manuḥ kaviḥ | “Since with thy companions, thou hast been produced through an excellent rite; since Agni is the father, Faith (Sraddhā) the mother, and Manu the bard, of Kaśyapa.” The second is i. 361: Kaśyapasya svayādeo yūḥ udbhā svayāde iṣṭa | ṣevaṇā vivaḥ api vratam vyaṣṭām vyaṣṭām dātuḥ nīchāyena | “Whom twain the wise, revering, declare to be the companions of the heavenly Kaśyapa; to whom twain [they declare] the entire power (or ceremonial) and sacrifice to belong.”

71 See R. V. viii. 96, 10.

72 In regard to these words compare S’atapatha Brāhmaṇa, iii. 9, 4, 20.
earth was only so large, of the size of a span. Emūsha, a boar, raised her up. Her lord, Prajāpati, in consequence, prospers him with this pair, the object of his desire, and makes him complete,” etc. Compare the passages from the Taittiriya Sanhitā and Taittiriya 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 Taittiriya Āraṇyaka also, the earth is said to have been “raised by a black boar with a hundred arms” (vāraṇaṇa kṛṣṇaṇa bāhaṁ uddhṛtā).

I quote some further texts from the Satapatha 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.—Prajāpatīr ha vai idam agra ekāḥ evaṁ | sa aikāhaṁ kathāṁ ma praṇāyaṁ īśi | so krāmyat sa tapo tapagyaṁ svam aṁsānca hansāntakac ca 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:

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 4. 4. 1.—Prajāpatīr ha vai etan agra yajnaveṇa prajākāmo ‘bhakṣaḥ prajayā pasubhiḥ svāṁ kriyāṁ gacchhayaṁ yataḥ svāṁ annadaḥ svāṁ īśi | sa vai Daksho nāma ityādi | ‘Prajāpati formerly sacrificed with this sacrifice, being desirous of progeny, [and saying] ‘may I abound in offspring and cattle, attain prosperity, become famous, and obtain food.’ He was Daksha.”

In Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 8. 1. 14, Prajāpati is said to be the supporter of the universe (a function afterwards assigned to Viṣṇu): Prajāpatīr vai bharaṭaḥ sa hi idaṁ sarvam bhārati | “Prajāpati is Bharata (the supporter), for he supports all this universe.”

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13 See R. V. x. 72, 4. 5 (above p. 12).
14 In R. V. i. 96, 8, the epithet Bhārata is applied to Agni. The commentator there quotes another text, no doubt from a Brāhmaṇa, eka praṅga bhūteḥ praṇāḥ bhāratiṁ tasmād eka bharaṭaḥ | “He becoming breath, sustains all creatures; hence he is the sustainer.”
PRAJAPATI, PURUSHA NARIYANA, BRAHMA.

Compare the first verse of the Muṇḍaka Upanishad, where Brahmā is called the preserver of the world (bhūwanassyā gopā).

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

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 2, 4, 1.—Prajāpatir akāmayata "ubhau lokān abhiśayeyam deva-lokanca manushya-lokanca' ityādi | "Prajāpati desired, 'may I conquer both worlds,' that of the gods, and that of men," etc. Comp. Satap. Br., x. 2, 1, 1.

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

Purusho ha Nārāyaṇo 'kāmayata 'atitishṭhayam sarvān bhūtāṇi aham eva idāṁ sarvam svāṁ iti | sa etam purusha-medham pancha-rātram yajnakratum apayat tam akarati tene avajata tene iva 'tyatīśḥat sarvān bhūtāṇi idāṁ sarvam abhavat | atitīśhitāt sarvān bhūtāni idāṁ sarvam abhavati yaḥ evaṁ vidvadā purusha-medhena yajata ye vasi 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. Satap. Br. xii. 3, 41, quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 377.

In Satap. Br., xi. 2, 3, 1, Brahma (in the neuter) is introduced as being the original source of all things: Brahma vai idam agno daśit | tad devān asṛjāta | tad devān eśīśtvā eśu lokeshu vyāyrohayad aminna eva loka'gniṁ Vāyum antariksha 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 Satapatha Brāhmaṇa xiv., 4, 2, 21, and 23 (=Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad in Bibliotheca Indica, pp. 198 ff., and 235).

In Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 7, 1, 1, Brahma is described as sacrificing himself: Brahma vai evaṁabhū tapo 'taṇyata | tad aśishata
CREATION AS DESCRIBED BY MANU.

"na vai tapasy ānantaṁ esti hantā ahem bhūtesho ātmamāṁ juhāvāṁ bhattānī cha ātmamāṁ iti | tat sarvasvā bhūtesho ātmamāṁ huvā bhattānī cha ātmani sarveshām bhattanāṁ kriyākhyāṁ svarājyaṁ adhīpasyam paryait | tathaiva tad yajamanāḥ sarvamedha sarvān medhān huvā sarvānī bhattānī kriyākhyāṁ svarājyaṁ adhīpasyāṁ paryasti | "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."  

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

KULLUKA'S EXPLANATION OF THE PASSAGE.

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

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

On verse 8 Kulluka annotates thus: ‘Tad aṇḍam abhavaḥ haimam’ iti | tad evam Paramesvarekhaya haimam aṇḍam abhavaḥ haimam iva haimam sūdhī-guṇa-yogad na tu haimam eva | tadivaika-sakalena bhūmi-nirmāṇasya vakṣhyanāstattād bhūmeichāhāinmatvasya pratyakshatvaud upachāraśrayataḥ . . . . . . taminn aṇḍe Hiranyagarbhō jātavān | yena pātre jānmanī ‘Hiranyagarbhō āham aṣmi’ iti bhedabheda-bhāvanayā Paramesvaramātthā kṛtā tadivaikā linga-kṣatrīvachhinna-jīvam anupraṣītya svayam Paramātmā eva Hiranyagarbhā-rūpatayā 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 halves 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 subtle 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 Hiranyakagarbha,’ the supreme Spirit himself became manifested
in the form of Hiranyakagarbha.’

The creation is narrated in a similar manner, but without the intro-
duction of any metaphysical elements, in the Harivamśa, vv. 35 ff.:
Tataḥ svayambhūr bhagavān vis:rīhah visvābhāḥ prajāh | aparā eva satvarjā-
dha tānu vyajā avarājat | āpo nārāḥ īti praktaḥ āpo vai nara-sūnavaḥ | 
yaṃ tasya tāḥ pārvam tene nārāyanah ēṃritah | hiranyakarim
abhavat tad āṣaṃ udakākyam | tatra jayā svayam Brahmā svayambhūr īti
naḥ śrūtam | Hiranyakarim bhagavān uṣṭivā parivatvam | tad āṣaṃ
akorō devaśahām dīvam bhunam athāpi eva | tayoḥ kacalayor
madhye akāśam arṣīyat prabhūḥ | āpo pariplavām prithvīm āsātaka
dadāhā daśaka |

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

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

Harivamśa, vv. 12, 425 ff.—Jagat-uṣṣhu-manaḥ devaḥ chintayāmåsa
pūrvaḥ | tasya chintayato vāktrađ niśeśitaḥ pūrvaḥ kila | tatha na
puruśaḥ devaṁ kim korontya upakṣitaḥ | pratyayaṁc̣a eṃtaḥ kriyā
deva-deva jagat-patiḥ | ‘vibhajitāmānam’ ity uktā vato ‘nirdhānām
tevāraḥ | antarhitasya devasya sākārasya bhūvataḥ | pradēpayena
śatrasya gatiṣa tasya na vidyate | tatas tumerūm vāṅm so ‘vachchintayata
prabhūḥ | “Hiranyakagarbha bhagavān yaḥ eva chhandaśa stutaḥ | ekaḥ
prajāpatiḥ pārvam abhavat bhunādhipaḥ | tada-prabhriti tasyādyo
yaṁbhaṇaḥ bhajīyat | ‘vibhajītāmānam’ ity uktas tenaṁ samahatmanā | 
kuṭhaṁ atma vibhajayat eyat sambayat hy atra me mahān” |
"Being desirous to create the world, the deity formerly meditated. As he meditated, a man (puruṣa) issued from his mouth. This man then approached the deity, [saying] ‘what am I to do?’ The god of gods, the lord of the world, answered smiling, ‘divide thyself.’ Having thus spoken, the lord vanished. The path of the radiant embodied deity, when he has vanished, is not known, like that [of the flame] of an extinguished taper. The lord then meditated [thus] upon the word which the deity had uttered: ‘This divine Hiranya-garbha, who is celebrated in the Vedic hymn, was formerly the one sole Prajāpati, the ruler of the world. Thenceforward the first half of the sacrifice is allotted to him. ‘Divide thyself,’—thus have I been commanded by that mighty being. But how is the self to be divided? Here I have great doubt.’" Then follow the verses which have been quoted in the third volume of this work, p. 13 f., to which I refer.

The Rāmāyāṇa, 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:

Rāmāyāṇa (Schlegel’s ed.), ii. 110, 2 ff.—Imān loka-samutpattīṃ loka-nātha nibodha me | 3. Sarvaṁ saśilaṁ evaśīt prithivīḥ yatra nirmiṭā ||
tataḥ samabhvacād Brahmā svayambhūr daivataiḥ saha || 4. Sa varāḥas
to bhūtvā projakāra vasunādānāṃ | aṣṭijācheha jagat sarvaṁ saha
putraṁ kriyātmabhīḥ || 5. Akāśa-prabhavaco Brahmā bāṣeato nityam
cvayaḥ | tamāḥ Marichiḥ sajñaye Maricheḥ Kaśyapaḥ utaḥ || 6.
Vivasvaḥ Kaśyapaḥ jajas Manur Vivasvataḥ smṛitaḥ | sa tu Prajāpatiḥ
pūrvam ityādi ||

Vasishṭha says: "Lord of the people, understand from me this [account of] the origin of the worlds. 3. All was water only, in which the earth was formed. Thence arose Brahmā, the self-existent, with the deities. 4. He then, becoming a boar,"77 raised up the earth, and created the whole world with the saints, his sons. 5. Brahmā, eternal, and perpetually undecaying, sprang from the other; from him was descended Marichi; the son of Marichi was Kaśyapa. 6. From Kaśyapa sprang Vivasvat, and Manu is declared to have been Vivasvat’s son. He (Manu) was formerly the Prajāpati,” etc.

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


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

It will be noticed that at the end of the third śloka, the reading of the first recension, viz. Brahmā svayambhūr daivataḥ saha, "Brahmā, the self-existent, with the deities," is, in the second, changed into Brahmā svayambhūr Vishṇur avayah, "Brahmā, the self-existent, the imperishable Vishṇu," whereby Brahmā becomes a mere manifestation of Vishṇu,—a character of which we have no hint in the earlier recension. Similarly the words which are given in Schlegel's recension, at the close of the fourth śloka, viz. saha putraḥ kṛitaṁ mahāniḥ, "with the saints, his sons," are in the other recension altered into saharaścharam avayam, "movable and immovable, and imperishable"—epithets descriptive of the world. This second alteration was rendered necessary by the first: for as soon as the god who is the subject of the passage had been changed from Brahmā to Vishṇu, the mention of sons became inapplicable; as Vishṇu is not described in the accounts of the creation as having any sons, whereas Brahmā is.
Compare with the fifth verse of the passage before us (in Schlegel’s text), the Vishnû Purâṇa, i. 7, 1 ff.; quoted in the first volume of this work, pp. 64 ff. The accounts of Brahmâ’s descendants are not, however, always consistent. See Manu, i. 32 ff., and Vishnû Purâṇa, i. 7, 12 ff., quoted in pp. 35 ff., and 64 ff., of vol. i.

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

*Bhrigu uvâcha | Prajâ-visargaṁ vividham Mânaso manasā ’srijat | saṁrakshanârtham bhûtânām srishtam prathamato jalam | yaḥ prânaḥ sarva-bhûtânam vardhante yena cha prajâḥ | purityaktâ cha nakṣantâ tenodaṁ sarvam deśītam | prithivi parvatâh meghâḥ mûrtimantaḥ cha ye ’pare | sarvam tad vârayanâ jneyam âpas tastam-bhîre yataḥ | . . . .
Brahmakalpe purâ brahman brahmareśhīnāṁ samâgama | loka-sambaśva-sandehaḥ samutpanno makâtmanâm | To ’tishṭham dhyânam ālambya mannam âsthyāya niśchalaḥ | tyaktâharaḥ pavana-pâḥ divyam eva-hirâsam dvijâḥ | teṣām Brahmamayo ’vâni sarveshâṁॆ brotram āgamât | divyâ Sarasvatī tatra sambabhûva nabhastalat | purâ stimitam âkâśam anantam acaḷopamam | nashṭa-chandrârka-pavanaṁ prasuptam tva sambabhau | tataḥ saśilam utpannaṁ tamasivâparâṁ tamaḥ | tasmâḥ cha saśito phala udattishthaḥ mārūtaḥ |

"Bhrigu says: Mânasa"* (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." Bharadvâja asks how water, fire, air [or wind], and earth were created, and Bhrigu replies: "Formerly, in an assemblage of Brahmans rishis, in the Brahmakalpa, a doubt arose in their minds as to the production of the worlds. These Brahmans 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 Brahmâ, reached the ears of them all: the divine Sarasvatî

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* This word is defined in v. 6775: Mânaso nîma yaḥ pûraṇo viśruto vai mahârshhi- 44tah | snâti-nidhano devas tathâ ’bhedyo ’jâmarah | "The primeval god, without beginning or dissolution, indivisible, undecaying and immortal, who is known and called by great rishi Mânasa," 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: Devīyaṁ tu bhava-yāṣya rasā-tala-gatām mahīṃ | uddharīṣyaṁ upādatta yajnaśāh sau-karaṁ vaṁśaḥ | "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 Nāraṇaṁक्ष्यो 'sau kalpaṁdau bhagavān yathā | sasarjya sarva-hūtāṁ tad āvahaka mahāmune | Parāśaraḥ uvācha | prajāḥ sasarjya bhagavān Brahmā Nāraṇatmakaḥ | prajāpatisat | dovo yathā tam na niḥāmaya | atta-kalpaśaṁ na niḥā-suptothithaḥ prabhūḥ | satīvediktaś tato Brahmā śūnyasā lokam avaikshata | Nārāyaṇaḥ paro 'chintyāḥ paresām api sa prabhūḥ | Brahma-svarūpī bhag-

"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 | nirvāṇasyaprameyasya sūdhasyaśyam analaśīmanah | kathaḥ sargadhiṁ kṛtytvaṃ Brahmaṁ bhupapatyate | Parāśaraḥ uvācha | saktayaḥ sarva-bhūvānāṁ achintya-jñāna-gocharāḥ | yato ‘to Brahmaṁ tāṁ tu sargadṛśyāḥ bhava-saktayaḥ | bhavanti tapasāṁ āruḥṣṭha pāvakaḥ yathokṣuḥ | "Maitreya saha: 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 achintyāḥ in place of achintya?

"Maitreyāsa said: Tell me, great Muni, how, at the beginning of the Kalpa, that divine Brahmā called Nārāyaṇa created all beings. Parāśara replied: Hear from me how the divine Brahmā, lord of the Prajāpatis, who had the nature of Nārāyaṇa, created living beings. At the close of the past (or Pāḍma) Kalpa, Brahmā, the lord, endowed predominantly with the quality of goodness, awoke from his night-somber, 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 Harivansā, 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 vashaṭkāra (a sacrificial formula), thou art the oṁkāra, thou art the fires.' . . . . Being thus celebrated by the Earth, the glorious upholder of the earth, with a voice like the chanting of the Sāmaveda, uttered a deep thundering sound. Then the great boar, with eyes like the expanded lotus, tossing up the earth with his tusk, rose up, resembling the leaf of the blue lotus, from the lower regions, like the great blue mountain. . . . . [The boar is then again lauded by Sanandana and other saints, in a hymn, in the course of which his different members are compared in detail to some of the materials and implements of sacrifice, etc.—See Wilson's Vishnū Purāṇa, 2nd ed., i., pp. 63 ff.] . . . . Being thus hymned, the supreme Soul, the upholder of the earth, lifted the earth up quickly, and placed it upon the great waters. Resting upon this mass of waters, like a mighty ship, the earth does not sink, owing to the expansion of its bulk.'

See also the Mahābhārata iii. 10932 ff.

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., Vanaprastha, 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: Athāhaviṣṭaṁ animahāṁ tūṁ rishīṁ sa hitas tada | ahom Prajapatiṁ Brahmā yat-parnnā nādhiṣyatate | mātayā-rūpam yūyancha mayā 'smūd mohahitāṁ 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 chakārṇaye Brahmā nāśite sthāvāra-jāngamo | sushevāmbhase yas tarnād Nārāyaṇaḥ iti smṛitaḥ | śarvayante prabhuddha vai dhīṣṭvā śāṃyaṃ charācharam | ervaḥ tadda maṭāṃ chakro Brahmā brahma-viḍāṃ varāḥ | udakair āplutām khamāṃ tām samādaṇaṃ sanātanaḥ | pūrva-vat sthāpyāmaṃ vārāḥm rūpam āsthitāḥ | "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 devēbhya nilāyatā Viṣṇurūpam krītva | sa prithivim prāviṣat | taṃ devaḥ hastān saṅrādhyā aichhan | tam Indraḥ upary upary aty akrāmaḥ | so bhravīt "ko ma 'yam upary upary aty akrāmad" iti | "ahām durgā hantā" iti | atha "kas team" iti | "ahām durgā ñāhantā" iti | so bhravīd "durge vai hantā avocatāḥ | varāho 'yam vāmamahā saptānaṃ girinām parastād vittam vedyam you have been delivered from this danger." Compare the story as told in the Bhāg. Pur. (and see Burnouf, Pref. to Bhāg. Pur., iii. p. xxii.). Bhāg. Pur. viii. 24, 4: Ity ukto Viṣṇurātana bhagāṇa Vādarāyaṇiḥ | vañca charitaṃ Viṣṇor matya-rūpeṇa yat kṛitaṃ | S'ukāḥ vañcaḥ | . . . . . 7. āśid atita-kalpante Brahmā naśmitikā layaḥ | samudrapausūja tatra lokih bhūrādaya mṛpā | 8. Kālāṅgā-vādāryam dūhiṣ śīdayishor baśī | mukhato niṣprāṇam vedō Viṣṇo rāgo 'ntīke harat | 9. Jñātā tad dānācendrasya Hayagrīvasya cheṣṭītām | dādhaśa sahārīrūpam bhagāṇa Hariḥ śvēraḥ iṣyādi | "Being thus addressed by Viṣṇurātana, the divine Vādarāyaṇi 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 Brahma, 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 Hayagrīva [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 Hayagrīva, chief of the Dānavas, the divine lord, Hari, took the form of a saphari fish;" etc.
Asurāṇāṃ bidharti taṁ jahi yadi durgā hantā 'si' iti | sa darbhā- 
punjilam uḍyāhaṃ sapta girin bhīttva tam ahaṅ | so braviś "durgād 
vaī āhartā avochatāḥ | etam āhara" iti | tam evaḥ yajñaḥ ova yajnam 
āharaḥ | yat tad vittaṁ vedyam asurāṇāṃ avindanta tad etam vedyai 
vedītam | Asurāṇāṃ vai iyaṁ agro āsit | yāvad ātinaḥ parāpasya ti 
tāvad devanām | te devāḥ abhavann "aste ova no 'yām api" iti | "Kiyad vo dasyāmaḥ" iti | yāvad iyaṁ salāvriti triḥ pariṣāmati 
tāvan no datta" iti | sa Indrāḥ salāvriti-ṛpaṁ kṛte imāṁ triḥ sarva- 
taḥ pariṣāmati | tad imāṁ avindanta | yad imāṁ avindanta tad vedyai 
vedītam | sa vai iyaṁ sarva ova vediḥ |

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

"This earth formerly belonged to the Asuras, whilst the gods had 
only as much as a man can see when sitting. They (the gods) said, 
'Let us have a share in this earth also?' ‘How much shall we give 
you?’ (asked the Asuras). ‘As much as this she-jackal can go round 
in three (stages).’ 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 Viṣṇu Purāṇa 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 Sāṅkhya 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 Purāṇas 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, terrible, 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 Mahaṭ (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 Vishṇu in the form of Brahmā. There, undiscernible in his essence, Vishṇu, 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 Brahmā, 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 (bhūta-di, 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 indiscrēct principle (Pradhāna). The egg is enveloped in these seven material coverings, as the seed within the cocoa-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 Vishṇu Purāṇa does not connect the egg any further with the creation, or tell us how it became divided, etc., etc.

The Linga Purāṇa, Part i., 3, 28 ff., gives a similar description of the egg: Mahāḍa-vīśeśhantah hy aṇḍam utpādayanti cha | jala-bud-buda-vat tasmāt avatṛṇāḥ Pitāmahāḥ | sa eva bhagavān Rudro Vishṇur vīśeṣgataḥ prabhuḥ | taśmin aṇḍe tu ime lokāḥ antar viṇam idam jagat | aṇḍam daka-guṇenaiva nabha śānto vṛtyam | ākāśaḥ chāvṛtās tadasad ahankāreṇa sabdaṇaḥ | mahatā sabda-hetur vai pradhānenaśritaḥ svayaṃ | saptāṅgāvarṣañy āhūs tasyātmā Kamalāṇaḥ | kośi-koṭy-ayutāṇy atra chānḍāni kathitāni tu | tatra tatra chaturvakraḥ Brahmāṇo Harayo Bhavaḥ | priṣṭhāḥ pradhānena tadā labhāvā Sambhoṣtva sannidhim ityādi |

"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 Vishṇu, 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 (aṅkāra) by Mahat, and the latter itself by Pradhan. These men call the seven coverings of the egg; its soul is Kamalasana (Brahmā). Here ten thousand coverings of coverings of eggs are declared (to exist), in which four-faced Brahmas, Haris, and Bhavas (Sivas) were created by Pradhāna, which had attained to proximity with Sambhu (Siva)."

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

Bhāg. Pur. iii. 20, 12 ff.—Maitreyah uvācha | Daivena durvitarkyena

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 (bhūtādī or aṅkāra), characterized by the three qualities (guṇas), created the ether and other principles, in groups of five. 14. These principles being severally unable to create, deposited, when united by the action of destiny, a golden egg formed of the elements. 15. This egg-shell lay lifeless on the waters of the ocean: the Lord dwelt in it for a complete [period of a] thousand years. 16. From his navel sprang a lotus splendid as a thousand suns, the abode of all living things, where Śvarat (Brahmā) himself was born. 17. He penetrated by the Divine Being who reposees 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.: Ekānā jyaṁ hādaya mahād-adṁi sapta
44 MUNDANE EGG ACCORDING TO THE BHAGAVATA PURANA.


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

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

34. Varaha-pīga-sahasrantaḥ tad aṇḍam udākṣayam | kāla-karma-avabhāsā-śtha jīvanam aviveyāt | 35. Sa eva puruṣhas tasmaḥ aṇḍaṁ nirbhidyā nirgataḥ | sahasrova-āngtri-bāha-akṣaḥ sahaerānana-śrīhaevān

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, Puruṣa 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.; Puruṣho 'ṇḍaṁ vinirbhidyā yadā "dau sa vinirgataḥ | ādamaṇyo 'yanam avishāham apo 'rākhīrīc chhūhaṁ tukhiḥ | tān avatatt eva padaḥ sahaera-parivaiśarān | tena Nārāyaṇo nāma yad āpaḥ puruṣodbhavāḥ |

10. “When, splitting the egg, Puruṣa 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 Nārīyaṇa, 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.—Prajāpatir ha vai svām duhitaram abhidadyau divaṁ vā udbhavan vā ‘mithuny snayā vyām’ iti tam sambabhūvaś | 2. Tat vā devānām āgaḥ āsa ‘yaḥ itthām svām duhitaram asmākaṁ vasārāṁ karoti’ iti | 3. Te ha devāḥ uchur ‘yo ’yām devāḥ pratānām teḥo ‘tasāḥchaiva ayaṁ charati yaḥ itthām svām duhitaram asmākaṁ vasārāṁ karoti vidhyan imam’ iti | tam Rudro ’bhīyayāya vicyā- dhā tasya tāmi retaḥ prachakanda tathā id nānaṁ tad āsa | 4. Tasmād etad rishiṇaḥ ’bhīyanuktaṁ ‘piḍa yat svām duhitaram adhisakhaṁ kshmayā retaḥ sanjakmāno nishinchad’ iti tad āgni-māruttam ity ukthām tasmāṁ tad eyākyatis yathā tad devāḥ retaḥ prajānan | tēsthāṁ yadda devānāṁ krodho vyāid atha Prajāpatim abhishejyaṁ tasya tam balyam nirakṛtin- tan | sa vai yajñāḥ eva Prajāpatiḥ |

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

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

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See the passages from the Aitṛṛeya 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 Aśvins. The commentator regards verses 5–7 as intended to show how “Rudra Prajāpati created Rudra Vāstospati with a portion of himself.” (Yathā svāmāna bhagavān Rudrāḥ prajāpatir Vāstospatiṁ Rudram aṣṭijat tad etad-adibhir tisrībhīr evadati.)

R. V. x. 61, 4: Kṛishṇā yad gosu arunishu sīdād dico napātā Aśvinā hucē vām | citam me yajnam āgatam me annaṁ vasanvāṃśa na isham asmrīta-dhṛǔ | 5. Prathishtā yaśaya virakarmam iṣhayā anuṁhitaṁ nu naryyo aparavat | punas tad aṣṭijati yat kanyāḥ duhitur aḥ anubhrītam anavē | 6. Madhyā yat kātvaṁ abhaved abhikē kāmaṁ kṛiṣvane piḷaṁ yuvatām | manānag reto jahatur viyantā śānaṁ nishiktāṁ sukṛisasya yonau | 7. Piḷaṁ yat svāṁ duhitaram adhiśkāṁ kahmayā retaḥ saṁjñāmo nishinchat | svādhyo ajanayan brahma devāḥ vāstospatiṁ vratapāṁ niratakehaṁ |

“When the dark female (night) stands among the tawny cows (rays of the dawn?), I invoke you twain, Aśvins, 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

In Sūtapaṭha Brahmaṁ 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 ‘gniṁ prthivīṁ mithunam samatiḥ): from which union sprang an egg, and thence Vāyu; next, through Vāyu he united himself with the Air (antarikṣa, neuter), and again an egg was produced, and thence Aditiya (the Sun); thirdly, through Aditiya he connected himself with Dyauṣ (the Sky); fourthly, fifthly, sixthly, and seventhly, through his mind (manas) with Vāch; the result of which, in each of the last four cases, was his own pregnancy (garbha abhaved).

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

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

Such is the meaning given by Professor Roth to asmrīta-dhṛū from a+emrī+–+dhrū, “not suffering what I have desired to fall.” See s.v. 2, dhru. Sāyaṇa renders it, asmrīta-dhruḥ mayi droham aṣmarantaṁ | “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 Vāstoahpati, 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: Vāchah duhitaram tanvīṁ Svayambhū haratīṁ manah | akāmāṁ chakamo kshattāṁ sakāmāṁ iti naḥ brutam | 29. Tam adharme kriṣṇa-matim viśeṣaṁ pitaram sutah | Marichi-mukhyāṁ munayo viśram- bhāt pratyabodhayan | 30. Naitat pūrvaiḥ kriṣṇaṁ tevaṁ ya na karishyanti chāpore | yas tevaṁ duhitaram gachher anigrihyāgamam prabhuḥ | 31. Tejyāśāṁ api by etad na etiyāṁ jagadguru | yad eṣantam anutāthān vai lokāṁ kshemāya kalpat | 32. Tusmai namo bhāgavate ya idāṁ svona rochishā | ātmāsthāṁ vyāprāyāṁsa sa dharmam pāturn arhati | 33. Sa itthāṁ grinātaḥ putrāṁ puro dṛṣṭvā praśāpātin | praśāpation-patim tanvāṁ tatyāṁ vṛidiṣaṁ tadā | tāṁ diśo jagrihur ghorāṁ nihāraṁ yad vidus tamaḥ |

"We have heard, O Kshatriya, that Svayambhū (Brahmā) had a passion for Vāch, his slender and enchanting daughter, who had no passion for him. The Munis, his sons, headed by Marichi, 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 (Vishṇu) 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 Sūtapaṭha 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 con-
junction with the male out of whom she was formed, is regarded in
Manu i. 32, as one of the necessary stages in the cosmogonic process
(and finds its near parallel in the book of Genesis): devāhā krītā
"tmama deham arddhena purušo 'bhave | arddhena nārī tasyām sa
Virājam asrijat prabhūḥ | "Dividing his own body into two, [Brahmā]
became with the half a man, and with the half a woman; and in
her he created (i.e. according to the commentator, begot)" Virāj." Compare also the passage from the 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. 26 f. On the injustice of
ascribing an immoral character to the Hindu writings, or to the
deities whom they describe, on the ground of such legends as the one
before us, or of the dialogue between Yama and Yamī in the 10th
hymn of the tenth Maṇḍala of the Rig-veda, see some instructive
remarks by Prof. Roth in the third vol. of the Journal of the American
Oriental Society, pp. 332–337.

The case is different, however, with another class of stories, which
are frequently to be met with in the 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, Vanapravas, 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.
In the case of Krishna the following is the reasoning by which the author of the Bhagavata Purana 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 f. In the Rāmāyaṇa i. 49 Indra tells the gods that his adulterous act had tended to their benefit, by exciting the wrath of Gautama and so neutralizing the fruit of those austerities of the saint which threatened danger to the celestials. On this the commentator in the Bombay ed. remarks: Dhārma-dharmakārynāpi Sāvarkāya adharmo praṇītāṁ evoṣo damardāgītaṃ oha | "What follows is said to show what was the ground of Indra's practising unrighteousness, though he is the supporter of righteousness."
"The king said: 27. The divine lord of the world became partially \(^{81}\) 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.\(^{82}\) 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 (milkmen's wives) and their husbands, and all embodied beings, is their ruler, who only in sport assumed a body upon earth. 37. Taking a human form out of benevolence to creatures, he engages in sports such as that those who hear of them may become devoted to himself. 38. The [male] inhabitants of Vraja harboured no ill-will to Krishna, since, deluded

\(^{81}\) Comp. Mbh. i. 2785. । Yā tu Nārāyaṇo nāma deva-devaś sanātanāḥ । tasvāṃ mānuṣheḥ । āśe Vāsudevaḥ pratirūpuṇ । । See further passages to be quoted in chapter ii., sect. v., below.

\(^{82}\) This refers to the poison drunk by Siva at the churning of the ocean. See Rāmāyaṇa i. 46, 26, ed. Schlegel, and Wilson's Viṣṇu Purāṇa, note p. 78 (1st ed.). The passage of the Rāmāyaṇa will be quoted further in chap. iii., sec. vi.
by his illusion, they each imagined that his own wife was by his side. 39. When Brahmā's night had arrived, the gopts, beloved and glad-
dened by Kṛṣṇa, 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 Kṛṣṇa's sports with the cowherds' wives, and who re-
ppeats it to others, shall attain to strong devotion to that deity, and shall
speedily be freed from love, that disease of the heart (vīrtikātha
Vrajavedahāviva idāṁ cha Vīśṇuḥ braddhāṅvito 'nuśirīṇyād atha varṇayēd yaṁ | bhaktim parāṁ bhagavati pratilabhya kāmaṁ hṛd-rogaṁ āsvo apahino
tvahreṇa dūrataḥ). A remarkable instance of homoeopathic cure, certainly!

I quote the remarks of the commentator, Śrīdhara Svāmin, on verses
30 ff. of this passage: 30. Paramesvaro kaimutika-nāgyeno parihoṁlukh
sāmāṇyato mahātāṁ vṛttam āha ‘ādharmayatikramāṁ’ iti | ‘sāha-
sanche dhīśṭam’ Prajāpatindra-Soma-Vīśvāmitrādināṁ | tacheva tesaṁ
tejasevināṁ doshayā na bhavattī | 31. Tathā ‘yad yath ācharati ṛṣeñhakoṁ’
iti nayēna anyo ‘pi kuryād ity āśankya āha ‘naṁcād’ iti | ‘antāvāro’ dehādi-
para-tantro yathā Rudra-vyātirikto visesam ācharan bhaksayan | 32. Ka-
thām tarhi sadāchāryasya prāmāṇyam ataḥ āha ‘iśvarānām’ iti | tesaṁ
vacheṇ satyam atas tadd-uktam ācharod eva | ācharitaṁ kvechit satyam
ataḥ ‘eva-vacho yuktam’ tesaṁ vacheṇa yad uktam aviruddham tat tad
eva ācharot | 33. Nanu tarhi te ‘pi kim evaṁ sāhasam ācharanti tatra āha
‘kusala’ iti | prārodaka-karma-kehaṇa-mātram eva tesaṁ krityaṁ na
anyād ity arthāḥ | 34. Prastuteva āha ‘kimuta’ iti | ‘kulasākulaśānayaṁ’
na vidyate iti kim punar vaktavyam ity arthāḥ | 35. Etd eva sphyụt-
karoṭīḥ | yasya pāda-panka-paṛāgaṇya niḥenāṇena triptāṁ yadeva yasya
pāda-panka-paṛāgaṇya niśetrā yaham te tathā te cha te triptākāla iti
bhaktāṁ ity arthāḥ | tathā jñāṇinaṁ caha na nasyamāṇaṁ bandhānam
aprānapantaṁ | para-dārāvaṁ gopināṁ angrākṣyāṁ pāriḥsmam | 36. Idānum bhagavataḥ sarvāntaryānimāṇaṁ para-dāra-sevāṁ nāma na kāchid
ity āha ‘gopināṁ’ iti | ‘yo ’ntāḥ charaty adhyaksho’ buddhiyati-sakshtī
sa eva kriṇaṇena dehābhāk na tv asmad-ādi-tulyo yena doshaṁ yad iti | 37. Nanu evaṁ ched āptakāmyaṁ nindito kutaḥ pravṛttir ity āha
‘anugrahaṁ’ iti | śrīṅgāra-ramākṛṣṭha-ahasa ‘ti-bahir-mukhaṇ api
sva-parāṁ kartum iti bhāvaḥ | 38. Nanu anyo ‘pi bhinnāhāraṁ svā-
cheṣṭitam eva eva iti vadantī tatrāha ‘nāśyann’ iti | ev安保-
taśvarābhāve tathā kuraṇtaṁ pāpaṁ jñeyāṁ iti bhāvaḥ |
"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 Viśhnu] 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 ether men’s wives is [here] admitted, and obviated. 36. Now he [further] asserts, in the words ‘the gopas,’ 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

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

The following is the passage referred to by the commentator in his annotation on verse 31. It will be seen that it inculcates a doctrine diametrically opposed to that urged in the earlier part, at least, of the argument by which the author of the Bhāgavata endeavours to justify the adulteries of Kṛiṣṇa, 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 Prīthā, which I have

44 I find this sense of the word śakīrṇuṃhā in Molesworth’s Marathi Dictionary.
45 Compare Raghuvansha iii. 46. . . . pathāḥ śuḥkar deravitsīrāḥ iśvarāḥ mārmanām āśādāṁ na padeḥaṁ | "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 Prithä, 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 Brähmaṇa 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 Brähmaṇa, x. 1, 3, 1 (p. 761 ff.)—Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ aṣṭi-jata | sa úrddhebhyaḥ eva prānebhyaḥ devam aṣṭi-jata ye vāncaḥ prānasaṇ tebhyo martyrāḥ prajāh | atha úrdebhya eva mṛtyum prajābhyaḥ ‘tāraṁ aṣṭi-jataḥ | 2. Tasya ha Prajāpater ardham eva martyrāṁ āsād ardham amṛtam | tad yad asya martyrāṁ āsāt tena mṛtyor abibhut | sa viśhyad imām praviśad devyam bhātō mṛchchā āpaścha | 3. Sa mṛtyur devān abraviṭ ‘kva nu sa ‘bhād yo no ‘sriṣṭa’ iti | ‘tead viśhyad imām praviśhad’ iti | sa ‘braviṭ ‘tam vai anvichārāma tam sambhārāma na vai ahān tam hīṃśhyāmi’ iti | tam devāḥ asyaḥ adhi samabhāran | yad asya aprav āsāt tāḥ āpaḥ samabhāran toha yad asyaṁ tāṁ mṛđam | tad ubhayaṁ sambhriyā mṛdiṁcacha āpaścha iṣṭākāṁ akurvaṁ taṁmad eṣad ubhayaṁ

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88 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 Satapatha Brähmaṇa, iv. 5, 7, 2: Āsitaṃ Vasōvaḥ čhūddha Rudrāḥ deśadad Ādityāḥ ime eva dvāra-pṛthivīṃ trayastriṃśam | trayastriṃśad vai devāḥ Prajāpatiḥ ekatriṃśam | “There are eight Vasu, eleven Rudras, twelve Adityas, and these two, heaven and earth are the [thirty-second and] thirty-third. There are thirty-three gods, and Prajāpati is the thirty-fourth.”
TELLING HOW PRAJĀPATI BECAME IMMORTAL

ishṭakā bhavati mrīchchha āpateḥ | 4. Taṁ etāṁ vai asya tāṁ pancha
martyāṁ tanvāṁ āsan loma ṯvan māṁsam asthi majā atha etāṁ amṛitāṁ
mano vāk prānāḥ chakṣuḥ śrotām | . . . . 6. Taṁ devaṁ abruvann
‘amṛitam imaṁ karavāma’ iti | tasya etāhyam amṛitabhyaṁ tanūḥhyām
etam martyāṁ tanāṁ parigṛhyām amṛitāṁ akurvann iṣyādi . . . . | 7.
. . . . tato vai Prajāpatir amṛito bhavat . . . | . .

x. 1, 4, 1.—Udbhayaṁ ha etad agro Prajāpatir āsa martyāṁ chaiva
amṛitancha | tasya prānāḥ eva amṛitāḥ āsuḥ śariraṁ martyam | sa etena
karmaṇā staya ācīrita ekadha ’jaram amṛitam ātmānam akuruta

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

x. 1, 4, 1.—“Prajāpāti was formerly both of these two things,
mortal and immortal. His breaths were immortal, and his body
mortal. By this rite, by this ceremonial, he made himself uniformly
undecaying and immortal.”

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa x. 4, 4, 1: Prajāpatiṁ vai praṛah ṣrījamānam
pāṃḍu mrītyur abhiparijñāhāna | sa tapo ’tapyata sahaṣāṁ saṁvataśaṁ
pāṃṇāṁ ṣrījāhānan iṣyādi | “Misery, death, smote Prajāpāti when

v Comp. Taitt. Sanh. ii. 3, 2, 1. Devaḥ vai mrītyor abhiḥhayuḥ, te Prajāpatim
upākāraṇa | “The gods were afraid of Death: they hastened to Prajāpāti,” etc.
See also Śētap. 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 passage to a similar effect, quoted in the first volume of this work, pp. 66 ff., and Satap. Br. xi. 4, 3, 1 ff., quoted in the fifth volume, p. 349; and further the same Brähmaṇa, iv. 6, 3, 1: Prājāpatī ha vai prajāḥ sārjāṇasya pareṇi viseramṛṣṇaḥ: "As Prājāpati was creating living beings, his joints became relaxed," etc.

The next extracts tell how the gods acquired immortalitv; and the first of them also informs us of a means whereby men may become immortal, after the deceas of their bodies. 88

Satapatha Brähmaṇa, x. 4, 3, 1 ff. (p. 787): Eha vai mṛityur yat sātvataraḥ | Eha hi mṛtyuṇāṃ aho-rātrabhyaṃ āyoḥ kahino āthe mriyante tasmād eṣā eva mṛityuḥ | sa yo ha eṣā mṛityuḥ saēva saēva veda na ha asya eṣā purā jāravo 'ho-rātrabhyaṃ āyoḥ kahino āthe saēva saēva āthe ha eva āyuḥ eṣā. 2. Eka eva antakah | eṣā hi mṛtyuṇāṃ aho-rātrabhyaṁ āyuḥo 'ntam gachhateev 89 atha mriyante | tasmād eṣā eva antakah | sa yo ha eṣā eṣā mṛityuḥ saēva saēva veda na ha asya eṣā purā jāravo 'ho-rātrabhyaṁ āyuḥo 'ntam gachhate eva āyuḥ eṣā. 3. To devāḥ tasmād antakah mṛityuḥ saēva eṣāvā Prājāpati bāhānān chakur 'yad vai na 'yaṃ aho-rātrabhyaṁ āyuḥo 'ntam na gachhādat iti | 4. To etan yajnākātāṁ teniro 'gnihotraṁ dārkhā pārnamasaṁ cāturmasya nāmubandhāṁ saumyam aḥvaram to etair yajna-vratabhir yajamināḥ na amṛitātvaṁ ānaśiv | 5. To ha apy Agniḥ chikyire to parisrītho eva parisrītho upadāhū aparimātā mṛtyujjanam aparimātā lokamṛṣṇāḥ yathā idam apy etair eko upadāhātī iti devaḥ aukvann iti to ha na eva amṛitātvaṁ ānaśiv | 6. To rohantāḥ trāmyantāḥ chetuv amṛitātvaṁ aurasuviśamānāḥ tān ha Prājāpatir urvāca 'na vai ma sarvāni rāppāya upadāthāa ati eva rochayatha eva 'bhāyapayatha tasmād eva amṛitāḥ bhavathā itī | 7. To ha achuḥ ' tēbhaya vai nav śvam eva tāthi yathā to sarvāni rāppāya upadāhāma itī | 8. Sa ha urvāca shastīṁ cha triṇī cha katāni parisrītho upadāthā shastīṁ cha triṇī cha katāni yajuṣmātir adhi śat-trīṁśataṁ ati lokamṛṣṇāḥ dāva

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

89 Gachhati = gamayet | Comm.
TELLING HOW THE GODS ATTAINED IMMORTALITY. 57

cha sakasraya ashtau cha batany upadhata atha me sarvesi rupany
upadhasyathya atha amrityah bhavishyatha' iti | te tacontroller devah upa-
dadhi toto devah amrityah devah | 9. Sa mritvya devah abrva'itam
ova sarve manushyayam amrityah bhavishyanty atha ko mahayam bhago
bhavishyati' iti | te ta achar 'na aato 'para' kacchana sakta satreya
amrito 'sada yad a eva team stami bhagam karasic | atha vyasarita
satireya [sattram vikay, Comm.] amrito 'sada yad yo 'mrito 'sada vidyayam
va karmaya vay iti | yad vai tad abrvaam 'vidyayam va karmaya vay iti
esha ha eva vā vidyayam Agnir etah u ha eva tat karma yad Aghnī |
10. Te ye evam etad vidur yvēr va tat karma kuruva mritom punah
sambhavanti | te sambhavanto eva amritham abhi sambhavanti | atha
ye evam na vidur yvēr va tat karma na kuruva mritom punah sambhavanti
te stavya eva annam punah punar bhavanti |

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, p. 787.—"It is this year which is death; for it wears away the life of mortals by days and nights, and then they die; wherefore it is it which is death. Whoso knows this death [which is] the year,—it does not wear away his life by days and nights before [the time of] his decay: he lives through his whole life. 2. This [the year] is the ender; for it by days and nights brings on the end of the life of mortals, and then they die: hence it is the ender. Whosoever knows this ender, death, the year [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 pūrṇamāsa, the ohāturīyās (oblations offered at intervals of four mouths), the pāṣubandha, and the saumya adhvara: but sacrificing with these rites they did not attain immortality. 5. They moreover kindled sacrificial fires; they celebrated pariśrīts, yaJuṣmatīs, lokam-
prīṇās, without definite measure, as some even now 100 celebrate them. So did the gods, but they did not attain immortality. 6. They went on worshipping and toiling, seeking to acquire immortality. Prajāpati said to them, 'Ye do not celebrate all my forms; ye either carry them to excess, or ye do not fully carry them out; hence ye do not become

100 This seems to be a polemical hit aimed by the author of the Brāhmaṇa at some contemporaries who followed a different ritual from himself.
immortal.' 7. They said, 'Tell us how we may celebrate all thy forms.'
8. He said, 'Perform 63 hundred pariśrita, 63 hundred and 36 yajus-
matis, and 10 thousand 8 hundred lokamprīṇās: ye shall then celebrate
all my forms, and shall become immortal.' The gods celebrated ac-
cordingly, 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 im-
mortality. 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.—Martyaḥ ha vai agre devāḥ
āsuḥ | sa yada eva te saṁvatsaram āpur atha amrītāḥ āsuḥ | sarvāṁ vai
saṁvatsaraḥ | sarvāṁ vai akshhayam | etena u ha asya akshhayam sukriyam
bhavaty akshhayo loke | ‘The gods were originally mortal.' When
they obtained the year, they became immortal. The year is all: all
is undecaying: by it a man obtains undecaying welfare, an undecaying
world.'

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 2, 3, 6.—Martyaḥ ha vai agre devāḥ
āsuḥ | sa yada eva te Brāhmaṇe ’pur (vyāptaḥ, Comm.) atha amrītāḥ
āsuḥ | ‘The gods were originally mortal. When they were pervaded
by Brahma, they became immortal’ (see the context of this passage
in the fifth vol. of this work, p. 388). Comp. Taitt. Br., iii. 10, 9, 1,
quoted in the first vol. of this work, p. 71.

The following story describes how the gods became distinguished
from, and superior to, the Āsras. Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, ix. 5, 1, 12 ff.
(p. 741).—Devās ās Āsrās ā ca bhayate prajāpatyaḥ Prajāpatyaḥ pitur

101 See Sūtāpatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 2, 2, 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.
AND SUPERIOR TO THE ASURAS.

59
dāyam\textsuperscript{102} upayur vāccham eva satyānirṛte satyanchaiva anrītanaḥka | te
ubhaya eva satyam avadann ubhaya 'nritam | te ha sarattāṁ vadantaḥ
sadṛśaḥ eva asūḥ | 13. To devāḥ utṣerṣyja anrītāṁ satyam anvālebhīro |
asūraḥ u ha utṣerṣyja satyam anrītam anvālebhīro | 14. Tad ha iḍaṁ
satyam ikshānchakre yo asvēṣho āsa 'devāḥ vai utṣerṣyja anrītāṁ satyam
anvālepaṇa hanta tad ayāni' iti tad devān āṣaṁga | 15. Anrītām u
ha ikshānchakre yo asvēṣho āsa 'asūraḥ vai utṣerṣyja satyam anrītam
anvālepaṇa hanta tad ayāni' iti tad asurān āṣaṁga | 16. To devāḥ
saraṁ satyam avadān sarayām asūraḥ anrītām | te devā āsakti\textsuperscript{103} satyāṁ
vadantaḥ aśkāviraṭaraḥ īva āsura naṁgyaṭaḥ īva | tasmād u ha etat
yaḥ āsakti satyāṁ vadaty aśkāviraṭaraḥ īva eva bhavaty naṁgyaṭaḥ īva | sa ha to eva antato bhavati\textsuperscript{104} devaḥ hy evaṇtato 'bhavan | 17. Ātha
ha asūraḥ āsakti anrītāṁ vadantaḥ uṣ̐haḥ īva pipisur\textsuperscript{105} aśkāyaḥ īva āsūḥ|
tasmād u ha etat yaḥ āsakti anrītāṁ vadaty uṣ̐haḥ īva eva pipisur
āśkāyaḥ īva bhavati parā ha te eva antato bhavati parā hy asūraḥ abhavan|
tad yat tat satyaṁ tayī sa vidyā | te devāḥ abhovan 'yajnam kriyāva iḍaṁ
satyāṁ tanarāmaḥ' | \ldots\ldots 27. Tēhu prateṣhu triṣṭyā-savanam
ataṇvata | tat samastāpayan | yat samastāpayāṁs tat sarayām satyam
āpyaṇaṁs tato 'svāraḥ apaprapuṣvāḥ | tato devaḥ abhavan parā 'svāraḥ |
bhavati atmanā parā 'yey evaṁ bhrātrīvya bhavati yaḥ evaṁ veda |

"The gods and Asuras, both descendants of Prajāpāti,\textsuperscript{106} obtained
their father Prajāpāti’s inheritance, speech, true and false, both truth

\textsuperscript{102} Compare S'atap. Br., i. 7, 2, 22.

\textsuperscript{103} Āsakti satyam | kovalaṁ satyam | Comm.

\textsuperscript{104} Some such prepositional as abhi might appear to be wanted here; but Dr.
Aufebrt 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.

\textsuperscript{105} I am indebted to Dr. Aufebrt for pointing out to me another passage of the
S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa where the word pieyati 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 vāstvā pieyati ha prayāya padubhīr yasya evaṁ vidusho 'nusah-
tubham bhavataḥ | “His house becomes flourishing, he increases in progeny and
cattle,—that man who, when he knows this, has the two anusuhubh. The commentator
explains the word pesukam as equal to aḥśvārdhana-stalam, “whose nature is to
increase,” and pieyati as meaning ativirīḍha bhavati, “he becomes exceedingly
augmented.”

\textsuperscript{106} Comp. Taṣṭ. Br. i. 4, 1, 1. Udbhaya vai ete Prajāpater adhy anrītyan evaṁ
dhia asuraḥ cha | tūṁ na evaṁ vadd “ime anye ime anye” iti | “Gods and Asuras were
both created from Prajāpāti. 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 Brāhmaṇa, v. i. 1, 1 (—xi. 1, 8, 1 f.): Dvāt cha vai Asurāt cha ubhaye prajāpatyaḥ paspridhir | tato 'ṣurāḥ atimānena eva “kasmin nu cayaṁ jukuyama” iti vavo eva aṣṭoṣeju jukvataḥ cheruḥ | te 'timānena eva parābāhāvuḥ | tasmād na atimānyeta | parābhavasya hy etad mukham yad abhimānaḥ | 2. Atha dvāt anyo 'nyasmin jukvataḥ cheruḥ | tebhyaḥ Prajāpatiḥ ātmānam pradadau | yajno ha eṣām asa yajno hi devānām annam | “The gods and Asuras, both of them the offspring of Prajāpati, strove together. Then the Asuras, asking 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 on offering their obligations to one another. Prajāpati gave himself to them; sacrifice became theirs; for sacrifice supplies the food of the gods.

The following is from the Taittirīya Brahmaṇa, iii. 2, 9, 6 f.: Aswāmānāṁ vai īyam agre āṁśi | yāvad atmāḥ arūpapātati ātmaḥ devānām | te devāḥ abraṁvan “aste eva no ‘yam api” iti “kṣam no dāśyatha” iti | “yāvad oṣayam parīgrhiṁthe” 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 Brahmaṇa, iv. 5, 4, 1 (p. 397 f.).—Sarve ha vai devāḥ agro sadriśadh āṇuḥ sarve punyaḥ | teṣāṁ sarveshāṁ sadriśāṇāṁ sarveshāṁ punyaṁnaṁ trayo ’kāmayantā ‘atishṭhāvānaḥ syāma’ ity Agni Indraḥ Sūryaḥ | 2. Te ’rchantaḥ brāmyantaḥ cheruḥ | te etān atigrāhyān da- drīnaṁ tān atyagriṁhata | tath ēva ēva atyagriṁhata tasmāt atigrāhyāḥ naṁa | te ’tishṭhāvāno ’bhovan | yathā te etad atishṭhā viva ha vai bhavati yasya evaṁ viduṣhaḥ etān grahaṁ griṁhanti | 3. No ha vai idam agre ’gnau varcaḥ ēsa yad idam asmin varcaḥ | so ’kāmayata ‘idam mayi varcaḥ syād’ iti | sa etān graham apakyaṁ tam agrhiṁtau tato ’smīṁn etad varcaḥ ēsa | 4. No ha vai idam agre Indre ojāḥ ēsa yad idam asmin ojāḥ | so ’kāmayata ‘idam mayy ojāḥ syād’ iti | sa etān graham apakyaṁ tam agrhiṁtau tato ’smīṁn etad ojāḥ ēsa | 5. No ha vai idam agre sūrye bhrajaḥ ēsa yad idam asmin bhrajaḥ | so ’kāmayata ‘idam mayi bhrajaḥ syād’ iti | sa etān graham apakyaṁ tam agrhiṁtau tato ’smīṁn etad bhrajaḥ ēsa | etānāḥ ha vai tejāṁy etānī virāṇy atman dhatte yasya evaṁ viduṣhaḥ etān grahaṁ griṁhanti |

“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.

Comp. the words ye adhi ṣuptaṁ ajukvata, B. V. i. 51, 5; and Sāyana’s comment thereon.

Comp. S’satap. Br. xi. 3, 2, 1: Sarveshem vai eva bhūtānāṁ sarveshāṁ devūnāṁ ātmāḥ yad yajnav | “Sacrifice is the soul of all beings, of all the gods.”

Comp. S’satapatha Brahmaṇa, vi. 6, 2, 11; vi. 6, 8, 2; xi. 2, 7, 28.
They saw these atigrāhyas; 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 Jyotishtoma sacrifice to Agni, Indra, and Sūrya." Prof. Goldsticker's Dict. The word is explained by Böhtlingk and Roth, as meaning "haustrum inaequale haustiens," a draught to be drunk over and above; the designation of three fillings of the cup, which are drawn at the Soma offering.
CHAPTER II.


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


16. "May the gods preserve us from the place from which Vishnu strode² 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 Yuyyō vā sakhā vā, R. V. ii. 28, 10; yuyy, i. 10, 9; yuyyāya, ix. 66, 18.
² Mbh. Sānti-Purva, v. 13171: Kramānyah chāpy aham Pārtha Vishnur ity abhisāṁmitaḥ | “And from striding, 0 son of Prithu, I am called Vishnu.” The A. V. ix. 6, 29, speaks of the steps of Prajapati being imitated by his worshipper (Prajāpatē vā sāha vikraman anuvikramate yaḥ upaharati).
³ Instead of the words prithivyāḥ septa dhāmaḥbhīḥ, the Sāma-veda reads, prithivyāḥ adhi sāvāni: “over the surface of the earth.” This verse, as well as the following ones, is rendered by Professor Benfey, in his translation of the Sāma-veda, as well as in his “Orient und Occident,” i. 30. He understands the place from which Vishnu strides to be the sun, referring to verse 20. For the sense given by Sāyana to this and the following verses, see Wilson’s translation of the Rig-veda and notes in 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 wakful, 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 Yāska from two older writers:—

Yad idam kinchā tad vibhramate Vishnuḥ | tridhā niṣāhatte padam |
‘treṣṭhā-hāvaya prithivyam antarikshe décor’ iti Śākapūrṇiḥ | ‘samārohāme viṣṇupade gasyārās’ iti Aurnāvābhaḥ | ‘samūḍham aṣya pāṃsura’ | pāyane ‘antarikshe padaṁ na drīṣyate | apiṣaḥ upamārthe eyat | samūḍham aṣya pāṃsule iea padaṁ na drīṣyate 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 Śākapūrṇi; or, ‘on the hill where he rises, on the meridian, and on the hill where he sets,’ according to Aurnāvābha. ‘Samūḍham aṣya pāṃsura,’ i.e. his step is

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

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

6 Sāyaṇa gives to the root spaḍ the sense of “hindering,” or “touching.” Benfey, in his S. V., renders paspaṭa 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. 135 f., thinks that the sense of “beholding” is suitable in all the texts where forms of the root spaḍ occur in the R. V.

7 Benfey renders saminiḍhatu “glorify.” The commentator on the Vaiṣ. 8. 34, 44, makes it dīpāyante = upeṣante. Roth, under the word, explains “they kindle [Agni?] when Vishnu is in his highest position.”

8 Formerly cited in part in the second volume of this work.
not seen in that prolific region, the atmosphere (pyāyana antarikehe): 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 Durgāchārya⁶ on this passage of the Nirukta:

_Vishnur Ādityaḥ | Katham iti yataḥ aha ‘tredhā nidadāke padam’ ni-
dhatta padam nidhānam padaḥ | kva tat tāvat | ‘prithivyām antarikehe
divi’ iti Śākapūṇiḥ | pārthivo ‘gnir bhūte prithivyām yat kinecid uti
tad vikramate tad adhitikṣhāti | antarikehe vaidyutātmanā | divi suryāt-
manā | yad uktam ‘tam u abhirvān tredhā bhuve kam’ (R. V. x. 88, 10)
iti | ‘samārohaṇa’ udaya-girāv udyam padam ekaṁ nidadhate | ‘vishnupada’
madhyamānā ‘nitarikeḥ’ | ‘gayaśiras’ āstamāgirāv ity Āurnavābhah
āchāryo manyate |

“Vishnu is the sun [Āditya].”¹⁰ 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 Śākapūṇi. 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.” Aurṇavābha Āchārya thinks [the meaning is] this, ‘He plants one foot on the ‘samārohaṇa’ (place of rising), when mounting over the hill of ascension; [another] on the ‘vishnupada,’ the meridian sky; [a third] on the ‘gayaśiras,’ the hill of setting.”¹¹

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

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

⁶ Already quoted in the second volume of this work.
¹⁰ The Atharvaveda, v. 26, 7 has the following reference to Vishnu: _Vishnur yumāktaḥ bahuḥ taṇṇaṁ apiṁ iti yajna suyuyṛṇaḥ svāhā |
¹¹ See Appendix B.
Tisrāḥ eva devatāḥ iti Nairuktāḥ Agniḥ prīthivī-sthāno Vāyuḥ vā Indro vā 'ntoriksha-sthānaḥ Sūryo dgu-sthānaḥ | tāsām mahābhāyaḥ saikaśyāḥ api bahūni nāmadheyāni bhavanti | api vā karma-prīthivāṇaḥ yathā hota 'dhvaryuḥ brahma udgātā ity apy ekaśya satāḥ | api vā prīthag eva syuh | prīthag hi stutayo bhavantī tathā 'bhidhanāni ityādi |

"There are only three deities, according to the Nairuktas (etymologists), Agni, whose place is on earth, Vāyu, or Indra, whose place is in the atmosphere, and Sūrya, whose place is in the sky. These [deities] each receive many designations, in consequence of their greatness, or from the diversity of their functions, as [the apppellations 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 apppellations are addressed to them," etc.\(^{12}\)

According to Śakapūṇi, therefore, Vīṣṇu would be the god who is manifested in a three-fold form on earth, in the atmosphere, and in the sky.

Secondly: Aurnāvabha interprets the passage differently. He understands the three steps of Vīṣṇu, not of fire, lightning, and solar light, but of the different positions of the sun at his rising, his culmination, and his setting.\(^{13}\) According to him, therefore, Vīṣṇu is simply the sun.

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

*Vīṣṇuḥ trivikramasatārǟm kritva idām viśvam vihakrame vihvajya kramate soma | tad eva āha | tredhā padaṁ nidadhe bhumaṁ sakam padaṁ *

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\(^{12}\) Kai  gam pongav bnevādum mophal mum, Eshylus Prom. Vinct. v. 217.

\(^{13}\) In a previous part of this passage, vii. 4, it is said, *Mahābhāgaḥ devatāyaḥ saṃ ātmā bahu-kāśī stūyate | ekaśa ātmano 'nyo devāḥ pratyayaugūni 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. Colebrooke’s Essays, i. 26 f.; or p. 12 f. of W. and N.’s ed. It appears from an advertisement in No. 75 of Tūmbe’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 Vīṣṇu is emblematic of the rising, the culminating, and the setting of the sun,” etc. Trans. of B. V., vol. i., p. 117.
antareśha doityam divi śrītyam iti kramad Āgni-Vāyu-Sūrya-rupena ity arthaḥ |

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

The commentator here combines the view that the Dwarf incarnation of Vishnū 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 Āgni, Vāyu, and Sūrya, which is the interpretation of Sākapūrṇi, as explained by Durgā. There is no trace in the words either of Sākapūrṇi, or of Aurṇavēbha, as handed down by Yāska, of any allusion to such a Trivikrama incarnation of Vishnū.  

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

B. V. i. 61, 7: Aṣyeda u māṭuḥ savaneshu sadyo mahaḥ pitum papivān chāru annā | mukhyād Vishnṛ pañcatakam sahiyān vidhyād varāhām tīrō adīm āstā—"Having at the libations of that great measurer [of the world, i.e. Indra], drunk the potion, and [eaten] the pleasant oblations, the impetuous Vishnū straightway stole the cooked mess, pierced the boar and shot through the mountain." See R. V. viii. 66, 10, below, and the quotation from Sāyaṇa's note on that verse.

The Brāhmaṇas, as well as the hymns, contain frequent allusions to the three steps or stations of Vishnū. See the Sātap. Br. vi. 7, 4, 7 ff.; Taitt. Sanh. i. 7, 6, 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 udgātṛi priest. Vāj. Sanh., xxiii. 49: Prīchāmī tuḥ chitatā devaśakha yadi te tuv atra manavi jagantiḥ | yeṣau Vishnū tadhā padeśu shatam tadhā viśvam bhūvam āvinaś | 50 | Api tuḥ trikāh padeśau asmi yeṣau viśvam bhūvanam āvivaṣā | uvāca paryoṣaḥ prithiṁ utha dyum okṣaṁasena dīva asya prīthiṁ | "I ask thee, friend of the gods, that I may know, if thou by thy mind hast reached so far,—did Vishnū, 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."
FURTHER TEXTS OF THE RIGVEDA

R. V. i. 85, 7: Te acardhanta eva-tvās anukti-cakhrī sadaḥ | Visṇuḥ yad ha śvad eva-niṣṭaṁ mada-chṛutav yayo na śidam adhi bahishki priya |

“They (the Maruta), strong in themselves, increased in greatness. They ascended to heaven, and have made [for themselves] a spacious abode. When Viṣṇu assisted the hero [Indra?] who humbles pride,14 they sat down like birds on the sacrificial grass which they love.”

R. V. i. 90, 5, 9.—Uta no dhiyo ga-agrodh Pūshan Viṣṇu eva-yācaḥ | karta naḥ svastimataḥ | 9. saṁ no Mitraḥ sam Varuṇaḥ saṁ no bhavatu Aryaman | saṁ naḥ Indro Brīhaspatiḥ saṁ no Viṣṇuḥ urukramaḥ |

5. “Pūshan, Viṣṇu, swift goer, make our prayers to bring us cattle and other possessions: make us prosperous . . . . 9. May Mitra, may Varuṇa, may Aryaman, may Indra, may Brīhaspati, may the wide-striding Viṣṇu, 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 Viṣṇu’s praises.

R. V. 1, 154 (=Vāj. S. 5, 18; A. V. 7, 26, 1).—Viṣṇuḥ nu kāṁ

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14 Though the commentator in loco renders mada-chṛutav by mada-sya harṣa-sya śīktāram, “dispenser of exhilaration” he interprets it in his note on R. V. i. 61, 2 — where it is an epithet of Indra—by śiṣṭāṁ mada-sya śāreṇaḥ chṛutāśayāram, “who brings down the pride of his enemies.” In R. V., viii. 1, 21, the word mada-chṛut is again applied to Indra, and in R. V. viii. 86, 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 Viṣṇu thus: “When Viṣṇu protects the drooping (Soma) who distils intoxication,” and refers to a paper of his own in the Göt. Gel. Anzeigen regarding the relation of Viṣṇu to Soma. In Böhtlingk and Roth’s Lexicon the word mada-chṛut, 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 Viṣṇu descried the enrapturing Soma.” In his note, p. 116, he remarks: “Viṣṇu, 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 Viṣṇu 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 “brining down pride” is a meaning which the word mada-chṛut 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 Śvāma, or to horses in general, he would translate it by “furiously or wildly moving about.”]
vīryāṇi pravocharāḥ
dvā pārthivāṇi vimāna rajāṁi | yo asaḥkhyād
uttaraṁ sadhasthaṁ vihakramāṇas tredhā urugāyaḥ | 2. (=-A.V. 7, 28,
2, 3; Nir. 1, 20) : Pra tād Vīṣṇuḥ stavaṁ vīryeṇa mrīgo na bhīmaṁ
kucharo giriṣṭhāḥ | yaśyoruṣu triṣu vikramāṇeṣu adhikṣiyanti bhū-
vanāṁ viśvā | 3. Pra Vīṣṇueśu sūkṣam etu manma giriṣṭhitte urugāyāṁ
erīṣhnaṁ | yo idaṁ dirgham pravatāṁ sadhasthaṁ eko vimāma śrīḥriṁ iti
padebhiḥ | 4. Yaya tri pārṇā madhunā padāṁ akashīyamanā svadhyā
madanti | yaṁ u triśātu prāthiṣṭitam uta dyām eko dādāra bhūvanāṁ
viśvā | 5. Tad ayaṁ priyam abhi pātho (R.V. iii. 55, 10) aśyāṁ naro yatra
devayavo madanti | urukramaṇya sa hi bandhur itthā Vīṣṇoḥ pade parame
madhavaḥ uṣaḥ | 6. (Vāj. S. 6, 3; Nir. 2, 7) : Ta vāṁ vastāṁ utsanā
gamadāya yatra gāvo bhāri-tringā yaṣaḥ | atrāha tad urugāyasyā
erīṣhnaḥ paramam padam aca bhāti bhāri

“I declare the heroic deeds of Vīṣṇu, who traversed the mundane
regions, who established the upper sphere, striding thrice, the wide-
stepping. 2. Therefore is Vīṣṇu 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 Vīṣṇu, the dweller in the [aerial] mountains, the wide-stepping,
the vigorous, who alone traversed with three steps this wide, extended
firmament;—4. Whose three [steps, or] stations, replenished with

17 The same form of expression occurs in a hymn to Indra (R. V. i. 32, 1), Indraṣyā
vīryāṇi pravocharaṁ, etc. Compare R. V., ii. 16, 1.
18 On this verse the Nirukta remarks: “Kucharaḥ” iti charati karma kutisam
stāḥched devatābhidhānāṁ kṣva aśyāṁ na charati iti | giriṣṭhāḥ giristhāyi giriḥ para-
vataḥ . . . tat-prakṛiti itarac sanādhi-sūmānyād megha-sthāyi megho ‘pi gīrī etu-
maṁ 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?’ ‘Giriṣṭhāḥ’ means
‘abiding in the mountains;’ for gīrī means ‘mountain.’” . . . . . The author then
gives various etymologies of the word parvata, “mountain,” one of which is that it
is derived from parva, “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 giri for the same reason.” See Roth’s Illus-
trations of the Nirukta, p. 17. The same comparison, mrīgo na bhīmaṁ kucharo giri-
ṣṭhāḥ, is applied to Indra in R. V., x. 180, 2 (=S. V., ii. 1223, and A. V. 7, 84, 3).
Böthingk and Roth, s. v., think the word Kuchara may signify “slowly-moving,”
“slinking.” The word mrīga is applied to Varuṇa in R. V. vii. 87, 6.
19 Urugāyasya = prithu-gamanasya adhikastuter vā.—Sāyaṇa on R. V. iii. 6, 4.
Urugāyasya = mahāgāteḥ.—Nir. ik. 7.
honey, imperishable, gladdened 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 Sāyāṇa gives of the words pārthivāṇi rajāmsi, in the first verse of the preceding hymn: Yo Vishnuḥ pārthivāṇi prīthivit-sambandhini rajāmsi ranjanātmakāniki kahity-ādi-lokata-rayābhīminy Āgni-Vāyu-Āditya-rāpānī rajāmsi vinamā viśeśhānā nirnāmā | atra trayo lokāḥ api prīthivit-sadhā-vāchyaḥ | tathā oha mantrānām (R. V. i. 108, 9), 'yad Indrāgni avamasyām prīthivyām madhyamasyām paramasyāṃ uta aha' iti | Taivānīya 'pi 'yo 'syām prīthivyaṁ asy āyuhā iti upakramya 'yo dvītyasyāṁ trītyasyām prīthivyām iti | tasmā lokatrayasya prīvilīḥ-sadhā-vāchyatevam | . . . . yadeva yo Vishnuḥ pārthivāṇi prīthivit-sambandhini rajāmsi adhastana-sopta-lokān viname | . . . . rajāḥ-sabdo lokāḥ-vāchit 'lokāḥ rajāmsy ucyante' iti Yāskena caitvā | . . . . athave pārthivāṇi prīthivit-nimittakānī rajāmsi lokān viname | bhūr-ādi-loka-trayam ity arthāḥ | bhāmyām upajita-kārma-bhogarthatvād itara-lokānāṁ tat-kāraṇātvaṃ |`

"[The meaning is], Vishnu who formed,—especially constructed,—the terrestrial [regions]; i.e., those connected with prīthivī (the earth),—the regions (rajāmsi),—the things whose nature is to delight (ranjanātmakānī),—existing in the form of Āgni, Vāyu, and Āditya, who represent the three worlds, the earth, etc. Here all the three worlds are intended to be designated by the term prīthivī. Thus another text [R. V. i. 108, 9] says: 'Whether, Indra and Agni, ye are in the lowest world (prīthivī), in the middle [world], or in the highest,' etc. In the Taivānīya 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 prīthivī. . . . Or, [the meaning may be], the Vishnu who formed the terrestrial [regions], the regions connected with the earth, the seven worlds beneath the earth. The term rajās denotes a world, since Yāska says 'worlds are called rajāmsi.' . . . Or [the
EXPLANATION OF RIGVEDA I. 164.

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 destined 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
Sāyaṇa, which gives the meanings of rajās: Rajo rajateḥ [jyotiḥ rajāh
uḥyate | udakāṁ rajāḥ uḥyate | lokāḥ rajāṁsy uḥyante | aṣṭīś prayat
rajaste uḥyate | ‘rajāṁśi chitrāḥ vicharanti tanyavah’ ity api nityano
bhavati |

“Rajas is derived from the root ṛaj. Light is called rajās. Water
is called rajās. The worlds are called rajāṁśi. [Blood and day, or]
day and night, are called rajaste. There is also a text (R. V. v. 63, 5),
‘Brilliant and resounding [the Maruta] 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 (rajāṁśi): vi yas
stawambha śaḥ imā rajāṁśi, “who established these six worlds.”

The verb vimāname cannot, I think, have the meaning, which the com-
mentator 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,” as it could not fitly be said of Vishnu
that he constructed the firmament with three steps. The phrase rajas
vimānaḥ, “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 vimānaḥ seems to have the
same sense: vi dyām ahi rajas pritho aha mimāṇo aktubhiḥ | pabyan
jāmānī saṁyga | “Sun, thou traversest the sky, measuring the broad
space (rajas), and the days, with thy rays, beholding created things.”

The phrase rajas vamānaḥ occurs also in R. V. iii. 26, 7 (= Vāj.
8. 18, 66), where Agni says of himself that he is arkas tridhātaviḥ rajas vamānaḥ| “the threefold light, the measurer of the world,” which
the commentator explains thus: tresdhā atmānam vibhayya tatra Vayu-
avatmanā rajasvo ‘ntarikshasya vimāno vimātā ‘dhiśāhāta ‘smi | “Triply

30 Roth conjectures that the word aṣṭī is here spurious.—Illustr. of Nir., p. 46.
31 See Böhlings and Roth s. v. mā+i-vi.
32 The word aktubhiḥ is rendered “nights” by Yāsaka in his explanation of this
passage, Nir. xii. 23, and by the commentator; but the latter explains the same
word by rajatubhiḥ, “rays,” in his annotation on R. V. i. 94, 5.
33 This verse is explained in a spiritual sense in Nirukta Parisñiṣṭha 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 Savitṛ (the sun): *Yasya prayāṇam anv anyo iḍa yat āpravṛtya devasya mahimānam ojasā | yaḥ pārthivāni vimame sa etasā rajāṃsī devalaḥ 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 Savitṛ is a steed."

This text is quoted and commented on in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, 6, 3, 1, 18: ‘Yasya prayāṇam anv anyo iḍa yat āpravṛtya | Prājāpatir vai etad agre karma akarot | tat tato devaḥ akurvan ‘devaḥ devasya mahimānam ojasā’ iti | gajno vai mahimā | devaḥ devasya yajnaṁ viryam “ojarā” ity etad | ‘yaḥ pārthivāni vimame sa etasāḥ’ iti | yad vai kinccha anyām tat pārthivam tad esha sarvaṁ vimimtā | raśmībhir hy enad abhyavatanoti | ‘rajāṃsī devaḥ Savitā mahītvānā’ iti | ime vai lokāḥ rajāṃsi | asaḥ Ādityo devaḥ Savitā | tān esha mahimnā vimimtā | ‘Whose course the other gods have followed.’ Prājāpati 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 Savitṛ [measured out] the regions by his power.’ These worlds are the regions: that Āditya (sun) is the god Savitṛ. He measures them out by his power."

The author of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa introduces the words pārthivāni vimame rajāṃsī, with a part of R. V. vii. 99, 2, at the close of his account of the Dwarf incarnation of Vishṇu, assigning to them, however (whether ignorantly, or knowingly), a different meaning from that which they have in the hymn,—Bhāg. Pur. viii. 23, 29: *Pāram mahimnāḥ uru-ukramato grīnaṁo yaḥ pārthivāni vimame sa rajāṃsī martyāḥ| kiṁ jayamānaṁ uta jātaḥ upaiti martyāḥ ity āha mantradṛṣṭi rishiḥ puru-
shaasya yasya | "The mortal who celebrates the utmost limits of this wide-
striding (Vishnu's) greatness, computes the [particles of the] dust of the
earth. Can 'the mortal who is being born, or has been born,' attain to
it? Thus speaks the rishi who saw a hymn regarding this Purusha."

This verse is explained by the commentator thus: Uru bahu vikr-
mato Vishnor mahimnaḥ pāram yo griñāno bhavati sa martyāḥ pār-
thivaṇi rajāṁsy api vimame gaṇitavan | yaṭhā pārthiva-paramāṇu-gaṇa-
nam asaṣyaṁ tathā Vishnor guṇa-gaṇanam asaṣyaṁ ity arthaḥ | tathā
ta mantra 'Vishnor nu kaṁ āṣṭiṣyati' iti | etad eva mantrāntarārthaṁ
sūchayāṁ āha yasya purushasya pūrṇa-mahimnaḥ pāram mantra-āṣṣa-
ṁ riṣhir Vasisthaḥ ity evam āha | kathām | kīṁ jāyamāṇo jātō vā upaśita
na ko' pi iti vadann anantatvāna eva āha āti arthaḥ | tathā cha mantra
'na te Vishno jāyamāṇo na jātō deva mahimnaḥ 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, Vasishtha, the
seer of the hymn, thus speaks:' How? 'Can any man being born,
or already born, attain it?' No one. By this expression he in-
timates 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: Saree 'pi raśmaṁ gāvaḥ udayantas | . . . tāṁ vaṁ
vāstūṁ kāmayāmaḥ gamanāya yatra gāvaḥ bhūri-śringāḥ . . . oyāso
'yanaḥ ; tatra tad uṛuśaṁyasa Vishnor mahagataḥ paramam padam
porādhyastham avabhāti bhūri | "All rays are called gāvaḥ." Then,
after quoting the verse, the author proceeds to explain it: "We desire
to attain to these 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." Both then proceeds to remark: "This verse occurs in a hymn to Vishṇu; consequently the dual vāṃ ['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 vāṃ iti dāmpatti abhipṛtya, etc. ['vāṃ 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 Vishṇu 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 vāṃ vāstāṇy uṁmai gamadhyai, "we desire to go to these abodes of you two," etc., reads, ya te dhā-
māṇy uṁmai, etc., "to which realms of thine we desire," etc., etc.

In the next hymn Indra and Vishṇu are jointly extolled:

R. V. i. 155.—Pra vaḥ pāntam posthā dhiyāyaṁ maha śūrtya Vishṇavo oha archata | ya sānuni parvatānām adābhyā mahās tathāhārti
neratva śadhuṇā | 2. Tvaḥam itthā samaratam simtavā Indra-
Vishṇu suta-pāh vāṃ urushyati | ya martyāya parīthīyamānam it kri-
kānor astur asanām urushyathā | 3. Tāḥ tām varāhantī mahī aṣya paum-
svayāḥ ni mātarā nayati retase bhyaḥ | dadhāti putro avaram pāram piṣur
nāma tritīyam adhi rohane divaṁ | 4. Tat taṁ id aṣya paumsvayām gri-
ṁāma ānaya trāṭūr avrīkaṣya mihuṣaḥ | yaḥ pārthivāni triḥ bibhīd yād
vīmāchār vru kramiṣṭhur-ṛāyāya jīvaṣe | 5. Dve id aṣya kramāya
svardārio abhikhyāya martyo bharatāyasi | tritivam aṣya nakir a da-
dhārṣhati vayaṁ chana patayatāḥ patatrināḥ | 6. Chatundhiṃ sākā
davatincha nāmabhiḥ chakram na vṛttām vyātam avoipat | bṛhamokha-
ṛtavo vimānāḥ pakvābhīr yuva kumāraṇ prati eti āhavam |

"Sing praises to the great hero (Indra), who desires the draught of your soma, and to Vishṇu, who both swiftly rose invincible, to the summit of the [aerial] mountains, as if [carried by] an excellent steed. 2. Indra and Vishṇu, 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 Krišānu. 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 innoxious, the bountiful, who with three steps traversed26 far and wide the mundane regions, for the sake of [granting us] a prolonged (lit. wide-stepping) existence.27 5. A mortal is agitated when contemplating two of the steps of this heavenly [deity]; but no one dares to attempt his third step,28 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 śrayo gṛitāstūri vibhūta-dyumnaḥ evayāḥ u sastrapathāḥ | adha te Vishnu viḍuṣha chid ardhyaḥ stoma yajnakṣha rādhyaḥ havishmatā | 2. Yaḥ pūrvyāya vedham naviyasa sumajjānyo Vishnu cārādhiṣati | yo jātam asya mahato mahi bratav sa id u bravobhir yujyāḥ chid abhi asat | 3. Tam u stotāraḥ pūrvyaḥ yathā vīda rithya garbhāḥ januṣaḥ pipartana | ā asya jānanto nāma chid vivaktan mahas te Vishnu sumalim bhajāmahe | 4. Tam asya rājā Varuṇas tam Aśvinā krutum sahanta mṛutasya vedhasaḥ | dādhaṁrā daksitam uttamam ahar-vidam evaṁ cha Vishnu sakhīvān aporgute | 5. Ā yo vividya saha-thāya daviyāḥ Indrāya Vishnuḥ sukrīte sukrītaraḥ | vedhāḥ aśīvat tri-shadhaśthaḥ āryam rithyaḥ hāgā yaajamāṇam ṛ bhajat | "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,29—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-jānti. The first makes it svayam svayamāṇaḥ, "born by his own power" (in proof of which sense he quotes Nir. vi. 23: Sumat svayam ity arthāḥ | "sumat means svayam, self"). The second meaning is thus stated: Sutārām mādayati iti sumat | tadṛśi jāyā yasya svayam | tasmā saiva-jagaṇa-mādana-śīla-srī-pataye | "sv-mat means 'greatly
his friend in renown. 3. Encomiasts, satisfy [with worship], as you know how to do, him who, by his nature, is the primeval source of sacred rites. Knowing his name declare, ‘Vishnu, we enjoy the good will of thee, the mighty one.’ 4. King Varuna and the Aśvins have done homage to the power of this ruler [or wise god] who is attended by the Maruts. Vishnu possesses excellent wisdom, which knows the proper day; and with his friends, opens up the cloud. 5. The divine Vishnu, who has hastened to seek companionship with the beneficent Indra, [himself] more beneficent,—this wise [god], occupying three stations, has gratified the Ārya, and renders the worshipper a sharer in the sacred ceremony.”

R. V. i. 164, 36 (A. V. 9, 10, 17; Nir. Par. ii. 21).—Saptā ardhagarbhaḥ bhuvanasya reto Vishnuḥ teṣāṁ pradīpam vidharmāṇi | te dhītibhir manasa te vipāschitāh pari bhave pari viśvataḥ |
“Seven embryos, the prolific sources of the world, abide by the command of Vishnu in the function of supporting [the universe]. They by thought, and by mind, they intelligent, embracing, comprehend all things.”

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

R. V. i. 186, 10.—Pro Aśvināv avasa krimudhram pro Pūshaṇāṁ svatavaśo hi santi | advesho Vishnur Vātaḥ Ribhukṣahāh achha sumnaya varṣitaḥ devān | “Dispose the Aśvins, dispose Pışhan, to succour us, for they have power in themselves. Vishnu is free from malice, and so is Vata (Vāyu) and Ribhukshan. May I incline the gods to be favourable to us.”

R. V. ii. 1, 3.—Tvam Agno Indro virashabhaḥ satām asi tvam Vishnur

gladdening.” Sumajánti then signifies ‘one who has such a wife.’ The phrase will thus mean, ‘to the lord of Sṛi, 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 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 yujya sā sukhā cā in R. V. ii. 28, 10, where yujya is explained by Sāyaṇa as = yojana-samarthah piitrūdir vā; and R. V. i. 22, 19, where the same word yujya is said to be equivalent to anukūla, “friendly.” Compare also auyuja in R. V. viii. 51, 2.

30 See the interpretation of the word aharoid given by Sāyaṇa on R. V. i. 2, 2. In Böhtlingk and Roth’s Dictionary the word is explained as signifying “long known.”
VISHNU IS MENTIONED.

uruguśa namasyaḥ | teṣam brahmā rayivid Brahmadeśpate teṣam viśhartaḥ 
sachase purandhaḥ | "Thou, Agni, art Indra, most energetic of heroes; 
thou art Viṣṇu, the wide-stepping, the adorable; thou, Brahmaśpate, 
art a priest, possessor of wealth; thou, sustainer, art associated with 
sacred wisdom."

R.V. ii. 22, 1 (8.V. i. 457).—Trikadrukeṣu mahiśo yavāśram tuvi-
buskhas tripat somam apiśad Viṣṇunā sataṁ yathā 'vaśat | sa im ma-
māda mahi karma kartave mahām uruḥ sa enam saśchad devo devaṁ 
satyam Indraṁ satyaḥ Induḥ | "The great [Indra], of mighty force, 
satiating himself, has drunk the soma, mixed with barley-meal, poured 
forth by Viṣṇu at the Trikadruka ceremony, as much as he desired. 
He [Soma] has stimulated the great and vast [god, Indra,] to achieve 
mighty acts. He, the god, the true Indu (Soma), has attended him, 
the god, the true Indra."

R.V. iii. 6, 4.—Mahān evadhaste dhrvoc a nishatta antar dyāvā ma-
hine haryamāṇaḥ | ākro sapatiṇi ajare amṛite sabarṣuh uruguśasya11 
dhena | "The great [god, Agni,] is seated in his firm abode, beloved, 
between the mighty heaven and earth,—those two cows, joint-wives of 
the wide-stepping [god], united, undecaying, inviolable, dispensers of 
water." Agni himself may be the "wide-stepping god" intended here.

R. V. iii. 54, 14.—Viṣṇunā sūmāsaḥ puru-daśam arkaḥ bhagasya 
kāriṣa yamani gman | urukramaḥ kakuho yasya pūrvir na mardhaṁti 
yuṣatayo janirīḥ | "Our hymns and praises have proceeded to Viṣṇu, 
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.—Viṣṇur gopāḥ22 paramam pāti pāthah23 priyā 
dhāmanī amṛita daṇḍanaḥ | Agni tā vīśva dhvanāni veda mahad 
devānām anuratam ekam | "Viṣṇu, a protector, preserves the highest 
haven, sustaining the dear,24 undecaying regions. Agni knows all these 
worlds: great and incomparable is the divine nature of the gods."

11 Pṛthuṣamanasya adhiś-cūtaḥ vā; Śāṇa, who names Agni as the god; 
though he makes heaven and earth to be the wives of the sun.
22 Compare R. V., i. 22, 18. The word Viṣṇu is here regarded by the commen-
tator as an epithet of Agni, and rendered by "prevading." The hymn is, however, 
according to the Anukramaṇikā, one addressed to all the gods.
23 Pāthah occurs also in R. V. i. 164, 5. See above.
24 Or, "vast." The commentator renders the word priya by aparimita, "unmeas-
sured," in his note on R. V. iii. 52, 7.
R. V. iv. 2, 4.—Aryamāyām Varuṇam Mitram evām Indrā-Viṣṇu Maruto Āśvinī uta | su-aśe Agno su-rathaḥ su-rādhāḥ a tā u vaha su- haśchāh janāya | "Agni, [do thou, who hast] beautiful steeds, a beautiful car, and [bestowest] rich gifts, bring to the pious worshipper from among these [gods], Aryaman, Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra and Viṣṇu, the Maruts, and the Āśvinī" (comp. R. V. vii. 39, 5, below).

R. V. iv. 3, 7.—Kathā mahe pushtim-bharāya Pāṃśu kad Rudrāya sunakhāya havir-do | kad Viṣṇavo uru-gāyāya reto bhavaḥ kad Agno Śaravo brihatayai | "Why, Agni, [shouldst thou declare our sin] to the great supplier of nourishment, Pūshan? why to Rudra, the vigorous, the giver of oblations? why shouldst thou declare our sin to the wide-stopping Viṣṇu? why to the great Saru (Nṛṣītī?)?"

R. V. iv. 18, 11.—Uta mātā mahāśam anuvacem admi tev jahati putra devaḥ | Atha abhravīd Vṛitraṃ Indro hanisheyā sukha Viṣṇo vitarāṃ vikramasva | "And his mother sought to draw back the mighty [Indra], saying, 'My son, those gods forsake thee.' Then Indra, being about to slay Vṛitra, said, 'Friend Viṣṇu, do thou stride vastly.'"

The last words of this verse form the commencement of the 12th verse of the 86th hymn of the 8th Maṇḍala, which I shall introduce here.

R. V. viii. 39, 12.—Sakho Viṣṇo vitarāṃ vikramasva dyaur dehi lokāṁ vañjraṇa viñchabbe | hanāva Vṛitraṃ rīgaḥāva śīkham Indrasya yantru prasav viṣṇihāḥ | "Friend Viṣṇu, stride vastly; Sky, give room for the thunderbolt to descend; let us slay Vṛitra, and let loose the waters; let them, when released, flow by the impulse of Indra."36

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

36 The Taîttrīya Sanhitā, ii. 4, 12, 2, has the following story about Indra and Viṣṇu: Tumād Indro 'bīhed api Tvashṭā | Tvashṭā tamai vañjram asinehat | tapo vai sa vañjraḥ āṣīt | tam udyanum na aiknot | atha vai tarkhi Viṣṇur anyā devatā āṣīt | so 'braavid "Viṣṇuo ehi idam āharasyāva yema ayam idam" iit | so Viṣṇus tredāh ātmānām vinyadhatta prthivyām trītyaḥ antarikshar trītyam dūri trītyam | abhiprayāntād bh thebhet | yat prthivyām trītyam āṣīt tena Indro vañjram udā-vyachad Viṣṇuo-ānuśhitaḥ | so 'braavid "mā me prahāḥ | asti vai idam mayi viryam | tat to pradēṣyāmi" iit | tad asmai prāyachchat | tad pratyagprāhyāt | "adīhāḥ ma" iit | tad Viṣṇavo tigryachchat | tad Viṣṇuo pratyagprāhyād "aṃśām Indraḥ indriyāṁ daddhita" iit | yad antarikshas trītyam āṣīt tena Indro vañjram udā-vyachad Viṣṇuo-ānuśhitaḥ | so 'bravid "mā me prahāḥ | asti vai idam mayi viryam | tat
R. V. iv. 55, 4.—Vi Aryama Varuṇaḥ cheti panthām ihaś-patiḥ su- 
vitāṁ gātum Agniḥ | Indra-Viśṇu ni-vad u shu stāvanā karma no yan-
tam amovad varūkham | “Aryaman and Varuṇa know the path; so too 
Agni, the lord of strength [knows] a prosperous road. Indra and 
Viśṇu, when ye are lauded, according to human ability, bestow on us 
prosperity and strong protection.”

R. V. v. 3, 1–3.—Tuṣam Agno Varuṇa jāyase yat teo Mitro bhavasi 
yat samiddhaḥ | tee viśe sahasas-putra deva teo Indro dāśuhe marto-

te pradaśeṇī’i” iti | tad asmai prāyachhat | tat pratyagriḥñāt | “devir mā adhāḥ” 
iti tad Viśṇave atiprāyachhat | tad Viśṇuḥ pratyagriḥñād “asmāv Indraḥ indriyāṁ 
daddhāt” iti | yad hi deśi triśūlam āśeśa tena Indro vajraṃ udyayachad Viśṇye-anu-

śikhātaḥ | so brāha vai me prāḥ | yena aham idam asmi “tato prādasyeyī” 
iti | “tvī” ity abraśī | “tvām tu sandhāyam | tvām eva pravīdham” iti |
yam mām praviṣṭich kim mā bhūṣijīḥ” ity abraśī | “tvām eva indraśya tava bhūgāya 
 tvām praviṣṭeyam” ity abraśī | tasm Viśnṛ praviṣṭat | udaraṁ eva Viśṇuḥ | ahū 
khala eva manasiṣye naḥitiṣṭeyah | paryanti eva hanti kuhkham ṣrūṭiṣṭeyam |
tad asmai prāyachhat | tat pratyagriḥñāt | “trīr mā ‘dhoḥ” iti tad Viśṇave 
tiprāyachhat | tad Viśṇuḥ pratyagriḥñād “asmāv Indraḥ indriyāṁ daddhāt” iti |
yet triḥ prāyachhat triḥ pratyagriḥñāt tad tridhātos tridhātos 
vyuṣṭaṁ Viśṇu apanaśahātā Viśṇave tiprāyachhat tvam Aindrāvaśīvam havi bhavati |
“Indra was afraid of him, as was also Tvāṣṭrī. Tvāṣṭrī moistened for him the thunderbolt: it was heat or austere-fervour (tapas). He could not lift it. Now there was another deity, Viśṇu. Indra said: ‘Come, Viśṇu, we two will take that whereby he is [which he is].’ Viśṇu 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 [Viśnu’s] development (abhiparyāvarītaḥ) yasmād asya Viśnury abhi-

paryāvarītaḥ sarva-di-gyāpi-rūpāyāh vṛiddhār eyam Indro ‘bīhēt, Comm.). With the 
third [of Viśnu] which was on the earth, Indra lifted the thunderbolt, followed by 
Viśṇu. Viśnṛ 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 Viśṇu, [saying,] 
‘Thou hast supported me.’ Viśṇu received it, [saying], ‘May Indra impart energy 
to us.’ Indra then lifted the thunderbolt with the third [of Viśnu] which was in 
the air,” etc., as before. “Indra passed it on to Viśṇu, saying, ‘Thou hast twice 
supported me,’ etc. “Indra then, followed by Viśṇu, lifted the thunderbolt with 
the third [of Viśnu] which was in the sky. Viśnṛ 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 Viśnṛ]. ‘If thou enterest me, wilt thou 
est me?’ [replied Indra]. ‘I will kindle thee; I will enter thee for thy enjoyment’ 
[answered Viśnṛ. He accordingly entered into him. Viśnṛ is the belly. Hunger 
is man’s enemy. He who knows this slays his enemy. So Viśnṛ gave Indra [that 
whereby he was what he was]. Indra took it, [and saying,] ‘Thou hast thrice 
supported me,” passed it on to Viśṇu,” etc., etc., as before. ‘From the circumstance 
that the one god gave, and the other took [what was given], thrice, the 
‘tridhātā’ derives its character. And from the fact that Viśṇu followed Indra, 
and the latter passed on [what he had received] to the former, there is an obligation 
called ‘Aindrāvaśīvā,’ i.e. common to both the gods.”
yāya | 2. Tvam Aryamā bhavasi yat kanitnām nāma evadhavan guhyam bibharchi | anjanit mitraṁ sudhitaṁ na gobhir yad dampati samanasa kriyoshi | 3. Tuva briya Maruto marjayanta Rudra yat to jamina chāru chitrām | padaṁ yad Vishnur upamaṁ nidhāyi tena pāśi guhyam nāma gondām |

"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, Budra, [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 Vishnū, thou possessest the mysterious name of the cows."

R.V. v. 46, 2-4 (=Vāj. S. 33, 48, 49).—Agni Indra Varuṇa Mitra devaḥ kārdhaḥ pra yanta Māruta-uta Vīshṇo | udbhā Nāsatyā Rudro adha gnāh Pūşhā Bhagaḥ Sarasvatī jushanta | 3. Indrāgni Mitra-Varuṇa Aditiṁ evaḥ prīthivīṁ dyām Mārutaḥ parvalān apaḥ | havo Vīshṇum Pāshaṇam Brahmana-paratim Bhagaṁ nu tāṁsaṁ Savitāram utaye | 4. Uta no Vīshṇur uta Vātō ariśdo draviṇodāḥ uta Sōmo mayas karat | uta Ribhavaḥ uta rāye no Āsvinī uta Tvasṭrā uta Viḥvā anu maṁsate |

2. "Agni, Varuṇa, Mitra, ye gods, give us strength, and thou Vīshnū with the Maruts. Both the Āsvins, Budra, and the wives of the deities, with Pūshān, Bhaga, and Sarasvatī, are pleased. 3. I invoke Indra and Agni, Mitra and Varuṇa, Aditi, Heaven, Earth, Sky, the Maruts, the Mountains, the Waters, Vīshnū, Pūshan, Brahmana-paratim; I praise Bhaga and Savitṛi, that they may succour us. 4. And may Vīshnū, and the Wind, uninjuring, and Sōma, the bestower of riches, give us happiness. And the Ribhus, Āsvins, Tvasṭrī, and Viḥvān are favourable to us, so as to [grant us] wealth."

R.V. v. 51, 9.—Saḻur Mitra-Varuṇābhyan saḻaḥ Somena Vīshṇunā | a yāhi Agne Atri-vat u✈e rāpa | "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 maha" matayo yantu Vishnuve Marutave girijah evayamarut | pra bhardhaya praya" juice sukhadayo tavase bhandad-ikshuve dhumi-vratayam tavase | . . . 4. Sa chakrame mahato nir uru-krama" samanasmate sadasa" evayamarut | yadda ayukta tmanv svad adhi shubhir vishpardhava vimahasa jiyati kevridha nribhia | . . . 8. Adevaha no Maruto gatum a itana kroha havam jaritun evayamarut | Vishnor maha" samanyave yuyotana smad rathyo na damanad apa devahme samutah |

"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 taken is quoted and translated in Prof. Benfey’s Glossary to the Sāma-veda, p. 39 f.

R. V. vi. 17, 11.—Vardhan yam višve Marutaś sejōshah pachat satam mahishān Indra’ tubhyam | Pūshā Vishnuś triśi sarāṃsi dhāvan vṛitra-kahana madiram aṅśam aśaṁ | “For thee, Indra, whom all the Maruts, in concert, will magnify, Pūshan and Vishnu cooked a hundred buffaloes. For him three lakes discharged the Vṛitra-slaying, exhilarating soma.” 30

30 To illustrate the last line, Dr. Aufrecht has pointed out to me another passage, R. V. viii. 66, 4: Eka" pratiṣhā 'pibat sūkam sārāṃsi triṇiśatam | Indraḥ somaya kusūkā | “Indra swallowed at one draught thirty lakes of Soma. . . .” This verse is quoted in Nir. v. 11. I have not attempted to translate the difficult word kusūkā, at the close. See Roth’s Illustr. of Nir. p. 60 f. In a review of Pictet’s Origines Indo-Européennes, vol. ii., in Kuhn und Schleicher’s Beiträge zur Vergl. Sprachforschung, iv. 278, f., Prof. Weber refers to this passage. “Saras, a pond,” he says, “in the sense of cup (R. V. viii. 66, 4. . . .), which reminds us of the ‘weltmeer’ (world-ocean) of our students, is no doubt merely a poetical metaphor.” See also R. V. vii. 103, 7; vii. 7, 10.” In R. V. v. 29, 7 f., Agni is said to have cooked three hundred buffaloes for Indra, who ate them, and drank three lakes of soma, when proceeding to fight with Vṛitra.
R. V. vi. 20, 2.—Divo na tuḥhyam anu Indra satrā asuryaṁ devaṁ dhāyaṁ visvam | Ṛṣhiṁ yad Vīruṇaṁ apo evaṁ vām samh hann rjīthiṁ Vish- 
śrund uṣhāṇoḥ | “All divine power, like that of the Sky, was completely 
communicated to thee, Indra, by the gods, ⁴⁰ when thou, O impetuous 
deity, associated with Viṣṇu, didst slay Vītra Ahi, stopping up the 
waters.”

R. V. vi. 21, 9.—Pra utaye Varuṇam Mitram Indram Marutaḥ krish- 
va avasno adyaḥ | pra Pūshaṁ Viṣṇum Agnim Purandhīṁ Savitāram 
oṣhadhitā parvatāśīcha | “Dispose to-day to our help and succour 
Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra, the Maruts, Pūshan, Viṣṇu, Agni, Purandhi, 
Savitṛi, the plants and the mountains.”

R. V. vi. 48, 14.—Tath vah Indram na sākratuṁ Varuṇam iva mājya- 
man | Aryaṁnaṁ na mandaṁ prīpraśaṁ Viṣṇuṁ na stúhe 
ādite | “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.” ⁴³

R. V. vi. 49, 18.—Yo rajāṁsi vimame pārthivāni triśo chid Viṣṇur 
Manavo bādhitāya | tasya te barmān upadāgyamānā rāya madena tane 
tañc ča | “May we, ourselves and our offspring, be gladdened by 
wealth, under the protection afforded by thee, that Viṣṇu who-thrice 
traversed the mundane regions for Manu (or the Aryan man) when he 
was oppressed.” ⁴⁴

R. V. vi. 50, 12.—To no Rudraḥ Sarasvatī sajōṣaḥ mithūṣhmano 
Viṣṇur mrīlaṁtvā Vāyuḥ | Rībhukṣaṇaḥ Vājo daivyō vidhata Parjanyaatā 
pipātām ishaṁ nāḥ | “May these dispensers of blessings, Rudra, Saras- 
vati, Viṣṇu, and Vāyu together be gracious to us. May Rībhukshan, 
Vāja, the divine Viḍhatri (or dispenser), Parjanya and Vāta replenish 
our store of nutriment.”

⁴⁰ Stotriḥāṁ, “worshippers,” according to Sāyaṇa.
⁴¹ The word prīpraśaṁ occurs also in R. V. i. 98, 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 prīp, “to go” (see Roth’s Illustr., p. 83); and is rendered by Sāyaṇa 
sarpaṇa-tīla, “going,” prasṛśaṁ, “extended,” etc. (See also Benfey’s Glossary to the 
S. V.) The word visva-bhojaṁ occurs in the preceding verse vi. 48, 13.
⁴² Such is the sense assigned to adite by Sāyaṇa: in Wilson’s Sanskrit Dictionary 
I find the word pradedana rendered “a gift or offering, anything given to the gods, 
superiors, or friends,” etc.
⁴³ Triḥbhir eva eikramayatāh parimitavāṁ | “measured with three strides.”—Sāyaṇa. 
Compare R. V. i. 164, 1, above (p. 69, ff.), and vii. 100, 4, below (p. 87).
⁴⁴ Anusair hūṃṣitaṁ | “injured by Āsura.”—Sāyaṇa.

"Indra and Vishnû, I stimulate you twain with this rite and obligation: 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 Vishnû, 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 Vishnû, 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 Vishnû, 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 Vishnû, this deed of you twain is worthy of celebration, that, in the exhilaration of the soma-juice, ye took vast strides; ye made the

43 Compare R. V. iii. 17, 1.
44 The commentator remarks on this: Yadâyapi Vishnora eva vikramas tathâpî ekâr-thateśd udhaya uty uchîgate | "Though 'striding' is an act of Vishnû 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 vrikrama, "far-stepping," is applied in the same way to both these deities. In the Hariyana, 7418, it is applied to Siva.
atmosphere wide, and stretched out the worlds, for our existence. 

6. Indra and Vīśṇu, 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 Vīśṇu, 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. Vīśṇu, when thou and Indra strove, ye scattered thrice a thousand [of your foes]." 

R. V. vii. 35, 9 (= A. V. xix. 10, 9).—Saṁ no Aditir bhavatu vrataḥbhh āṁ no bhavaṁtv Marataḥ su-arcaḥ | saṁ no Vīśṇuḥ saṁ u Puṣṇa no āstvā āṁ no bhaviṣtam āṁ u āstvā Vāyuḥ |

"May Aditi be propitious to us with her acts: may the well-hymned Maruts be propitious to us: may Vīśṇu, may Puṣṇa, may the Air, may Vāyu, be propitious to us."

Comp. i. 155, 5, above.

44 The commentator explains this as follows. Yat yad vastu praty apaspridhethāṁ asuraḥ sāra apaspridhetāṁ tredhā loka-veda-vyāgatmanā tridhā sātitaṁ sahasram amatāṁ cha vi tad ajarvethāṁ vyakromethāṁ ity arthaḥ | tathā cha brāhmaṇam uklāḥ jīyathur ity acharsvaṁs | uklau hi tau jīyathur na paraśrayete na paraśrayet iti na hi tayoḥ katarācchana paraśraya "Indra uṣa Viṣṇu uṣa apaspridhethāṁ tredhā sahasram vi tad ajarvethāṁ" iti | Indra uṣa Viṣṇu uṣa asuraṁ uddyudhāṁ tāṁ ha ma jīvatā uklatuḥ "kalpāmakā" iti | te ha tathā ity asuraṁ ukluḥ so 'braṇid Indra "yocad uklu Viṣṇu tre vikramate tāvad asmākam atha ukluṁkām uktarad" iti | sa imān lokāṁ vihākrame "the vedān atha vihān | tad ākhuḥ "kīṁ tā sahasram" iti "ime lokāḥ ime vedāḥ atha uklu" iti brūyāt | "ajaranthām ajarvethāṁ" ity acharsvaṁ ukluḥ "bhuyayati" | Ait. Br. 6, 16 (see Prof. Haug's translation, pp. 403, f.). "In reference to whatever thing ye two strove, i.e. strove with the Aśuras, over that, in its three characters, i.e. as existing in its character of Veda, and speech, and in number a thousand, and immeasurable, ye strode. Thus a Brāhmaṇa (the Aitareya, 6, 16,) says: ye both conquered; this is what the Aṭhavaḥka 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 Vīśṇu fought with the Aśuras. Having conquered them, they said, let us divide [the world]. The Aśuras said, be it so. Indra said, as much as this Vīśṇu strides over in three strides, so much shall be ours; the rest yours. He strode over these worlds, then the Vedas, then speech. When people say, what is that thousand? let him say, these worlds, these Vedas, then speech. The Aṭhavaḥka priest repeats at these worlds, the Ukttha ritual, ye scattered, ye scattered.'" Comp. Taitt. S. vii. 1, 5, 5.

45 The word bhāsitra is explained by Sāyaṇa as = bhāswam amantaśkam sudakām vā. "The world, or the atmosphere, or water." The word, Dr. Aufrecht informs me, does not occur again in the Vedas.
R. V. vii. 36, 9.—Achha ayaṁ vo Marutaṁ ślokaṁ etu achaṁ Vishṇuṁ nishkta-pashu trāvohitā 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 Agnie gīro divaḥ ā prithiviḥ Mitraṁ vaiha Varuṇam Indraṁ Agnim | Ā Aryamāgam Aditiṁ Vishṇum etah Saravatī Maruto mādayantāṁ | “Agni, from heaven and earth bring Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, Agni, Aryaman, Aditi, Vishṇu to the hymns of these persons; may Saravatī and the Maruta be gratified.”

R. V. viii. 40, 5.—Asya devasya mithūhau vayaḥ Vishṇor esahya prabhrīthe havirbhīḥ | vidī hi Rudro rudriyam mahītvām yasiṣṭhāṁ vortir Āvināṁ irāvat | “The branches of this prolific and rapid deity Vishṇu [are to be worshipped?] with oblations at the offering. For Rudra possesses impetuous power. The Āśvins have come to our place of sacrifice which is provided with food.”

R. V. vii. 44, 1.—Dadhikram vah prathamam Āvinā Uhasam Agnim samiddham Bhagam utaya havo | Indraṁ Vishṇum Pūshanam Brahmanapatiṁ Ādityāṁ dyāvä-prithivet apekṣa vah | “I invoke you for succour, first Dadhikram, the Āśvins, Uhasa, the kindled Agni, Bhaga, Indra, Vishṇu, Pūshan, Brahmanapati, the Ādityas, Heaven and Earth, the Waters, the Sky.”

R. V. vii. 93, 8.—Eśāṁ Agne ābhumānasāṁ iṣṭīr yavoḥ sacha abhi aśyāna vijaṁ | mā Indru na Vishṇur Marutaḥ parikhyam 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 Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v. esha, conjecture that in this verse the correct reading is esahām, “the rapid,” as an epithet of Vishṇu, and not esahām.

50 Sāyana explains the first words of the verse before us thus, Vishṇoḥ sarva-devatāmasāya aṣṭa devasya anuṣṭhāv vayuḥ śukhāḥ itva bharanti | “Other gods are, as it were, branches of this god, who is the soul of all the gods.” He explains esahasya as follows: Prabhrīthe havirbhīḥ havī-rupair anvaiḥ esahasya prāpaṇīṣeach | “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 Böhtlingk and Roth’s Lexicon under this word. R. V. ii. 34, 11.—Tāṁ vo maho Marutaḥ evaṁno Vishṇor esahasya prabhrīthe havāmahe | ityādi | “At the offering of the rapid Vishṇu we invoke you, the great, and impetuous Maruta,” etc. R. V. vii. 20, 3.—Viśma hi Rudriyāntum hauḥmam upram Maruṭam śimāvatām | Vishṇor esahasya mithūhām | Ṛtamsaḥ evaṁno Maruṭam Śimāvatāṁ | Vishṇor esahasya mithūhām | “For we know the fiery vigour of the sons of Rudra, the impetuous Maruta, of the rapid Vishṇu, [all of them] prolific.”
HYMNS OF THE RIGVEDA

R. V. vii. 99, 1.—Paro mātrayā"1 tanvā vṛśāhama na te mahītvam anu aśnuvanti | ubhe te vidma rajasi prithiviyaḥ Vishṇo deva tvam para-
masya viśe | 2. Na te Vishṇo jāyamāno na jālo deva mahīṁnaḥ param
antam āpa | udd aśtabhānāḥ nākam rishavām bhikantaṁ dādhartha prāchitr
kakubham prithiviyaḥ | 3 (≡ Vāj. S. v. 16). Irāvasī dhenumati hi
bhūtam suyavasinti manuṣya"2 daśaya | Vi aśtabhānāḥ rodayat Vishṇo te
dādhartha prīthiviṁ abhito mayukkhaṁ | 4. Uruṁ yajñaya chakrathur
u lokam janayantā Sāryam Uhasam Agnim | dāsaya chid vṛsha-
sīParisaya māyāṁ jaghmathur narā prītanāyaseh | 5. Indra-Vishṇu driṁ-
hitāḥ Sāmrāsaya nava puro navatīṁ cha śāsthitaṁ | kaaṁ varoḥināḥ
sahasram oha sākam haṁ haṁ aprati anurasya virān | 6. Iyam mantaṁ
brihantā brihantā urukramā tvasaṁ vardhayaṁ | rare vaṁ stomaṁ
vidathēva Vishṇo piveṛṣu ēho vṛjanesaḥ Indra | 7. (S. V. 2, 977; 
Tatt. Sanh. ii. 2, 12, 4) Vaṁśat te Vishṇo āsaḥ a kriṇomi täd me jushaavā
Śīrīvīṣṭha havyam | vardhantu tvā eseṣṭuṣaṁ gīva me yāyaṁ pāta svast-
ibiḥ sadā naḥ |

"Thou who, with thy bodi, 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]."2 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 pinacite of the earth.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 (dāsa) Vṛshaśipra. 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 Varoḥin. 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 habitations. 7. Vishṇu, I utter to thee this invocation from my mouth.

1 Compare para-mātrām víśāhāmam Indrām; R. V. viii. 67, 1.
2 Yejūr-vēda v. 16 reads manuṣv.
3 Comp. R. V. i. 166, 5, above, p. 74.
4 Compare Isaiah xl. 22 xlv. 12, 18.
ADDRESS TO INDRA AND VIŚNU.

Śipivishṭa,²⁴ favourably receive this my oblation. May my laudatory hymn delight thee: do you always preserve us with blessings."

R. V. vii. 100.—Nū marto dayatā samāhyam yo Viśṇava urugāyāya dākat | pra yaḥ satrāchā manasaḥ yajāte tācantaṁ naryam āvīvāt | 2. Tvam Viśṇo suṇatiṁ viśnajanyām asprayutām evayōc evam dān | paroḥa yatāḥ naḥ svitasaṁ bhūrer avāvataḥ puruṣchandrasya rāyaḥ | 3. Trir deoḥ prāṭhīvīya esaḥ etāṁ vi chakrame satarchasam mahīteva | pra Viśṇur astu tavasam tavāṁ teṣaṁ hi ayaḥ aṭhavasya nāma | 4. Vi chakrame prāṭhīvīya esaḥ etāṁ kahelāya Viśṇur manasāḥ dāsaya | aḥruvāso ayaṁ kīrayo janāśaḥ urukṣhitiṁ suņanīmā chakāra | 5. (S. V. 2, 975; Taitt. S. ii. 2, 12, 5; Nir. 5, 9.) Pra tat te adya Śipivishṭa nāma aryah śamsāmi vayunāni vidvān | tāṁ tuvā grīnāmi tavasam atavyān kahayantam ayaḥ rajasāḥ parāke | 6. (S. V. 2, 975; Taitt. S. ii. 2, 12, 5; Nir. 5, 8.) Kim it te Viśṇo parichakṣhyam bhūt²⁴ pra yad savakhe Śipivishṭo sami | mā verpo asmad apa gūha etad yad anyarūpah samihe babhūtha | (The seventh verse is repeated from the last hymn.)

"That man never repents who, seeking [for good], brings offerings to Viśṇu, the wide-stepping, who worships him with his whole heart, and propitiates such a powerful [god]. 2. Vouchsafe to us, swiftly-moving Viśṇu, 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 Viśṇu the strongest prevail over the strong: for awful is the name (nature) of that immovable [being]. 4. The swift Viśṇu 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, Śipivishṭa; I, who am weak, laud thee who art strong, and dwellest beyond this lower world. 6. What, Viśṇu, hadst thou to blame, that thou declaredst, 'I am Śipivishṭa'? Do not conceal from us this form, since thou didst assume another shape in the battle."²⁵

²⁴ See the note on this word where it occurs in the hymn next following.
²⁵ The Śāma-veda reads parichakṣho nāma.
²⁶ The following illustration of this verse is quoted by Professor Benfey from the commentary on the corresponding passage of the S. V.: Purāḥ khalu Viśṇuḥ evām
R. V. viii. 9, 12.—Yad Indraṇa suvarthaṃ yat ho Āvīṇā yad vā Vāyūṃ bhavathāḥ samokasaḥ | yad Ādiyēbhīr Ribhubhiṣ sajosasaḥ yad vā Vīshnu vihramanessaḥ tīṣṭhathaḥ | "When, Āvīṇā, 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 Ādīyas and the Ribhūs, or when ye are in the strifes of Vīshnu."

rupam pariyayā kriṭtritamaḥ ripāntaram dhārayan sagnrāmē Vasīshṭhāyasa vāhāyām chakāra | tām jñanam rīṣhīr anayāḥ prayāyaḥ | "Vīshnu formerly abandoning his own form, and assuming another artificial shape, succored Vasīshṭha in battle. Recognizing the god, the rishi addresses him with this verse." In Nir. v. 8 and 9, Yāsaka quotes verses 5 and 6 of the hymn before us in inverse order. After telling us (v. 7) that, "according to Aupamanyavsa, Vīshnu has two names, Śipīvīṣṭha, and Vīshnu, of which the former has a bad sense" (Śipīvīṣṭho Vīshnu iti Vīshnuḥ dus man │na √bhavaḥ, śāntītūrthyam pūream bhavati ity Aupamanyavaḥ), Yāsaka quotes verse 6, on which he observes: Kiṃ te Vīshnu prakṛtyānam etad bhavaty aprakṛtyānim yan na prabruhē | iesaḥ ita nireahiti 'emi ity apratipannana-ramaṃiḥ [ apratiyānim na āho bhavati, āvēṣeṣa ca | kīm te Vīshnu prakṛtyānam etad bhavati aprakṛtyānim yan uta prabruhē | Śipīvīṣṭho 'emi iti pratipannana-ramaṃiḥ | śipāyo tāva rājmatyāḥ ucchayante | tair āvīṣṭho bhavati | mā varpo amad apaghūna etat | varpaḥ iti rupa-nāma . . . . | yad anya-rūpah samīteḥ sagnrāme bhavati sāmyata-ramaṇiḥ | "What, Vīshnu, 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 Śipīvīṣṭha a laudatory appellation may be intended; 'what is this declared thing of thine, which is to be declared, that thou tellst not?' 'I am Śipīvīṣṭha, i.e. one whose rays are displayed.' The word 'īṣpi' here means 'rays;' with those he is pervaded. 'Do not conceal this form;' varpaḥ is a word meaning 'form.' . . . 'That thou art of another form in the battle (samīte = sagnrāme), with thy rays withhold.'" See Taitt. S., vol. ii., p. 586. On v. 5, Yāsaka remarks: Nir. v. 9: "Tat te 'aya Śipīvīṣṭha nāma anyāḥ tāmām" | aryo 'ham asym uśvraḥ stumāmām | aryas tvam asi iti vā | tām taśvavam tvam eva anavyām tvam eva iti mahato nāmi-dhayam udito bhavati | nīvaṇāntam anya rajasāḥ parāko parākrūnto | 'I, a master, to-day celebrate this thy name, Śipīvīṣṭha.' I am aryāḥ, a master of praises. Or, thou art a master. 'I, weak, praise thee, the strong.' Tvam e is a word used for 'great.' 'Dwelling beyond (parāko = parākrūnto) this lower world.' From the above quotation, it appears that even in the time of Yāsaka, the sense of the word Śipīvīṣṭa was uncertain. In the Mahābhārata, Sāntiparva, vv. 13229, ff., Vīshnu is introduced as explaining the sense of the word thus (if the writer intended to represent Yāsaka as the Vedic rishi by whom the word was first applied to Vīshnu, he could not have been a particularly good Vedic scholar): Śipīvīṣṭo chākṣyām hina-nāma cha yo bhavat | tenāvīṣṭam tu yat kīṁcchāḥ Chākṣīṣṭo 'cha emṛtaḥ | Yāsako mām rīṣhīr anyyagro naika-yajnekaḥ gītavān | Śipīvīṣṭaḥ iti hi asam guhya-nāma-dharmo hy āham | stutaḥ mān Śipīvīṣṭo Yāgah sarvḥīr udāra-āhīḥ | māt-praśaḍdād adho nāṣṭham Niruktoḥ abhyājagmiḥ | "A bald man is designated by the word Śipīvīṣṭa. Anything which is penetrated by that is called Śipīvīṣṭa. Yāsaka, the serene rishi, celebrated me at many sacrifices. In consequence of this, I bear the mysterious name of Śipīvīṣṭa. Yāsaka, that rishi of large understanding, having lauded me as Śipīvīṣṭa, recovered by my favour the Nirukto, which had been destroyed."
R. V. viii. 10, 2.—... Brihaspatim Visvāmadevaḥ aham havo
Indra-Viṣṇu Āvinār āhu-khasaḥ | "I invoke Brihaspati, the Viśve-
devaś, Indra and Viṣṇu, and the Āvinas with quickly neighing steeds."

R. V. viii. 12, 16 (=S. V. i. 384; A. V. 20, 111, 1).—Yat somam
Indra Viṣṇuvi yad va gha Trito Āptye | yad va Marutau mandaśe sam
induhī | ... 25. Yad Indra pṛitanāyave devas tvā dadhiru purāh |
ad ite haryatā harti vacakśatāḥ | 26. Yadā Vṛitraṁ nadi-vṛitam
śavae saṁśriṁ abadhiḥ | ad iś ityādi | 27. Yadda te Viṣṇuṁ cajā sa triṇi
pada vīchakrāme | ad iś ityādi |

"Whether, Indra, thou [drinkest] soma along with Viṣṇu, 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 Vṛitra, who stopped up the streams, then thy
dear steeds grew strong. 27. When by thy force Viṣṇu strode three
steps, then thy dear steeds waxed strong."

R. V. viii. 15, 8 (=S. V. 2, 996, f.; A. V. 20, 106, 26).—Tvā
adyany am Indra pānḥayaṃ prithivi varaḥhī śravah | tvāṁ āyah parvaticās
cha hinvir | 9. Tvāṁ Viṣṇuḥ bhīrān khasyaḥ" Mitro grīṅati Varuṇaḥ |
tvāṁ dardho madati anu mārutam | 10. Tvāṁ vṛśāḥ janānām maṁ-
hīṣhaḥ Indra jejīmhaḥ | satra vīśa sa-apatyaṁi dadhīte |

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

R. V. viii. 25, 11.—To no nāvam urukṣyata divā-naktaṁ sudānavah |
ariṣhyamān ni pāyubhiḥ saṃchamahi | 12. Aghnate Viṣṇavo vayam ariṣ-
yantah sudānave | śrudhi soavyāvan sindho pārva-chittaye | 13. (Nir. v. 1)
Tad vāryam vṛṣṭimah varisṭhahāḥ gopayatam | Mitro yat pānti Varuṇa
yad Arjum | 14. Uṣa naḥ sindhur apām tad Marutas tad Āvinā |
Indro Viṣṇuṁ mīghvāhaha sajōshahaha |

"Benfeys, in his translation of the Sama-veda, renders khasya by "king." Roth,
in his Lexicon, thinks this sense is not established, and renders the words bhīrān
khasyaḥ by "high abode, i.e. heaven, or those who dwell in the high abode, the gods."
He also conjectures that the correct reading in this passage may be bhīrat-khasyaḥ,
"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 Vīshṇu. Listen, O self-moving Ocean, [to us] as your first thought. 13. We desire that excellent treasure, worthy to be guarded, which Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman possess. 14. And may the Ocean of waters, may the Marut, may the Āśvins, Indra, and Vīshṇu, all of them prolific, associated together, [bestow] that upon us."

R. V. viii. 27, 8.—Ā prayāta Maruto Vīshṇo Āśvinā Pūshan māktinayā dhiyaḥ | Indraḥ āyāt prathamaḥ sanishyadhīr vriśhā yo ēṇitrāhā griye | "Come hither, ye Maruta, Vīshṇu, Āśvin, Pūshan, at my hymn. May Indra come the first, he who is celebrated by those who desire [his blessing], as the vigorous, the slayer of Vītra."

The following hymn, in the seventh verse of which Vīshṇu 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

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80 Dr. Aufrecht tells us that the word nēsaṁ is so accented that it cannot mean "ship." He regards it as a masc. noun from the root ma, "to praise;" and assigns to it the sense of "bard," or "hymn." That there is such a word as nēsa is proved by its occurrence in R. V. ix. 45, 6: Induma nēsaṁ anūkhata | where it must mean "the bard, or hymn, celebrated Indu."

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

80 Böhtlingk and Roth understand viṣhva of the changing phases of the moon.

81 Agni, according to the commentator. Atra yonim iti lingād Agnir uchyaḥ |
of sacrifice, wise, amidst the gods. 3. Another\textsuperscript{53} holds in his hand an iron axe, steadfast, among the gods. 4. Another\textsuperscript{54} holds the thunderbolt poised in his hand, with which he slays his enemies. 5. Another,\textsuperscript{55} bright, fiery, possessing healing remedies, holds a sharp weapon in his hand. 6. Another\textsuperscript{56} watches the roads like a robber: he knows the treasures. 7. Another,\textsuperscript{57} wide-stepping, strode three strides, in the regions where the gods rejoice. 8. Two [others]\textsuperscript{58} ride on birds (horses) with one [goddess]: they dwell afar, as if abroad. 9. Two [others],\textsuperscript{59} 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.—\textit{ā karma parvatānāṁ virāmahe nādinām a Viśhnuḥ sacha-bhūwah | “We seek for protection from the mountains, the rivers, and Viṣṇu who is associated with them.”}

R. V. viii. 35, 1, 14.—1. Agnī Indra Varuṇa Viṣṇu Āditya Īśa Ṛudra Varuṇaḥ sacha-bhūwah | sajoshatā Ushatā Suryoḥ cha somam pūbāṃ Abhinā | 14. Angiravanā tā Viṣṇuvi Naṅgaravatā jātisur gachhato hacam ityādi | “Āśvins, drink the soma-juice, united with Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Viṣṇu, the Ādityas, Rudra, the Vasus, and associated with Uhas and Sūrya. 14. Attended by Angiras, by Viṣṇu, and by the Maruts, you come at the invocation of your worshipper.”

R. V. viii. 66, 10.—Viśvā it ā Viṣṇu abharad urukramas tvā ishitāḥ | tāsam mahishān kṣatra-pākam odañām varaham Indra omahah | “The wide-striding Viṣṇu, 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

\textsuperscript{53} Tvasaḥṭri. \textsuperscript{54} Indra. \textsuperscript{55} Rudra. Compare R. V. i. 42, 4, where Rudra is named, and the same epithet, \textit{jatāka-bheṣṭha}, is applied to him, and R. V. vii. 35, 6, where he is called \textit{jatāka}, “healing.”

\textsuperscript{56} Paśuḥ. \textsuperscript{57} Viṣṇu. \textsuperscript{58} The Āśvins. In various passages of the R. V., the daughter of the Sun is said to ride on the car of the Āśvins. See the account of these deities in the fifth volume of this work. In R. V. v. 73, 6, the goddess is called Sūrya.

\textsuperscript{59} Mitra and Varuṇa.
some myth (also referred to in R. V. i. 61, 7, quoted in p. 67), in
which Vishnû 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.

Sâyaṇâ gives two explanations of the verse (viii. 66, 10), that of
the Nairuktas or etymologists, and that of the Aîthiḥsîkâs 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 Taîttrîya Sañhitâ;
but it is here given in a different and conciser version. Part of the
following quotation consists of Sâyaṇâ'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.

Aîthiḥsîka-paksha | charaka-brâhmaṇa itihāsâḥ āmnāyate | "Vishnū
yajñaḥ | sa devēḍhaye ātmānam antaraddhāt | tam anya-devatāḥ na
avindam | Indrâs ev acet | sa Indram abracit 'ko bhavān' iti | tam
Indrâḥ pratyabraviḍ 'aham durgânam asurâṇāṁ cha hantā | bhavāṁ
tu kaḥ' iti | so 'bracit 'aham durgâd āhartâ | team tu yadi durgânam
asurâṇāṁ cha hantā tato 'yam varâho vâmâ-mushāh ekavimśatâh | purâṁ
pâre 'śamanmayâṁ vasati | tamimn asurâṇāṁ vaś vâmam asti | tam
imaṁ jahi' iti | tasya Indrâs tāḥ pura bhittva hridayam avidhiyat | adhi
atra yad āsit tad Vishnur āharad | iti | so 'yam itihāso "asya
id u mātuk savaneshu" | "vive it tā Vishnur" ity abhyâm pratipâditaḥ
| tayor madhye "asya id u mātur" ity atra Vishnunā "he Indra team
'durgânam hantâ' ity ātmânam kathayasi tarhi vâma-mushaṁ varâhâm
asurâḥ jahi' ity ukârtâ | "vividhâd varâham" iti pâdena pratipâditaḥ | Indrâṇā oha 'Vishnâ team "durgâd āhartâ" iti brâhko | maya purâgí
jitâny asurâ oha ghâhitas tasya vâmâṁ vaś vâmānāṁ iva
| ity ukto Vishnunârâhâ sañhya Vârâhâswasya āhanam mumoshâ | so 'rtho "mushâyad
Vishnūḥ pachatam" iti pâdena sâchitaḥ | sa kim punar mukshitaṁ iti
tad atra uchhaye "vivâ it tā" iti | |"On the part of the Aîthiḥsîkas a story is recorded in the Charaka
Brâhmaṇa (i.e. the Brâhmaṇa of the Black Yajur Veda): 'Vishnû is
the sacrifice. He withdrew himself from the sight of the gods. The
other gods did not discover him; but Indra knew [where he was].
He said to Indra, Who art thou? Indra replied, I am the destroyer
of castles, and Asuras; but who art thou? He said, I am he who
removes [the spoil] from the castle: but if thou art the destroyer of
castles and Asuras, then this Varāha, a plunderer of goods, dwells on
the other side of twenty-one stone ramparts; in him abide the wealth
and property of the Asuras: slay him. Indra broke through these
ramparts, and pierced his heart; and Viṣṇu carried off all that was
found there.' This story is set forth in the two verses, the one be-
ginning ‘Having at the libations,’ etc. (R. V. i. 61, 7), and ‘The
wide-striding Viṣṇu,’ 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 Viṣṇu 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 Viṣṇu stole the cooked mess,’ alludes to the other clause
of the story in which the being in the form of Viṣṇu, being addressed
by Indra in the words, ‘Viṣṇu, thou callest thyself the being who
carries off goods from the castle. I (Indra) have conquered the
castles and slain the Asura; now, therefore, bring the treasures
plundered, the property of the Asura Varāha.’ But what was it
that he plundered? That is declared in the words, the wide-striding
Viṣṇu, 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 eṣāṁ Viṣṇo
agyāyānāṁ | ita Maruto Aśvinā | “Remember, Indra, Viṣṇu, Maruts,
Aśvins, us thy kinsmen.”

R. V. ix. 33, 3 (S. V. 2, 116).—Sutaḥ Indrāya Vāyavo Varuṇāya
Marudbhyaḥ | somaḥ arshanti Viṣṇave | “The soma-draughts poured
forth, hasten to Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, the Maruts, and to Viṣṇu.”

R. V. ix. 34, 2.—Sutaḥ Indrāya Vāyavo Varuṇāya Marudbhyaḥ |
somo arshati Viṣṇave | “The soma hastens to Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa,
the Maruts, and Viṣṇu.”

R. V. ix. 56, 4.—Tvam Indrāya Viṣṇave evātur Indo pari erra-v
nṛṇi stotrīṁ pahi aṁhasāḥ | “Indu, do thou flow, sweet, to Indra, to
Viṣṇu. Preserve from sin the men who praise thee.”

R. V. ix. 63, 3.—Sutaḥ Indrāya Viṣṇave somaḥ karake aksharat |
medhumāṁ astu Vāyavo | “The soma, when poured forth, flowed into
the vessel for Indra, for Viṣṇu. May it be honied for Vāyu.”
R. V. ix. 65, 20 (S. V. 2, 345).—*Aśvih Indrāya Vāyavo Varuṇāya Marudbhyaḥ | somo ṛṣhati Vīshṇavo | "Pouring forth streams, the soma hastens to Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, the Maruts, and to Vīshṇu."

R. V. ix. 90, 5.—*Matei Soma Varuṇam matei Mitram matei Indram Indo pavamāna Vīshṇum | matei kārāho Marutam matei devān matei mahām Indram Indo maddayā | "Soma, Indu, purified, thou exhilaratest Varuṇa, thou exhilaratest Mitra, thou exhilaratest Indra, thou exhilaratest Vīshṇu, 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 pavato janītā matinām janītā dīvo janītā prithivyāḥ | janītā Agner janītā Sūryasya janītā Indraya janītā uta Vīshṇoḥ | "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 Vīshṇu."

This verse is quoted, and thus explained in the Nirukta-pariśiṣṭa, ii. 12: *Somaḥ pavato | somāḥ sūryaḥ prasavanāt | janītā matinām prakāśa-karmaṇām aditya-raśminām dīvo dyotana-karmaṇām aditya-raśminām prithivyāḥ prathana-karmaṇām aditya-raśminām Agner gati-karmaṇām aditya-raśminām Sūryasya svēkaraṇa-karmaṇām aditya-raśminām Indraya aisvarya-karmaṇām aditya-raśminām Vīshṇor svāpti-karmaṇām aditya-raśminām ity adhidaivatam | atha adhyātam | somāḥ atmā api etasmā eva indriyānām janītā ity arthāḥ | api va sarvābhīr vihātiḥviḥ vihātata (?) ity atmā atma-gatim atahadho | "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 (svēkaraṇa); of Indra, i.e. of those solar rays whose function is sovereignty; of Vīshṇu, 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, 366).—Pavanavāja-sātamaḥ pavitra dhārayā sutaḥ | Indraya Soma Vishnuo devadhyo madhumattamaḥ |
"Soma, be purified, dispenser of strength, poured out in a stream into the filter, for Indra, for Vishnu, for the gods, most honied."

R. V. x. 1, 3.—Vishnur śilthā paramam asya vidēm jāto bhūnab 
abhi pāti trityyam | āsā yaḥ asya paya akraṇa svām sachetaś abhi achaṇti atra | "Vishnu, knowing thus his (Agni's) highest [birth-place],
when born, the great being, protects his third [birth-place, on earth].
Men unanimously worship him here, when they offer him their libation face to face."

R. V. x. 65, 1.—Agni Indro Varuṇa Mitro Aryamā Vāyuḥ Pūskā 
Saravatī seṣāsah | Ādityāḥ Vishnur Marutāḥ Svar bhṛhat | Somo 
Rudra Aditiśr Brahmanāpatiḥ | "Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Arya-
man, Vāyu, Pūshan, Saravati, associated together, the Ādityas, Vishnū, 
the Maruts, the great Sky, Soma, Rudra, Aditi, Brahmanāpati."

R. V. x. 66, 4, 5.—Aditiśr dyāvā-prithivi riśam mahād Indrā-
Vishnur Marutāḥ Svar bhṛhat | devān Ādityān avasa hātvān 
Vasūn 
Rudrān Savilāraṁ vudāmāsaṃ | 5. Saravān dhiṁbhir Varuṇo dhrītā-
vatāḥ Pūskā Vishnur mahīṁ Vāyuḥ Āśvinaḥ | brahma-kṛtyo amṛtaḥ 
viśva-vedāyā karma no yaṁ sam trikarūthām aṁkhaṇaḥ |
"We invoke Aditi, Heaven and Earth, the great Ceremonial, Indra 
and Vishnu, the Maruts, the great Sky, the divine Ādityas, to our 
succour, the Vasūn, Rudras, and Sāvitrī, the wonder-working. 5. May 
Saravati, through our prayers, may Varuṇa, whose ordinances are fixed, 
Pūshan, Vishnu, the great Power, Vāyu, the Āśvins, the immortals, 
offerees of prayer, possessors of all wealth, grant us a triple protection 
from evil."

R. V. x. 92, 11.—To hi dyāvā-prithivi bhūri-retasā Narādāmśah 
chaturango Yama 'ditiśā | devas Tvaśṭrā Draviṇodāḥ Ribhukhaṇāḥ prā 
rodast Maruto Vishnur arhive | "The prolific Heaven and Earth, the 
four-limbed Narādana, Yama, Aditi, the god Tvaśṭrī, Draviṇadas, the 
Ribhukhans, the two worlds, the Maruts, Vishnu have been honoured."

R. V. x. 113, 1.—Tum asya dyāvā-prithivi sachetassā viśčetāṁ 
devair 
amu tuhnam āvātām | yad ait kriṇvāno mahānam indriyam pīṭ 
tsamaṁyā kratumān avardhata | 2. Tum asya Vishnuḥ mahānam ojasā
c

**See above p. 66 f.; and the fifth volume of this work, p. 207.
**The same combination of words, mahīnam ojaśa, occurs in R. V. v. 81, 3, 
above, p. 72.
aṁśum ādhanavaṁ madhunav vi rāphaṁ | derebhir Indro mahaṁ saṁ-
vabhir Vṛitraṁ jaghanavān abhavaṁ varamyaṁ || "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. Vishṇu, 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 Vṛitra, became distinguished."

R. V. x. 128, 2 (A. V. 5, 33).—Mama devaṁ vihavo santu sarve Indrocamto Maruto Vīshṇu Agni ityādi || "May the gods all attend on my invocation, the Maruts with Indra, Vīshṇu, Agni," etc.

R. V. x. 141, 3 (Vāj. S. 9, 26; A. V. 3, 20, 4).—Somaṁ rājānam avase 'gniṁ gīrhir havāmako || Ṛṣiṁ Vīshṇum Sūryam bhrahma-
sancha Brihaspatiṁ || . . . 5. (Vāj. S. 9, 27; A. V. 3, 20, 7.) Arya-
maṇam Brihaspatiṁ Indraṁ dānāya chodaya Vānuṁ Vīshṇum Saras-
vatīṁ Savitārancha vājīnam || "We invoke with hymns king Soma, to our aid, and the Ādityas, Vīshṇu, Sūrya, and the priest Brihaspati.

5. Excite Aryaman, Brihaspati, Indra, to generosity, and Vāta, Vīshṇu, Sarasvatī, and Savitṛ, the heroic."

R. V. x. 181, 1.—Prathā cha yasya Saprathā cha nāma anuśṭu-
bbhanya havisho havir yataḥ Dhātur dyutānāt Savitvā cha Vīshṇoḥ rath-
taraṁ ā jabhaṁ Vasishṭhaḥ || 2. Avidan te atihitaṁ yad āsid yajnasya dhāma paramaṁ guhaḥ yataḥ Dhātur dyutānād Savitvā cha Vīshṇoḥ Bhar-
adevaḥ bṛhaḥ ca chakre Agneḥ || 3. Te 'vindan manoṁ didhyānāḥ yajuṁ skaran prathamamsa devayānām Dhātur dyutānād Savitvā cha Vīshṇoḥ 
ā Sūryāṁ abharan gharmam etc ||

"Vasishṭha has received from the shining Dhātri, from Savitṛ, and from Vīshṇu, the Rathantara, 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 Dhātri, from Savitṛ, from Vīshṇu, and from Agni. 3. Contemplating with their minds, these [sages] discovered the descended Yajuḥ, the first path to the gods. From the shining Dhātri, Savitṛ, Vīshṇu, Sūrya, they brought down Gharma."

R. V. x. 184, 1 (=A. V. 5, 25, 5).—Vīshṇur yoniṁ kalpayatu Tvashṭā
to The Vājasaneyi Sanhitā reads anuvādāḥāmaḥ instead of gīrhir havāmako.
UNDENIABLE CHARACTER OF VISHNU.

rāpāri pimāvatr | sīnehatu Prajāpatir Dhatā garbham dadhatu te |
"Let Vishnu form the womb; let Tvashtri mould the forms; let Prajāpati infuse [the seminal principle]; let Dhatri 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, Sākapūri and Aurgavābha, 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, Aurgavābha, 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. 8, 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 many, I may say most, of the Vedio 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
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 Viśnu 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 Viśnu 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 Viśnu 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), Viśnu is represented as celebrating Indra's praises; while, in R. V. ix. 96, 5, Viśnu 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 Viśnu 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, Viśnu 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 Viśnu. I shall quote a sufficient number of these texts to show that, in the Rig-veda, Viśnu does not hold a higher rank than several of these other divinities. If, 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 Viśnu 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.
DIVINE ATTRIBUTES ASCRIBED TO INDRA.

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 dirghaśa ca sūryaṁ rohayad divi ityādi | “Indra has raised up the sun in the sky to be seen from afar,” etc.

R. V. i. 52, 8.— . . . ayachhataḥ bāhvor vajram āyasam adhārayo divi a sūryaṁ dīrṣe | . . . . 12. Tvam asya pāra rajaso vyomamah svabhūty-ajāḥ avasa dhrishan-manaḥ | chakrishe bhūmim pratimānam ojasah apaḥ svāḥ pariḥhūr evaḥ ā divam | 13. Tvam bhuvah pratimānam prithivyāḥ risho-vīrasya bṛihataḥ pātir bhūḥ | viśvam ā aprāḥ antarikshanam mahītvā satyam adhāḥ nakir anyas tvāvān | 14. Na yasya dyāvā-prithivi anu evacho na sindhavo rajaso antam ānātiḥ | nota vairishtim made asya yudhyataḥ eko anyach chakrishe viśvam ānushakh |

“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 thyself, 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 appropriator of the rain (?) ; thou alone hast made everything else in due succession.”

R. V. i. 55, 1.—Divaś chid asya varimā vi paprathe Indraṁ na mahiṁ prithivyḥ 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 prarviriche mahītvam 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. 16, 2; vi. 17, 7; vii. 20, 4; vii. 20, 4; vii. 98, 3; and x. 194, 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 vṛajo badhāda rohanā dīvi | na tevān Indra kaschana na jāto na jarishyate ati viśvam vacakhitha |

“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.—Trivishtī dhātu pratimānam ojasas tiero bhūmaṁ nripato triṣṇī rohanā | ati idāṁ viśvam bhuvanaṁ vacakhitha asatvār Indra janushā sanād asī | “The three worlds, O king, the three luminaries are a triple counterpart of [thy] energy. Thou hast transcended this whole universe. By nature, Indra, thou art of old without an enemy.”

R. V. i. 103, 2.—Sa dārayat prithivīṁ paprathaoḥoha vojrena hātvā mir apāḥ saṣāra | ahann Āhim ityādi | “He established the earth and stretched it out; smiting with the thunderbolt, he let loose the waters. He slew Ahi,” etc.

R. V. i. 121, 2.—Stambhitāḥ hā dyāṁ ityādi | 3 . . . . tastambhād dyāṁ chaturkāpace nāryāya devaṁ | “He has supported the sky, etc. 8. . . . . He has propped up the sky for the four-footed [beasts], and for the two-footed race of man.”

R. V. ii. 12, 1 (Nirukta, x. 10).—Yo jātaḥ eva prathamo manasvāṁ deva devān krutunā paryabhāṣat | Yasya būṣhmād rodāst abhyemanāṁ nṛmaṁsu mahān sa janāsaḥ Indraḥ | 2. Yaḥ prithivīṁ vyāthamānām adṛśāḥ yaḥ parvataḥ prakupilān aramgaḥ | yo antarikshāṁ vimana vartyo yo dyāṁ astabhnāḥ sa janāsaḥ Indraḥ | 9. . . . . Yo viśvasya pratimānam babhūva yo aṭhyuta-chaitya sa janāsaḥ Indraḥ | 13. Dyāva chid asem prīthivī namo būṣhmāc chid aṣya parvataḥ bhayaṁte ityādi |

“He who, immediately on his birth, the first, the wise, surpassed the gods in force; at whose might the two worlds shook, through the greatness of his strength, he, O men, is Indra. 2. He who fixed the quivering earth; who gave stability to the agitated mountains;

76 Compare R. V. vii. 21, 13; x. 133, 2 (below).

77 Krutunā karmāṇā pariṣhāvat pariṣṭhitām pariṣṭhitād atyaksriṇād vā . . . nṛmaṁsu mahān bhūyaṁ mahatātum.—Nirukta. At the end of the comment the writer adds: iti pishā prīthivīṁ prīthir bhavaty akhyāna-samvaktāḥ | “Thus when the rishi has seen the subject [of his hymn], gratification ensues, conjoined with a narrative.”
who measured the vast atmosphere; who propped up the sky, he, O men, is Indra. 9. He who has been a counterpart of the universe; who casts down the unsaken, he, O men, is Indra. . . . 13. Even the sky and the earth bow down to him; even of his might the mountains are afraid,” etc.

R. V. ii. 15, 1.—Prā gha nu aṣya mahato mahāni satya satyasya karaṇāṇi vocham | trikadruksahu apiḥat satasya aṣya mād ahim Indra jaḥāna | 2. Avāṁśa dyām astabbhāyaḥ bhriḥantam ā rodasī aprīyaḥ antarikshaḥ | sa dhārayat prithivem paprathach cha somasya tā māde Indraḥ chakāra | 3. Sadārva prāho vi māmāya mānaṁ ityādā |

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

R. V. iii. 30, 9.—Ni sāmanām iśhirām Indra dhāmī māhīm apārām sadana saśattha | astabhnād dyām vriṣabho antarikshaṁ arṣhantu apas tvayēḥ prasūtāḥ | “Thou, Indra, hast fixed in its place the level, the blooming, earth, the great, the boundless. The vigorous god has propped up the sky, and the atmosphere: may the waters flow, sent forth now by thee.”

R. V. iii. 32, 7.—Yajāma iḍ namadā vṛiddham Indram bhriḥantam vriśeṣam ajaraṁ yuvānam | yasaḥ priyo mamattva yajniyaṣya na rodasi māhīmānam mamato | 8. Indrasya karma sukṛtiḥ puruṣi vrataṁ devaḥ na mānanti viśvā | dāśāra yaḥ prithiviṁ dyām utamāṁ jagāna sūryam uśasam uṣadvāḥ | 9. Adrogha satyaṁ tava tad mahīvaṁ sadyo yaj jāto apiḥo ha somam | na dyāvaḥ Indra tavasas te ojo nāḥ na mānaḥ śarada varṣanta. 80 |

77 Compare R. V. i. 164, 1, 3, and the other corresponding passages above, p. 89 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. 6; and vi. 72, 2 (below).

79 Bohtlingk and Roth, s. v., explain iśhirā as meaning “fresh,” “blooming.”

80 Compare verse 16 of the same hymn, and R. V. viii. 77, 3: Na teḥ bṛihanto adhroga varṇente | “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.—Dyám Indro haridhāyasam prithivīm harivarparom| adhārayaḥ iṣṭādi | "Indra upheld the sky with its golden supports, and the earth with its golden form," etc.83

R. V. iv. 16, 5.—Vavakahe Indro amitam rīśthi ubhe a prapau rodasī mahitva | atāś chid aṣya mahima virochi abhi yo visā bhuvanā, babhūva | "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 uttarō na jyāyān aṣti Vṛitravan| nakir eva yathā tevam | "There is none, Indra, higher than thee, or superior to thee, thou slayer ofVytra; neither is there any like thee."

R. V. vi. 17, 7.—Pāprātha kham mahi dāmēo vi āvem uṣa dyām rīsho brīhad Indra stabhāyaḥ | adhāraya rodasī devaputra pratne mātārā yahēt rītalaya | "Thou hast filled the broad earth with thy mighty

81 Sāyaṇa explains priya as meaning aparimita, "immeasurable."—See vii. 87, 2.
82 Dr. Aufrecht proposes to translate the last clause thus: "his beloved (spouses), heaven and earth, imagine, but do not measure (=comprehend) the greatness of this holy being." He regards the repetition of the root mā "to measure" in two different forms as purposeless, and conjectures that mamatuḥ may be the perfect of man, and used for mamantuḥ or mamatuḥ. Compare the aorist amata, and sanati for saasonā; see also R. V. vii. 31, 7: Mahān asi yasya te 'nu saadāvarī sahaḥ | mam- māte Indra rodasi | "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 Böhltingk and Roth's Lexicon under the word rīśhin, 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 Sūmaveda, s.v. rīśhin.
works; thou, Indra, exalted, hast mightily propped up the sky; thou hast supported the two worlds, of whom the gods are the offspring, the ancient and mighty parents of holy rites.”

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

R. V. vi. 31, 2.—Tvad-bhiyā Indra pārthivāni viścā achyutā chit chyācayante rajāṃśi | dyāvā-keśamā parvatāso vanāni viśaṁ driḥham bhayate ajmann ā te | “Through fear of thee, Indra, all the mundane regions, however steady, totter; heaven and earth, mountains, forests, everything that is fixed, is afraid at thy coming.”

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

R. V. vii. 20, 4.—Uḥbe chid Indra rodasi mahideva paprātha tavishtāh tvishtanaḥ ityādi | “Thou, powerful Indra, hast filled both worlds with thy mighty deeds,” etc.

R. V. vii. 32, 16.—Tvā iḍ Indra avamaṁ vau tvam pushyasi maṭhyam | satrā viśasya paramasya rājasi nakis tvā gosu cṛṅvate | . . . 22. Abhi tvā śārav nonumaḥ adugdahā śva dhenaṅaḥ | tānam asya jagataḥ evordīśam tānam Indra tathūnakaḥ | 23. Na tvāvān anyo divyo na pārthivo na jāto na janishyate ityādi
divyo na pārthivo na jāto na janishyate ityādi
divyo na pārthivo na jāto na janishyate ityādi

“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 paprātha wra anārīkhasam yudhā divebhya varivāc chakartha | . . . “Indra, thou hast filled the wide sky: thou hast by battle acquired freedom for the gods.”

This entire hymn is translated in Müller’s Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 543 ff.

The words at the close of this verse occur also in R. V. i. 59, 5 (see below). In regard to varivāc, compare R. V. i. 63, 7: aṁkoṛ raṁjan varivāc Pūrvas kah | “Thou affordedst relief to Puru from his strait.” The word occurs R. V. i. 97, 16, in the plural, varivānai kriyam. In the Nighantu, 2, 10, it is said to mean “wealth.”
R. V. viii. 3, 6 (=S. V. ii. 938).—Indro mahān rodast paprathach
ḥhavah Indraḥ sūryam arochayat | Indro ha viśvā bhavanāni yemire
ītyādi | “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.\(^7\)

R. V. viii. 21, 13 (=S. V. 1, 399; A. V. 20, 114, 1).—Abhrātrieyo
anā tvam anāpi Indra janushā samādasi | yudhā iḍ āpītam iḍhase | “Indra, by thy nature, thou art indeed of old without a rival, with-
out a fellow. By battle thou seekest alliance.”

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

R. V. viii. 37, 3.—Ekaraḥ aṣṭa bhavanasya rājasī ītyādi | “Thou
rulest a sole monarch over this world,” etc. (Indra).

R. V. viii. 51, 2.—Aṣṭa ame nirbhīr ekaḥ kriṣṭir ayāyaḥ |
pārvir ati pravāṣrīr viśvā jātāny ojasā ītyādi | “Without a fellow,
unequaled by men, [Indra] alone, unconquerable, has surpassed in power
many tribes, and all creatures.”

R. V. viii. 59, 5 (=S. V. i. 278).—Yad dyāvaḥ Indra te bataṁ bataṁ
bhūmīr uta syuh | na te vajrin sahāram sūryāḥ anu na jātān ashta
rodast | “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 Pariś-
ishaṭa i. 1, ff.: Aṭha imāḥ atitutayāḥ ity ācakhatot api va sampratayāḥ
eva syād mahābhāgyaḥ devatāyaḥ | . . . Yadi te Indra bataṁ dvaḥ bataṁ
bhūmayaḥ pratimānāṁ syur na te vajrin sahāram api sūryāḥ na dyāva-
prithivyaḥ apy abhyaśnuttām 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

\(^7\) In the 8th verse of this hymn (=S. V. 2, 924; Vāj. S. 33, 97; A. V. 20, 99,
2) the following words occur: aṣṭa Indra vāṇīrāḥ vṛṣṇeyāṁ tavo maśa vāṇaya
vishnuri | “Indra increased his founding strength, in the exhilaration of this soma,
at the sacrifice.” Vṛṣṇeyāṁ, the word here rendered “sacrifice,” is the locative
case of vṛṣṇu. Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v., think the word here has this sense,
as the Brahmanas frequently employ the phrase yajno vai Vṛṣṇeyāḥ | “Vṛṣṇu is the
sacrifice.” The commentator of the Vāj. Sanhitā explains it by aśavo-sārira-
vṛṣnapate, “That which pervades the whole body.” Śaivaṇa, too, makes it=kriṭa-
dehasya vṛṣnapate |
passesages referring to Agni and Varuṇa, 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 thunderor, nor heaven and earth, can equal thee."

R. V. viii. 67, 5.—Nākṁ Indra nīkartya na Sākraḥ pariśaktavo viṣvāṁ kriyoti paśyati | "Indra is not to be overcome, Sakra is not to be overpowered. He hears and sees all things."  
R. V. viii. 77, 4.—Yoddhā ' ei kṛatvā kavasota daṁsaṇā viṣvā jātā abhi majmanā | ā tvā ayam arkaḥ utaye vavarati yaṁ Gotamāḥ ājyjanan | 5. (8. V. 1, 312.) Pra hi ririkhe ojasā dīvo antebhyam"  
pari | na tvā viṣyācha rajaḥ Indra pārthivam anu svadḥāṁ savakhitha | "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."  
R. V. viii. 78, 5 (=S. V. ii. 779 f.)—Yaj jāyathāḥ aprīrya Maghavan Vṛtra-hatyāya | tat prithivam aprakhyayā tad astabhnaḥ uta dyām | 6. Tat te yajna ajyata tad arkaḥ uta haksritih | tad viṣvam abhibhūr avi yaj jātāṁ yachaḥ jantvam |  
"When thou, O unrivalled Maghavan (Indra), wast born for the destruction of Vṛtra, 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 tē nu chid udākṣāṁ na minanti svarājyam na deva na aḥkṛigur janaḥ | "Whose command, and empire, no one,—whether god, or audacious mortal,—can resist."

R. V. viii. 86, 9.—Na tëd devāṁ udāta na martyrāso adṛivaḥ | viṣvā

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88 This hymn is translated by Professor Müller, Zeitsch. D. M. G. for 1853, p. 375.
89 Instead of antebhyam the S. V. reads sadabhyam.
90 At the end of the verse the S. V. reads ati viṣvam savakhitha | "Thou hast transcended the universe." On the sense of savakhī, 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 bhūtām yachaḥ bhāvyam in the Purāṇas Sūkta. R. V. x. 90, 2. See the first volume of this work, in the early part of which this entire hymn is translated.
jātāni śavaśa abhībhūr asi ityādi | 10 (S. V. i. 370). Viśvāḥ prītanaḥ abhībhūtaram naraṁ 22 sajās tatākṣhur Indraṁ jajānum cha rājasaḥ | kṛate vairisṭham caraṁ 23 amurim uta ugram ojāśtham tavasam 24 tarasvinam |

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

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

R. V. x. 43, 5 (=A. V. 20, 17, 5; Nir. 5, 22).—Kṛitäm na śaghum viṁcoti devana saṁvargaṁ yad Maghavā sūryaṁ jayat | na tat te anyo anu vṛgyaṁ tataḥ na purāgo Maghavane na uta nātanaḥ | “When Maghavan has conquered spoils 24 from the sun, he is like a gamester who gathers in his gains at play.” No other, Maghavan, either old or recent, can imitate that thy prowess.”

R. V. x. 48, 3.—Mahyaṁ Tvashṭā vajram atakshād āyasam mayi devāsa aevijam api kratum | mama anīkāṁ sūryasya iva duṣtaram māṁ āryani kṛitam karteṇa ca | “Tvashṭri fashioned for me (Indra) an iron thunderbolt; into me the gods have infused force. My splendour is unsurpassed, like that of the sun. Men praise me for what I have done and shall do.”

R. V. x. 86, 1 (=A. V. xx. 126, 1).—. . . viśvasmād Indraṁ uttarāḥ | (Repeated at the close of every verse of this hymn.) “Indra is superior to every other.”

22 The Śāma-veda reads naraḥ.
23 The Śāma-veda reads krame vare stheman any amurim. It is difficult to assign a sense to care in the text.
24 The Śāma-veda reads tarasātm.
25 Sāyana explains saṁvargaṁ as = saṁyag vijñāten vijñātenāram | “discharger of rain.” The word, as Dr. Aufrecht informs me, occurs only once again in the S. V. viz. in viii. 64, 12: saṁvargaṁ saṁ raśitaṁ jaya | and he adds that the translation “spoils” is supported by several passages of the S. P. Br. e.g. i. 7, 24 (p. 69): pitur dāyam upayāḥ . . . kathaḥ ne imam api saṁvajīyaiḥ (Schol. apakaramahi): Ibid. saṁvajīyata, saṁvajīyata. S. P. Br. i. 9, 2, 34: sarvam yajnaṁ saṁvajīya (=saṁśipti-pūrṇaṁ saṁbhriyata). In the R. V. Indra is called saṁvajīyam “the spoiler in battles.”
26 The same phrases occur in R. V. x. 42, 9, and A. V. 7, 50, 6; 20, 89, 9.
IN WHICH INDRA IS CELEBRATED.

R. V. x. 111, 1.—*Manthiṣṇaḥ pra bharadheṣam manthiṣṇaḥ yathā yathā
dasyaḥ santi niṣṭām | Indraṁ satyaṁ ā ṛṣayama kṛitebhīṣha sa hi viro
girvāṇasya vīrāṇaḥ | 2. Rīṣayas hi sadaśa dhītir adyaus saṁ gāraḥṣeyo
pradhāho gobhīr āṇataḥ | ud ātishthata tavishaṇa ravena mahānti chid
saṁvīyācha rajāṃśi | 3. Indraḥ kila āutyai asya veda sa hi jishuḥ
pathikriṣṇaṇi vīrāṇaḥ | ād menācma kriṣvam aṣṭuṇaḥ ahuḥ goḥ pātur divāḥ
sanaḥṣaḥ aḥpriṭṭaḥ | 4. Indro mahād mahato arṇavaṣya vratā aminād
Angirobhīr grīṇāṇaḥ | puruṣi chid ni tatāma rajāṃsi dādāra yo
dharmam satyaṭataḥ | 5. Indro divāḥ pratimānam prithiṣṇāḥ viśvā
veda savanā hanti Sūṣṇam | mahīṃ chid dyām a atanot vīryaṇa
chāskambha chid skambhanena skabhiyān |

"Sages, present the prayer, according as are the various thoughts of
men. Let us move Indra, with his genuine acts, for he is a hero, and
loves our hymns. 2. The hymn has shone forth from the place of sacri-
ifice. 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. 61, 13; i. 121, 2). 4. Celebrated by the Angirasas,
Indra by his power has defeated the designs of the great streaming
[cloud-demon];77 he has stretched out many worlds, he who has laid
a foundation in truth. 5. Indra, [who is] the counterpart of the
heaven and of the earth, knows all libations, slays Sūṣṇa; with the
sun, he has extended the vast sky, and, [being] a strong supporter,
his has supported it with a support."88

R. V. x. 133, 2 (=S. V. ii. 1151).—Tvam vīrāṇaḥ avāṣṭiṣaḥ adha-
rācho ahann Aḥim | atītrur Indra jajīme viśvam pūṣhyaṁ vāryam
śivādi | 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).—Ubha yad Indra vedast aspṛtho

77 That this is the allusion in the word arṇava is shown by the following passage:
R. V. x. 67, 2.—Indro mahād mahato arṇavaṇa vi mūrdhānam abhinad Arbudaṁ
ātyādi | "Indra by his power split asunder the head of the great streaming Arbuda;" etc.
88 Compare R. V. vi. 72, 2, below.
ushāḥ iva | mahāntaṁ tva mahāṁ saṁrājam | charaṁśaṁśam | devi janītri
ajjnanad bhadrā janītri ajjjanat99 | “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.—Indra-Soma vāsayahta uṣhāsam ut sūryaṁ nayatho
jyotiśaḥ saha | upe dyāṁ skambhathuḥ skambhanena aprathatam prithi-
vim mātaraṁ 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.—Indra-Varuṇa yad imāni chakrathur viśvā jātāmi
bhuvanasya majnamā ityādī | “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 Varuṇaṁ chakrāva sūryāya ānu-śtavaṁ u ityādī | “King Varuṇa hath made a broad path for
the sun to follow,” etc.

R. V. ii. 27, 10.—Tvam viśvasahām Varuṇa asi rājā ye cha devāṁ asura
ye cha murtāḥ | “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.—Ghṛitavati bhuvanānām abhīśriya urvi prīthvi ma-
dhū-duḥṣaṇa supahāra | dyāva-prīthvi Varuṇasya dharmaṁ vishkabhitā
ajaro 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 janāmasya vi yas tattambha
rodaut chāḥ urvi | pra nakam rīshvam nunude bhīśanām devīdītakaḥtram
paprathach oka 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. 16, 2; z. 111, 6; and x. 149, 1, below.
propped asunder the two worlds, thought vast. He raised up the lofty and wide firmament, and spread out apart the stars and the earth."—

This hymn is translated in Müller’s Sansk. Lit., pp. 546 ff.

R. V. vii. 87, 1.—Rudat patho Varuṇaḥ sūryaḥ pra arghōni samudriyā nādinām | sṛgga⁸⁶⁷ na śrīkṣo arvātīr rītāyaḥ chakāra mahīr avanir 

akahhyah | 2. Ātmā te vato rejaḥ ā navinot pāsur na dhūnir yavase sa-

savān⁸⁷⁰ | antar mahī bṛihatt rodayi ime viśāv te dhāma Varuṇa priyāṇa |

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

R. V. viii. 42, 1.—Asabhnād dyām Aṣuva viśavedaḥ amimita varimāyaṃ prithīyāḥ | aṣeṣad viśāva bhuvanāni samrād viśva it tāniVARU-

ṇasya vratāni | 2. Eva vandasa Varuṇaṃ bṛihantaṃ namasya dīrma

amrītasya gopān | sa naḥ karma trivarāthāṃ viyamāṇa ityādi |

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

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

R. V. i. 50, 7.—Vi dyām ehi rajas pritho aha mimānas akutbhī | 

paśyey jannā ni Sūrya | "Thou traverest 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).—Baḥ mahān aṣi Sūrya

baḥ Āditya mahān aṣi | mahās te sato mahāna parasyo adhā deva

mahān aṣi | Baḥ Sūrya bhrasād mahān aṣi satrā deva mahān aṣi | mahān
dvānām asuryaḥ purohito viśnu jyotir ādāhyam |

"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

⁸⁶⁷ The word sṛgga occurs also in R. V. i. 190, 2; iii. 33, 4; vi. 32, 5; vi. 46, 13.
⁸⁷⁰ 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.—Savita yantraiḥ prithivim aranyād askambhane
Savitā dyām adṛśīmat | advam iva adhukṣaḥ dhunim antariksham
ātate baddhām Savitā samudram | 2. Yatra samudraḥ skabhitō vi-
ounad apāṁ napat Savita tasya veda | ato bhrū ataḥ āḥ utthitaṁ reko ato
dyāvā-prithivō apratīyām |

"Savitri has established the earth by supports; Savitri has fixed
the sky in unsupported space; 108 Savitri has milked the atmosphere,
which resembles a sounding horse,—the ocean fastened in the impos-
sable 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."

108 In later times, as is well known, the earth is represented in Hindu mythology
as resting on the head of the serpent Sēha, or on some other support. Thus it is said
in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa ii. 5, 19 (Wilson, Dr. Hall’s ed. ii. 212): Sa bhrat skahariḥ-bhūtam
ātēhaṁ kaḥitī-monḍalām | āste pātāla-mūla-sīṭaḥ Sēha ‘sēha-sura-rēchitaḥ | "Sēha,
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 Pātāla. The Siddhāntas, or scientific
astronomical works of India, however, maintain that the earth is unsupported. Thus
it is said in the Siddhānta-sīromani, iii. 2: Bhūmeḥ pīṇḍaḥ tālaṁ-kava-voni-
kuṇjyārki-nakshatra-kakshā-śritair ertiḥ san mṛd-anila-salila-vyoma-tejomayo
‘yam | mānya-dhāraḥ uva-saṅkaśāravāni viyati niyataṁ tīrṇati ityādi | . . . . 4. Mūrto
dharatā ched dharitryaṁ tad-anvas tasyāpyanyo ‘syavām atrānavastāḥ | antye kalpyā
chet eva-taṇṭiḥ kim ōdy kiṁ no bhumir ityādi | which is thus translated by the late
Mr. L. Wilkinson in the Bibi. 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] sup-
porter; 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, Danuṣjas
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 Śīva?’’ Arya 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 atiho bhūt evaśītyāṇya prātiṣṭhānaści
udayāntamayām sampādayati nakshatra-prayāgām | ‘‘The starry firmament is fixed.
It is the earth, which, continually revolving, produces the rising and setting of the
constellations and planets.’’
SAVITRI, AGNI, AND PARJANYA ARE CELEBRATED. 111

The first of the preceding verses is quoted by Yåska (Nir. x. 32), and illustrated as follows: Śavitā yantraḥ prthivim aramayat | anārmanbhaye ‘antariksha Śavitā dyām adṛśirhat | āsvaṃ iṣa adhukṣaḍḥ dhunim antariksha meghan baddham atarne iti va ‘tvaramāne iti va Śavitā samuditāram iti | kam anyam madhyamad evam svakṣyat | Āditya ‘pi Śavitā evaheto. “Śavitrī by supports has caused the earth to rest; Śavitrī has fixed the sky in the place which has no basis—the atmosphere. Śavitrī has milked the cloud fastened in the atmosphere,—the impassable, or the unhastening (the cloud) sounding as a horse, and that which rises. What other god than the intermediate one (i.e. the deity residing in the atmosphere) would he have thus described? The sun also (whose place is in the sky) is called Śavitrī.”

Prof. Roth (Illust. of Nir., p. 143) thus translates the verse: “Śavitrī has fixed the earth with supports, he has fastened the heaven in unsupported space; he has milked the atmosphere shaking itself like a horse, the stream which is confined within limits which cannot be overpassed.” In his Lexicon, however, Prof. Roth gives to dhuni the sense of “sounding” (which is also adopted by Prof. M. Müller, Transl. of R. V. i. 95). He then observes: “According to Yåska the Śavitrī 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.—Divāś chit te brihato Jātavedo vaiśvānara pra rirche mahiteam | rajā kriṣṭinām asa manuṣṭīnām yudhā devbhyo varivas chakarthā | “Jātaveda, 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 kṣaṭāṃ dādhāra prthivīṃ tathambha dyām mantriṇbhiḥ satyāy iryādi | “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. vii. 101, 4.—Yasmin viśvāni bhuvaṃ tathus tiro dyāvas tredhā sasrur āpah iryādi | 6. Sa retoḍhāḥ ेrībhabhāḥ savaśīnām tasminn ātmā jagataḥ tastushāscha | (Compare R. V. i. 115, 1.) “He

103” Comp. R. V. viii. 42, 10:—Yaḥ skambhena vi_rodasa ajo na dyām adhārayaḥ |
112  TEXTS CELEBRATING THE GREATNESS OF SOMA.

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. śūryaḥ atmā jagatā satvahā cha, R. V. i. 115, 1).

The next passage refers to the god called Gandharva:

R. V. x. 139, 5.—. . . Divyo Gandharvo rajaso vimanah | “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 ajijanaṁ divaṁ chitraṁ na tanyatum | jyotiṁ vaīvānaram 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.—Tuṣṇmahi praṭyāḥ divyasya retasaṁ tvam viśvaṁ bhuwanasya rajasi | athedaṁ viśvaṁ pavamāna te vaśe tvam Indo praṁhamo dhamadhāṁ asi | 29. Tvam samuḍra asi viśvavit kave tuṣṇmahi pancha pradīpo vidharmāṇi | tvam dyāṁ cha prithivim abhā ṣaṁti jahriṁke tava jyotisāvhi pavamāna śūryaḥ | 30. Tvam pavitrare jāsavo vidharmāṇi devoḥhyāḥ soma pavamāna pūyaṁ | tvam Uśijāḥ prathamāḥ agrībhūtāṁ suḥśyomā viśva bhuwanāṁ yeṁ urīre |

“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 Uśijes first gathered thee. To thee all these worlds have bowed.”

R. V. ix. 89, 6.—Viṣṭambho dīco dharumāḥ prithivyaḥ viśvāḥ uta kshitayo hāste 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.—Paviṭrebbhiḥ pavamāno nṛchakhāḥ rājā devaṇāṁ uta māryāṇāṁ 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.—Pavamāna mahī bravaḥ chitrebhīr yāsi rāṣṭibhiḥ 104 | 
sardhan taṁśāni jighnastrī viśāni dāsūha graha | 9. Tvam dyāṁ cha mahi-
ervata prithūtvān chasti jahṅsaka ityādi | “Thou, pure [Soma], marchest 
onward to great renown, by thy brilliant rays; daring, thou wiltest to 
destroy all darkness in the house of thy worshipper. 9. Thou, achiever 
of great deeds, hast ascended above heaven and earth,” etc.

R. V. ix. 107, 7.— . . . Tvam kavir abhavo deva-vitamaḥ ā dünyān 
rohaya dīvi | “Thou art a sage most pleasing to the gods; thou hast 
caused the sun to rise in the sky.”

R. V. ix. 109, 4 (=S. V. ii. 591).—Pavasa soma mahān samudraḥ 
pitā devānāṁ viśva 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 suppliants as good as all the gods. He is 
felt, at the time, as a real divinity, as supreme and absolute, in spite of 
the necessary limitations which, to our mind, a plurality of gods must 
etail on every single god. All the rest disappear for a moment from 
the vision of the poet, and he only who is to fulfill their desires stands 
in full light before the eyes of the worshippers. ‘Among you, O gods, 
there is none that is small, none that is young: you are all great 
indeed,’ 105 is a sentiment which, though, perhaps, not so distinctly 
expressed as by ManuVaivasvata, 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 : Sānā cha Soma jeshi cha pavamāna mahī bravaḥ | and 
ix. 83, 5 : Jayaṁ bravo brihat |
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,\textsuperscript{108} the lord of men, the wise king, the father, the brother, the son, and friend of men;\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{108} is: \textit{Viśvaṃūdā Indra uttaraḥ} | ‘Indra is greater than all.’ Of Soma it is said that he was born great, and that he conquers every one.\textsuperscript{109} He is called the king of the world,\textsuperscript{110} he has the power to prolong the life of men,\textsuperscript{111} and in one verse he is called the maker of heaven and earth, of Agni, of Sūrya, of Indra, and of Viṣṇu.\textsuperscript{112} If we read the next hymn, which is addressed to Varuṇa (\textit{ahpāde}), 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.

\textbf{SECT. III.—Viṣṇu as one of the Ādityas.}

In the hymns of the Veda the Ādityas, or sons of Aditi, are alluded to as being seven or eight in number; but only six deities, of whom Viṣṇu is not one, are specified by name as belonging to this class.\textsuperscript{113}

\textsuperscript{108} \textit{Tejas viśvāni āsanīka paṭyaś} | ii. 1, 8.—See Nirukta Paridhāta i.
\textsuperscript{109} \textit{Viśvaṃūdā Indra uttaraḥ} | \textit{i. 1, 9.}
\textsuperscript{110} \textit{x. 86.}
\textsuperscript{111} \textit{ix. 59.}
\textsuperscript{112} \textit{ix. 96, 10: bhūtanasya vṝjā.}
\textsuperscript{113} \textit{ix. 96, 5.}

See Böhlingk 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 Aryan 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{Āditya} 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).—\textit{Imāh girah Ādityebhyo ghritasuḥ sanād rājahhyo juhāvā juhomī | śṛṅotu Mitro Āryamā Bhago nas tuvijāto Varuṇo Dakhaḥ Aṅśaḥ} | "With my tongue I of old offer up these praises, dropping with unctuousness, to the kings, the Ādityas: may Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, the mighty Varuṇa, Daksha, Anśa, hear us." Yāska makes \textit{tuvijātah} to be \textit{-bahujaṭāḥ cha Dhātā}, thus understanding it to designate Dhātri, as a seventh Āditya.

R. V. ix. 114, 3.—\textit{Septa Ğitām nānā-suryāḥ sapta hotāraḥ ritvijāḥ | devāḥ Ādityāḥ ye sapta tebhiḥ Somābhikrakaha 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 Mārtāṇḍa, the eighth.

In his explanation of the first text, which I have now quoted (R. V. ii. 27, 1), Śāyaṇa observes of the Ādityas: \textit{Te cha Taśṭēriye 'aśṭau putran Āditer ity upakramya spashṭam anukrāntāḥ | 'Mitrascha Varuṇaścha Dhātāscha Aryamācha Aṁśvāscha Bhagaśca Indrāscha Vivasvāṁ cha etc’ iti} | "They (the Ādityas) are distinctly specified in the passage of the Taśṭēriya, beginning with the words, ‘The eight sons of Aditi,’ as ‘these, Mitra, Varuṇa, Dāhātri, Aryaman, Anśa, 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: \textit{Brūmo rājānam Varuṇam Mitram Vishnum ato Bhagam | Aṁśaṁ Vivasvantam brūmas te no munchantu aṁhasagḥ} | 3 | \textit{Brūmo devam Savitārnam Dhātāram uta Pāsagham | Taśṭēram agriyaṁ brūmāḥ} | "We invoke King Varuṇa, Mitra, Vishṇu, Bhaga, Anśa, Vivasvat. May they free us from calamity.

3. We invoke the God Savitṛi, Dāhātri, Pūshan, and Taśṭṛi 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 manasa eva vācham mithunām samābhavat sa deādaśa drapatān gurhī abhavat | te deādakā Ādityāk asrīyanta tān dīkṣuh upādadhūt | “With his mind he associated conjugally with Speech. He became pregnant with twelve drops. They were created the twelve Ādityas. Them he placed in the quarters of the horizon.”

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 6, 3, 8 (=Bṛih. Ār. Up. iii. 9, 5, p. 646). Katamo Ādityāk icious deādasa mārṣāh saṁvatsarasya ets Ādityāk—ets hi idāṃ sarvam ādādānāḥ yanti | te yād idaṃ sarvam ādādānāḥ yanti tasmād Ādityāk icious | “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: Ādityāk cha Angirase cha svaryo loko 'spardhanā | te 'ngirase Ādityabhya 'num Ādityam abcaṃ teṣām bhūtaṃ dakṣiṇam anayan | te 'bruvan ‘yaṃ no 'naked sa svaryo 'bhūd' iti | tasmād abcaṃ svarya ity āhavanty | tasmād yajne varo diyat | yat Prajāpatis ālabāho 'svo bhavat tasmād asvo nāma | yat svayad-arur āsit tasmād arvā nāma | yat sadyo vājān samajeyet tasmād vājā nāma | yat asvāgān lokān ādatta tasmād Ādityo nāma | “The Ādityas and the Angirases strove in heaven. The Angirases brought that Āditya, who had become a white horse, to the Ādityas as a present. The latter said, ‘He whom you have brought to us has become excellent (varya).’ Hence men call to a horse, o savary. Hence a boon (vara) is given at a sacrifice. Inasmuch as Prajāpati when sacrificed became a horse (aśva, which means “pervading,” according to the commentator), he has the name of aśva. Inasmuch as he suffered pain from swelling (so the commentator renders bāsyad-aruh, stating that Prajāpati suffered from a swollen eye), he is called ārān. Inasmuch as he conquered riches [or, in races] (vāja), he got the name vājīn. 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 'sau tapam uteti sa aseṣeṣāṁ bhūtānām prāṇāṁ ādāya udeti | mā me prajāyaḥ mā paśūnām mā mama prāṇāṁ ādāya udagāḥ | asau yo
"VARIous ETYMologies oF THE word ĀDItyA.

"stam eti sa sarveshām bhūtānām prānān ādāya āstam eti | mā me prajā-yāh mā paśanān mā mama prānān ādāya āstam gāḥ | "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 Ādītya: Ādītyaḥ | kasmād | ādätte rasān | ādätte dhāsat jyotisah | ādīpto bhādā iṣī vā | Ādīteḥ putraḥ iṣī vā | alpaprayogam tu asya etad ārṇhābhyāmnayaḥ | sūkta-bhāk "sūryam adīleyam" Ādīteḥ putram | eyam anyasām api devatām Ādītoyapravādāḥ stutayo bhavanti | tad yatā etad | Mitrasya Varuṇasya Aryanmo Dakhasya Bhagasya Amśasya iti |

"The Ādītya: whence [so called]? He takes up the fluids." He takes up the light of the luminaries; he is illuminated (ādīptayā) by light; or, he is the son of Ādīti. But this [appellation] is seldom applied to him in the text of the Rigveda. Sūrya Ādīteya, Sūrya the son of Ādīti, is mentioned in a hymn. In the same way there are praises of other deities, addressed to them as Ādīyas; as in the case of Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryan, Dāksha, Bhaga, Anāśa."

In the following texts from the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, the Ādīyas, 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. Vīṣṇu is almost always named as one of them,
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.—Marichiḥ Kaśyapaḥ putraḥ Kaśyapaḥ tu ināḥ prejāḥ | praṇijinaḥ mahābhāgāḥ Daksha-kanyās trayodasa | . . . 2,522. Adityāṁ dvādaśādityāḥ sambhūtāḥ bhu-
vanābharāḥ | ye rājan nāmaś tāṁś te krtayiṣyāmi Bhārataḥ | Dhātā Ṭītraḥryaman Ākro Varūnas te Aṃśaḥ eva čaḥ | Bhago Vivasvān Puṣṭa-
ḥa Savita dasamas tathā | skādaśas tathā Tvaṣṭṛā dvādaśo Viṣṇu-
uchyate | jaghanyajastu sarvasvām Adityānāṁ gunādhīkāḥ |

"Kaśyapa was the son of Marīchi; and from Kaśyapa these beings were born. There were thirteen eminent daughters of Daksha . . . 2,522. I will recount to thee, by name, king of the race of Bharata, the twelve Adityas, lords of the world, who were produced from Aditi;"116 Dhātṛi, Mitra, Aryaman, Sakra (Indra), Varuṇa, Anāśa, Bhaga, Vivasvat, Puṣṭan, and Savitri the tenth; the eleventh is Tvāṣṭṛi, and the twelfth is called Viṣṇu, who, though the latest born, surpasses all the Ādityas in his attributes."

Mahābhārata, i. 2,598.—Marichiḥ Kaśyapaḥ putraḥ Kaśyapa骰a Sa-
Suraḥṣaḥ | sajñīnaḥ nīrpa-tārdāla lokānāṁ prabhavas tu saḥ | . . . . 2,600. Dvādaśāvādīteḥ putraḥ Saṅkha-mukhyaḥ naraḥdhipa | tasmān 
avarajha Viṣṇu yatra lokāḥ pratishthitaḥ |

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

Mahābhārata, xiii. 7,092 ff.—Aṁśo Bhagaḥ ścha Mitraḥścha Varuṇasḥ śca 
jalekarāḥ | tathā Dhātā Ṭītraḥryam chaiva Jayanta Bhāskaras tathā | 
Tvāṣṭṛ Puṣṭa tathāvendro dvādaśo Viṣṇur uchyate | ity ete dvādaś-
ādityāḥ Kaśyapayāḥ iti śrutīḥ |

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

116 In the hymn to the sun, Mahābh. iii. 166 ff., it is said that that Luminary, 
dividing himself twelvesfold, became the twelve Adityas (āvīvaḥ dvādaśādityān "teṁānam 
dvādaśādityatīmaṁ puraḥ").
the twelfth: these are the twelve Ādityas, the sons of Kaśyapa, according to tradition (or the Veda, śrutī)."

Mahābhārata, v. 3,501 ff.—Akhayāt chañyayaś chaiva Brahmā lokatīmakah | tathāvāc bhagavantau tau Nara-Nārāyanaḥ rīkṣiḥ | Ādityānāṁ hi sarvesham Vishnu ekaḥ sanātanaḥ | ajayaḥ chañyayaś chaiva tāvastāḥ prabhur tīvraḥ | nimitta-maranāḥ chānya chandra-sūrya-mahajalam | Vāyur Agni tathā "kāśaṁ grahān tārā-gaṇaḥ tathā | to cha kshayante jagato hitā lokā-trayaṁ sadā | kshayaṁ gachhanti vai sarve īṣyante cha punaḥ punaḥ | mūḥrta-maranāṁ te anye mānusahṛ mriga-pakṣhīnāḥ | "Brahmā, the parent of the world, is undecaying and imperishable; and so too are the venerable Rishis, Nara, and Nārāyaṇa. Vishṇu alone of all the Ādityas is eternal, invincible, imperishable, everlasting, potent, the lord. Other beings perish on some occasion, [as at the end of a Kalpa],—117 the moon, the sun, the earth, water,116 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 (mūḥrta)."


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

117 I suppose nimitta-maranāḥ 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: Nimitam pralayādi-nimitam maragam nādi yashāṁ te nimitta-maragāḥ |
118 Water and ether are said in the Rāmāyaṇa to have preceded Brahmā.—See above, p. 33. See also the order of creation described in the S’atapatha Brāhmaṇa, and in Mān, in section ii., chapter i., above.
nowned deities called Tushitas; who, being assembled together, said to each other in the Chākhusha 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 Chākhusha Manvantara, they were all born from Kaśyapa, son of Marichi, and Aditi, daughter of Dakaha. In this way Viṣṇu and Sakra (Indra) were again born, and Aryaman, Dātṛi, Tvaśṭṛi, Pūshan, Vivasvat, Savitṛi, Mitra, Varuṇa, Anā, and the energetic Bhaga: these are known as the twelve Ādityas. Those who formerly in the Chākhusha Manvantara were called the Tushitas, are known as the twelve Ādityas in the Vaivasvata Manvantara.'

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

The following is another passage from the Harivanaśa, verses 11,548 ff.: Adityaṁ ājñāra ṛṣiṇam Ādityaḥ Kaśyapaḥ atha | Indra Viṣṇur Bhagas Tvaśṭa Varuno 'ṁśo 'ryamā Raviḥ | Pūsha Mitraśa varado Manuḥ Parjanyaḥ eva cha | ity ete dvādaśādityaḥ varishṭhas triśivaukṣaḥ |

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

In the same work, verses 12,456 ff., we read: Aryama Varuno Mitraḥ Pūsha Dātā Purandaraḥ | Tvaśṭa Bhago 'ṁśaḥ Savita Parjanyabhuti vinoḥaḥ | Adityaṁ ājñāra dvedaḥ Kaśyopāl loka-bhāvanāḥ |

"The gods, creators of the worlds, known as Aryaman, Varuṇa, Mitra, Pūshan, Dātā, Purandara (Indra), Tvaśṭṛi, Bhaga, Anā, Savitṛi, 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 Ādityas, who are said to have sprung from the face of Vivasvat or Mārtanda, the Sun.

Harivanaśa, 589 ff.—Tato nirdhāśitaṁ ṛpaṁ tejasā samhataṁ vai | kāntatā kāntataram drashtum adhikam śubhāh tadā | mukhe nirvarttam ṛpaṁ tasya devasya gopaleḥ | tataḥ-prabhṛiti devasya mukham āśī tu lohitam | mukha-ragantu yat pūrvam Mārtandaṁya mukha-āhvantam | Ādityaḥ dvādaśaiveha sambhatalḥ mukha-sambhavaḥ | Dātā 'ryamā cha
Purana Regarding the Adityas.

Mitraicha Varuna ’hiko Bhagas tathā | Indro Vivasvat Pūsha cha
Parjanyo daikamas tathā | tatas Tvashṭa tato Vishnu ujañhanyo jaghanyakāh | Harvard lobha tato devo drishtvā ’dityān svag-deha-jān | “Then his appearance, illuminated with concentrated lustre, shone forth more brilliantly, fairer than the fairest to behold. This appearance was produced in the face of that god, the lord of rays. Henceforward the face of the god was red. From the previous colour of the face which fell from the countenance of Mārtanda were produced twelve face-born Ādityas: Dhātṛi, Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa, Anāsa, Bhaga, Indra, Vivasvat, Pūshan, Parjanya the tenth, then Tvashṭri, then Vishnu 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 Harivamsa.) The Vishnu 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.—Sṛṇu nāmin lokānām māṁ ṛṇāṁ taṁkarāṇi cha | atha Kaśyapa-pathnām yat-prasūtam idam jagat |
Adiśir Ditir ityādi | . . . 36 f. Athātāḥ brāyatāṁ vaṁśo yo ’diter anupāvakaḥ | yatra Nārāyaṇo devo vaṁśeṇavatārad viḥaḥ | Vivasvat Aryamā Pūsha Tvashṛt’ha Savitṛ Bhagāḥ | Dhātā Vidhātā Varuno Mitraḥ Sakraḥ Urukramaḥ |

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

Sect. IV.—Stories regarding Vishnu from the Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, the Taittirīya Aranyaka, the Panchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas.

The following story from the Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa (in which Vishnu 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.—Devātahā vai Āsurātahā ubhayo prajāpatyāh pasparidhir | tato devāh anvayam iva devāh | atha ha Āsurāh menire ‘amaikam eva idam khalu bhavanam’ iti | 2. Ta ha uchur ‘kanta imān prākhyām vibhajamahai taṁ vibhajya uṣṭiāma’ iti | tām aukheṣuḥ chromhāhī pasohat prāncho vibhajamānaṁ abhiyug | 3. Tad vai devāḥ tvāravv “vibhajante ha vai imām Āsurāh prākhyam preta tad eshyāṁ yatra imām Āsurāh vibhajante | ho tataḥ yāma yaḥ asayai na bhaṣyamahi” iti | te yajnam eva Viṣṇum puraskṛtya tūvah | 4. Ta ha uchur “annā no ’yāṁ prākhyā yāṁ abhajata asam eva no ’py asayai bhagah” iti | te ’surah asayantaḥ iva uchur ‘yāva eva esa Viṣṇur abhiṣete tavad vo dadmah’ iti | 5. Vamana ha Viṣṇur asa | tad devāḥ na jihātire “mahād vai no ’dur ye no yajna-sammitam adur” iti | 6. Te prāncchaṁ Viṣṇuṁ nipātāya chhandobhir abhiṣaḥ paryagrīhim “gāyatrīnā deva chhandasā parigrihānām” iti daksinatās | “traṇīṣubhena deva chhandasā parigrihānām” iti pālaḥ | “jñātāna deva chhandasā parigrihānām” iti uttaratāḥ | 7. Tathā chhandobhir abhiṣaḥ parigrihāya agraṁ purastāt samādhāya tena archantaṁ śramyaṁ ca churuḥ | tena imāṁ sarvāṁ prākhyāṁ samapindante | tad yad enena imāṁ sarvāṁ samapindantaṁ tasmād veḍir nāma | tasmād āhuḥ ‘yāvaṁ vedaṁ tavāṁ prākhyā’ iti | etayā hi imāṁ sarvāṁ samapindantaṁ evam ha vai imāṁ sarvāṁ sarvānām samapīthāṁ nirbhajatīḥ aṣaya sapatānām yaḥ evam etad veda | 8. So ’yāṁ Viṣṇur glānāḥ chhandobhir itaḥ parigrihāte ’gniḥ purastād na apakramāṇaṁ asa | sa tataḥ eva oṣadhinām mūlān eva mūlochaḥ | 9. Ta ha devaḥ uchur “kva nu Viṣṇur abhiṣat kva nu yajno ’bhūd’ iti | te ha uchur “chhandobhir itaḥ parigrihāte ’gniḥ purastād na apakramāṇaṁ asty asty eva anuvihaṁ” iti tathā khanantaḥ iva anitahsu tameḥ pravargule ’netvindāṁ tasmāt tryaṅgule vedaṁ syat | tad u ha api Pānchis tryaṅgulām eva samyasya adhvarasya veḍam ohakro | 10. Taḥ u tathā na kuryād iṣyādi |

"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 sacrificer, they proceeded [thither], 4. and said, 'Put us with yourselves in possession of this earth; let us also have a share in it.' The Asuras, grudging as it were, answered, 'We give you as much as this Vishnu can lie upon.' 5. Now, Vishnu was a dwarf. The gods did not reject that offer; [but said among themselves], 'They have given us much, [these Asuras], who have given us what is co-extensive with sacrifice.' 6. Then having placed Vishnu to the east, they surrounded him with metres; [saying], on the south side, 'I surround thee with the Gāyatrī metre;' on the west, 'I surround thee with the Trīṣṭubh 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 telling. By this means they acquired the whole of this earth; and since by this means they acquired (samavindante) it all, therefore [the place of sacrifice] is called vedī (from the root ved, 'to acquire'). Hence men say, 'as great as is the altar, so great is the earth;' for by it (the altar) they acquired the whole of this [earth]. Thus he who so understands this, appropriates all this [earth] from rivals, dispossesses from it rivals. 8. Then this Vishnu, being wearied, surrounded by metres, with Agni to the east, did not advance; but then hid himself among the roots of plants. 9. The gods then exclaimed, 'What has become of Vishnu? what has become of the sacrifice?' They said, 'Surrounded by metres, with Agni to the east, he does not advance; search for him here.' So digging, as it were, they searched for, and found him at a depth of three fingers; therefore let the altar [have a trench] three fingers deep; therefore, also, Pāṇchī 130 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 Āıtareya Brāhmaṇa, 6, 16.
130 Pāṇchī soma-yāgayeṣa vedīṁ tryaṅgula-ḥāḷaṁ eva mene | "Pāṇchī thought that the altar for the soma sacrifice also should have a trench three fingers deep." (Commentary.) Pāṇchī is again mentioned in the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 1, 4, 27 (p. 143), along with Āsuri and Madhuki, where the commentator speaks of them as three munis (Āsuri-prabhīśyas trayo munayaḥ). See Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 192, 134.
STORY ABOUT VISHNU BECOMING THE MOST

Svatapatha Brâhmaṇa, xiv. 1, 1, 1 ff.—Devaḥ ha vai satraṁ nishedur
Agnir Indraḥ Somo Makho Vishnur viśe-devaḥ anyatra eva Abhirhyām | 2. Tuhāṁ Kuruksetraṁ devayajanam aga | tasmād ahuv "Kuru-
ksetraṁ devanāṁ devayajanam" iti | tasmād yatra kva cha Kurukše-
trasya nigachhati tad eva manyata "idam devayajanam" iti tad hi deva-
ṇāṁ devayajanam | 3. Te āstā | "kriyāṁ gachhena yaśāḥ syāma annaṁ syāma" iti tathā eva ime satram āstāte "kriyāṁ gachhena yaśāḥ syāma annaṁ syāma" iti | 4. Te ha uchur "yo naḥ kramena tapasa tr̥addhaṁ yaśnena ahūsibhir yaṁnasya uårichau purvo vaGačhāt sas naḥ kresitah 'sat tad u naḥ sarveshāṁ saha" iti "tathā" iti | 5. Tad Viśnur prathamaḥ prāpa | sa devanāṁ kresito 'bhavat tasmād aḥur "Viśnur devanāṁ kresitah" iti | 6. Sa yaḥ sa Viśnur yaṁnaha | sa yaḥ sa yaṁno 'sa eva Ādiyaḥ | tad ha idam yaso Viśnur na sāsaka saṁyantum | tad idam apya stārki na eva sarvaḥ eva yaṁnaha sāknoti saṁyantum | 7. Sa tīrī-ṛhamaṁna 111 ādāya apachakrāma | sa dhanur-ārtnya śrīrāṁ upastabhya taṭhau | taṁ devaḥ anābhisṛhīṃyaṃantaḥ samantam paramyāsānta | 8. Taḥ ha vamrūyaḥ ucuḥ | imaḥ vai vamrīyo yad upadikāḥ | "yo yaya apya dhāt kīm asmai prayačcheta" iti "annadāyam asmai prayacchama api dhanvann ape 'dhigachhet tathā asmai sarvaḥ annadāyam prayačchama" iti | 9. Taṣya upaparāyitaṁ jyām opiyakshus taṣyaṁ chhināṇyaṁ dhanur-ārtnyaṁ viṣhphurantyaṁ Viśnur śrīrāṁ prachichhidaṁ | 10. Taḥ ghṛṇaḥ iti papāta | tat paścāv 'saē Ādiyaḥ bhavat | atha itaraḥ prāṇ eva praśrītyata | tad yad ghṛṇaḥ ity apatat tasmād gharmaḥ | atha yat praśrītyata tasmād pravargyāḥ | 11. Te devaḥ abrvaṃ | "mahān eva no vīto 'pādi" iti tasmād mahāvraḥ | taṣya yaṁ ravo vyakṣharaṁ tam pānibhiḥ samamṛjīvaṁ tasmāt samrāṭ | 12. Taṁ devaḥ abhayaśrīyanta 112 yathā vitiṣiṃ vetya-
māṇaṁ evam | taṁ Indraḥ prathamaḥ prāpa | taṁ anvango amatāyad-
yata | taṁ paryagrihyāt tam parighaṁ idaṁ yaso 'bhavaṁ yad idam Indra yaṁnaha | yaso ha bhavati ya evam vedā | 13. Sa u eva makhāḥ sa Viśnur | tataḥ Indra makhavaḥ abhavaḥ | makhavāṇa ha vai taṁ Māghavāṇa ity achaśhate parokṣaṁ parokṣa-kāmāḥ hi devaḥ | 14.

111 This word occurs also in Svatap. Br. xi. 1, 5, 10; in Taitt. S. i. 8, 19, 1, and Taitt. Br. ii. 7, 8, 2, in all which places it is explained by the Comm. tīrīkhdhīr toshbhūḥ yuktam (or sahītam) dhanas (or dhanuḥ).
112 This, according to Bühlingk and Roth, is the correct reading, in place of abhirjīyanta, given in Weber’s edition. See a parallel passage, Svatap. Br. iv. 1, 3, 5.
EMINENT OF THE GODS AND LOSING HIS HEAD.

15. Atha imāṁ Viśṇuḥ yajṇaṁ tredhā vyabhijantaṁ. 

"The gods, Agni, Indra, Soma, Viṣṇu, Makha, and all the [other] deities, excepting the Āśvins, were present at a sacrifice. 2. Kurukṣetra was the place of their divine worship. Hence, men say that Kurukṣetra is the country where the gods sacrifice. Consequently, to whatever part of Kurukṣetra 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. Viṣṇu first attained that [proposed object]. He became the most eminent of the gods: wherefore men say, ‘Viṣṇu is the most eminent of the gods.’ 6. He who is this Viṣṇu is sacrifice; he who [is] this sacrifice is the Āditya. Viṣṇu could not control [his love of] this fame. 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 upādikās—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 Viṣṇu. 10. It fell, making a sound (gṛha). That having fallen, became that Āditya. Then the rest of him became extended towards the east. Since the head fell with the sound of gṛha, hence gharma, [‘the

123 It seems as if there were a play of words here, the word yasāḥ, “fame,” having reference to the words sa yāḥ sa Viṣṇuḥ, etc., sa yāḥ sa yajnaḥ, etc. “He who [is] this Viṣṇu,” etc. “He who [is] this sacrifice,” etc.
sacrificial kettle,' received its name]; and since he became extended, (pravrjyate), the pravrjya [received its appellation]. 11. The gods then said, 'A great hero (mahat vrat) of ours has fallen.' Hence arose the name of mahdvira (a sacrificial vessel).\textsuperscript{124} They wiped (sammarnijah) with their hands the fluid (blood) which flowed from him. Hence arose the name of samrat. 12. The gods rushed towards him (Vishnu), 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 Vishnu was indeed Makha.\textsuperscript{125} Hence Indra became Makhavat (the possessor or associate of Makha). He is Makhavat: they call him Makhavat 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 Vishnu, 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 Aranyakā,\textsuperscript{126} and the second from the Pancha-

\textsuperscript{124} A long account is given of the gharma, pravrjya, and mahdvira in Katyayana’s Sūrata Sūtras, xxvi.

\textsuperscript{125} In regard to this word I quote the explanation of Böhtlingk and Roth, s. v. 2 c: "This is the name of a malign mythical being, as is to be conjectured from the following passages, B. V. x. 171, 2: tvam Makhasya dodhatah ‘hro sav tavacho bhara’\] (‘Thou hast smitten off the head, the skin, of the furious Makha’); ix. 101, 13, asa devan arudhatah hata Makhav va Bhrgava\] (‘Drive away the niggardly dog, as the Bhrgus did Makha’). Herewith is to be connected the mention made of Makha’s head in sacrificial formula, Vāj. Sanhitā, 37, ‘deva dyvā-prihitō Makhasya vīma adya śiro rūdhyaśaṁ devayajana prithiyāḥ | . . . . 4. Devya samnyo bhūtasya prathamaśaḥ makhaśya va ‘dya śiro rūdhyaśam devayajana prithiyāḥ | ‘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; iiii. 2, 4, 1, name ‘gnaya Makhaguna | Makhasya mū yaśo ‘ryūd ity abhavanīyam upasthitāte | yajino vai makha’ (‘Adoration to Agni, the slayer of Makha. May the fame of Makha come to me. So (saying), he stands by the abhanvīya-fire. ‘Makha is sacrifice’), etc.

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

Taittirīya Aranyaka, v. i. 1–7.—1. Devah vai satram āsata riddhiparimitam yaśaskāmaḥ | te 'bruvam "yan naḥ prathamam yasaḥ rishhāt sarvehaṁ nas tat saha aad" iti | teshāṁ kuruksetram vedir ātīt | tasyai Khāṇḍavo daksīṇārdhaḥ ātīt Turghnam uttarārdhaḥ Purīnaj jaghanārdhāro Maravah utkaraḥ | 2. Teshāṁ Mahaṁ Vaishnavam yasaḥ ārghat | tad nyakāmayata | tama paśkramaḥ | tam devah anvayaṁ yaco 'varurutamānāḥ | tasya anvagataya savyād āhanur ajayata daksīṇād ishavaḥ | tamād iṣudhanam pusa-yajna-yajna-jamva hi | 3. Tam ekāṁ santam bahuvo na abhyadhriśtvau | tamād ekam iṣudhanvaṁ 121 viram bahuvo 'niḥśudhanah na abhyadhriśtvau | so 'emayaṁ "ekam ma santam bahuvo na abhyadharaḥ" iti | tasya sikhityāmsya tejo 'pākramaḥ | tad devah oṣadhīṁ ṇyamprigṛṣuḥ | te iyamakaḥ abhavan | emayakāḥ vai nāma sti | 4. Tat emayakānāṁ emayakatvam | tamād dīkṣhitena apigṛṣaṁ ematayoṁ tejasa dārṣṭyaṁ | sa āhanuḥ pratiskahhya atishthataḥ | tath upaṁdākāḥ abruvaṁ | "varah śṛṅmānāḥ | atha vah śīsan randhayāma | yatra ksvaoha khanumma tad apo 'bhīṣṭiḥpādāmaṁ" iti | tamād upadikāḥ yatra ksvaoha khanumma tad apo 'bhīṣṭiḥpādāmaṁ | 5. Vairupitam hy āsam | tasya jyam apyādaṁ | tasya āhanur vijravamānaṁ śiraḥ udayatvam | tad dyavaprihitvam anupravartataḥ | yat pravartataḥ tad pravṛgyaṁ | pravṛgyatvam | yad ghrāṁ ity apatat tad ghrāmyaḥ ghrāmyatvam | mahato vṛtyam apotypad ātiśaḥ mahāvṛtyaṁ mahāstutavatvam | 6. Yad aṣṭāḥ samabhāraṁ tath samājāṁ samātvatvam | tam śrituṁ devadāsa trāṣaḥ vyagriṁhata | Agniḥ prātahāvanam Indro mādhhyandelā evamā naśvadaḥ śṛṅitya-savamānaṁ | tama opakāraṁ yajnaṁ yajamanāh na āsīhko 'eśarūntata na svargasya lokam abhyajanavat | te devah Āśvinā devravam | 7. "Bhishajav vai sthānaḥ | idāṁ yajnasya śīrṣaḥ pratiḥdhatam" iti | tath aubhūtanam "varah śṛṅmānāḥ praḥāḥ eva naḥ prātipsi gṛhyatvam" iti | tathāyam etam āśvinam agrihyaṁ | tad étad yajasva śīrṣaḥ pratyadhāntm yat pravṛgyaḥ | tama saśreṣṭham yajnaṁ yajamanāḥ eva āsīhko 'rūntata | abhi swargasya lokam ajayan | yat pravṛgyam pravīṇakṣi yajnasva eva tetchihiraḥ pratiḥdhati | tama saśreṣṭham yajnaṁ yajamanāḥ 'ev āsīho rūntaḥ 'bhī swargam lokah jayati | tamād eva āśvin-pravṛgyaḥ eva yat pravṛgyaḥ | 121 The Bibl. Ind. reads iṣudhanvaṁ.
"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.' Kuruksetra was their altar. Khândava was its southern, Túrgna its northern, and Pániñah its hinder section. The Marus were the earth dug from it. 2. Glory came to Makha Vaishñava 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 knewed his (Vishñu'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 ghrāṅ, gharma obtained its name. Strength (vrya) fell from the mighty one (mahātaḥ): hence the mahāvīra got its name. 6. As they gathered it (samabhāran) 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 Viśvedevas the third oblation. Sacrificing with this headless sacrifice, they (the gods), neither obtained blessings, nor conquered heaven. 7. The gods said to the Aśvins, 'Ye two are physicians, replace this head of the sacrifice.' They said, 'Let us ask a boon, let our graha (libation of Soma) be offered here also.' [The gods accordingly] recognized this A ś v ina [libation] for them. [The A ś v in a] replaced this head of the sacrifice, which is
the pravargya. Sacrificing with this sacrifice with a head, they obtained blessings, they conquered heaven. When one offers the pravargya, then he replaces the head of the sacrifice. Sacrificing with this sacrifice with a head, a man obtains blessings, and conquers heaven. Hence this pravargya is principally efficacious through texts addressed to the Aśvins.

Panchavīṁśa Brāhmaṇa, vii. 5, 6.—Devaḥ vai yāsastkāmāḥ satram āsata Agnir Indro Vāyur Makhaḥ te 'brwan 'yan no yasah rīchḥāt tan nāḥ saha asad' iti | teshām Makhaṁ yāsah ārčhat | tad ādāya apaṅkrāmat | tad āsya pra saha āditanta tam paryayalanta | sa dhānuḥ praśiṣṭhaṁ ātisyaḥ tasya dhanur-ārtnir ārdhvā patiteva śiro 'chhinat sa pravargya 'bhavat | yajno vai Makhaḥ | yat pravargyam prāvinjantī yajnasya eva tach chhirah pratiḍaddhati |

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

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa has these two passages relating to Vishṇu, 1, 1: Agnir vai devānāṁ avamo | Vishṇuḥ paramas | tadantarēṇa sarvāḥ anyāḥ devataḥ. “Agni is the lowest, Vishṇu the highest, among the gods; between them both are placed all the other deities.” In his Anc. Sank. Lit., p. 390, note, Prof. Müller remarks that “this passage proves nothing as to the relative dignity of Agni and Vishṇu.”

Again, 1, 30, on quoting R. V. 1, 156, 4, the Aitareya says: Vishṇur vai devānāṁ devārapah | sa eva asmai etad devāraṁ viśiṁati. “Vishṇu is the door-keeper of the gods; he opens for him this door.” The Taitt. Br. iii. 1, 5, 7, has the following: Vishṇur vai akāmayaṁ punyāṁ tlokaṁ śriṁśya na ma pāpi kirttir āgachhaṁ. “Vishṇu desired, ‘May I hear a holy verse; may no ill renown reach me.’” The Taitt. S. iii. 4, 5, 1, says: Rudraḥ paśūnāṁ Tvaṁṣaṁ rūpāṇāṁ Vishṇuḥ parvata-
nām Maruto gaṇānām aḍhipatayāḥ. "Rudra is the lord of beasts, 
Tvashṭrī of forms, Vishnū of mountains, the Marutes 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 
Vишṇu deva-namaskṛtaḥ | tapaḥ-ḥaṃstaya-yogārtham udeṣa sa mahātapaḥ|
3. Esha pārṇāśrame Rāma vāmanasya mahātmanaḥ | sidhāśramaḥ iti 
khyaṭaḥ siddho yatra mahātapaḥ | 4 Abhībhūya cha dvandram purā 
Vairochane Bāliḥ | trasloka-ṛūyaḥ bhubya ālottakha-madāñvitaḥ | 5. 
Tato Balāv tadā yajnaṁ yajjamane bhayārditaḥ | Indrādyaya suragāṇaḥ 
Vishnun uḥchur ṛāmre | 6. "Balir Vairochanir Vishṇo yajato 'sau 
mahābalaḥ | kāma-daḥ sarva-bhutaṁ mahardhiṁ hiraśārhipaḥ | 7. Yo 
chainam abhīvartaṇe yuchiśvaraḥ itiṣṭataḥ | yachaḥ yatra yathāvachcha 
sarvaṁ tebyaḥ prayačchati | 8. Sa tvam sura-hiṣṭārthāya māya-yogam 
upārśitaḥ | vāmanatvaṁ gato Vishṇu kuru kalyāṇam uttamam" | 9.128

[Etammin antare Rāma Kaśyapo 'gni-sama-prabhaḥ | Adityā saḥi
to Rāma dipyamanaḥ ivyajāśa | 10. Devi-sahāyo bhagavan divya-varsha-
sahaśrakam | vrataṁ samāpya vara-ḍāṁ tushťāva Madhusūdanam | 11.
"Tasomayaṁ tapo-ṛāśiṁ tapo-mūrtiṁ tapo-dhanam | tapasā teṁ 
suptena paśyāmi puruṣottanam | 12. S'artra tava paśyāmi jagat sarvam 
idad prabho | teṁ anādir anirdyeyas tvam abhaṁ sararaoh gataḥ | 13. 
Tat uccaḥ Hariḥ pṛtāḥ Kaśyapaṁ dhūta-kalmasham | varaṁ varṣya 
bhadrāṁ te varārh ṣi mato mama | 14. Tach cḥhṛutvā cchaḥanaṁ tasya 
Mārtiĉaḥ Kaśyapo 'bravīt | "putreṇaṁ gachaḥ bhagavan Adityaṁ 
mama chānagha | 15. Bhṛtā bhava āyātyāṁ tvam S'akra-yāsura-
sūdana | sokārtanāṁ tv evanāṁ sahaṣyam kartum arhari" | 16. Atha 
Vishṇur mahātejaḥ Adityāṁ samajyata | chhatrī bhikṣukawa-rūpaṁ 
handaḷu-śikhoṣṭeṇaḥ | ] 17. Evam uktāṁ surair Vishṇur vāmanāṁ 
rūpaṁ āstiḥtaḥ | Vairochane upāgamyā tvam yāyāḥātmanaṁ kramaṁ |

128 The following verses 9–16 seem to be rightly enclosed 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 uktāḥ surair Viṣṇuḥ (“Viṣṇu 
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 parentage of Viṣṇu as one of the twelve Adityas.—See 
above, pp. 118 ff.
18. Lābbhācha trīn kramāṇa Vishnūḥ kriyāt rūpas athādbhutam | 
trībhūḥ kramain tādā lokān ājāhāra tri-vikramah | 19. Ekam hi padā kriyānām prīthiviṁ so 'dhyāvākṣhata | 
dvitiyenaśyaṁ evaṁ evaṁ dyāṁ 
trītyena Rāgavas | 20. Tāṁ chāsuraṁ Balīḥ kriyāt patāla-lala- 
vasinam | trāylokā-rājyaṁ Indrāya dadāv uddhṛtya kāntakam |

The readings of this passage, as given in the Bombay edition 130 i. 29, 2 ff., differ occasionally from those of Schlegel's. I subjoin them here: 2. Iha Rāma mahābāho Vishnu deva-namaskritaḥ | varshaśi 
subaḥaṁśa tathā yuga-śatāni cha | 3 | tapaś-charana-yogartham uddor 
sumahātapaḥ | [verses 3b and 4a correspond,—with only the difference 
of ṣy atra for atra,—with verse 3 of Schlegel's edition] 4b | etam 
ca eva kāle tu rāja Vairochanir Balīḥ | 5 | nirjītya dvdāta-gaṇān sendrān 
śaṇa-marud-gaṇān | kārayāmasya tad-rājyaṁ triśhu lokasūḥ viśrutiḥ | 6 | 
yaṁnaḥ chakārā 131 sumahāṇ asurvedro mahābalaḥ | Balīḥ tu yajamānya 
devaḥ sāgni-puropagamāḥ | samāgamya svayaṁ chaica Vishnu uṣkur 
ikārane 7 | "Balīr Vairochanir Vishnu yajate yajnam uttaman |

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

131 In his note on this passage, the commentator discusses the question how Bali 
could sacrifice to the gods, since he was at enmity with Indra and the rest of them: 
Nāma "asurasya Baler deva-devaśo yugāya-numitaṁ yūga-tarpanija-devatābhirvād 
Indrādīnām tad-deṣhayateṣu | nacca śabda-mātroṁ devatā iti yuktam artha-vāda- 
prāmāṇyaṁ devatā-yābhi vigravahavattasya utarṇa-mimāṃsāyāṁ śiddhāntitato " iti 
ete sa | krama-deva-ājāna-deva bhedaṁ devānām devaṁyāt | tatra ye kramāṇa 
devatem pṛṣṭas te krama-devāḥ | ājāna-devās tu yajna-māntrartha-bhūtanā mantrasya 
mitya-sambaddah karma-devahyāḥ prāchāṁ eva | tat-karma-devānāṁ deṣhayateṣu 'py 
ājāna-devānāṁ yajna tarpatvye na desahāḥ | viśvāhākāraḥ 'py atra karma-devaḥ eva | 
yajānâyahirhāvhitvā 'py ājāna-devānāṁ eva yasāṣṭra-yāväraṇāhitaḥ | 
karma-devānāṁ te aty eva | atāḥ eva Indrādīnām yajñāniḥ-kravānāṁ na anupannam |

"But there is not an abridgment in the idea of sacrifice, etc., being celebrated by 
Bali, the enemy of the gods, from there being no deities who could be gratified by it, 
since Indra and the rest of them were the objects of his hostility? And it is not 
correct to say that a god is a mere name, for in the Uttarā Mitāṁśa the corporeality 
of the deities is established on the authority of the Arthāvadās (illustrative passages 
of the Vedas). [See the passage of Sankara's Commentary on the Brahma or Vedānta 
Śūtras, 1. 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 Sūtra. 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

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

Rāma-puṣṭa (Gorresio’s ed.), i. 32, 2 ff.—Eṣaḥ pūrvasmlo Rāma vāmanasya mahātmanāḥ | siddhiṣṭramuḥ iti khyatāḥ siddho yatāḥ mahāyakāḥ | 3. Viṣṇur vāmanā-rūpena kapyamāno mahat tapah | traileṣyam–raśya pahrīlo Balinendrasya Rāghava | [verses 4, 5, 6 correspond word for word with those of Schlegel’s edition] 7. Tāṁ tvam vāmanā-rūpena gatāḥ bhikṣhitum arhasi | viṣvramāṁ trīn mahābāhu dātā hi niyataṁ sa te |


12. Evam uktah surair Viṣṇur vāmanāṁ rūpam āsthitaḥ | Vairochaniṁ upāgamya trīn ayāhata viṣramān | [The remaining verses are word for word the same as in Schlegel’s recension.]

the case before us it is the ‘work-gods’ who are the disturbers of the sacrifice. Further, it is the gods by birth who are incapable of performing sacrifice, because there are no other deities to whom they could offer it. [See the first vol. of this work, p. 365, note 163] Whereas the ‘work-gods’ can perform sacrifice. Wherefore the tradition that Indra and the rest performed sacrifice is not absurd.” It is strange for readers of the Vedic hymns to be told that Indra is not an object of worship by sacrifice.
The following is a translation of the passage according to Schlegel's edition:

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

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

2. “In this place, O great-armed Rāma, Vishnu, the great ascetic,
reverenced by the gods, dwelt very many years and hundreds of yugas,
(3) for the purpose of practising austerity and contemplation. [Verses
3b and 4a are almost identical with the reading of the other edition.]
4b. But at this very period the renowned King Bali, son of Virochana,
(5) 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 Āsuras 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–16a. 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.] 16a. This by thy favour shall be called Siddhāśramā (the
hermitage where the work was accomplished). The work being ac-
complished, depart hence, O king of the gods.’ 19. Then the glorious
Vishnu was born of Aditi. Assuming the form of a dwarf, he ap-
proached 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 18a above.)

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

“2. This, Rāma, is the former hermitage of the magnanimous dwarf,
called the ‘Hermitage of the Perfect,’ where the illustrious Vishnu was perfected, (3) when performing a great act of austerity in the form of a dwarf, [at the time] when the empire of the three worlds had been taken away from Indra by Bali. [Verses 4–6 correspond word for word with those of Schlegel’s edition.] 7. ‘Now thou shouldst go in the form of a dwarf, and beg three paces, O large-armed. 8. For, proud of his valour and strength, after his victory over the lord of the world (Indra), he, when supplicated, will certainly give these three paces to thee [appearing] in the form of a dwarf. 9. For that lord of the Asuras fulfills 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), 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:


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 Rākhasas. 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 Adityas, the

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.—Aditēr api putratvam eṣṭya Yaḍava-nandana | tvam Viṣṇur iti vihīyataḥ Indraḥ avarajo viśvuh | śiṣur bhūtām divam khanca pṛitihvincha parantapa | tribhir viyakrmanāṁ Krishṇa krāntavān uts tejasā | samprāpya divam ākāśam āditya-sadana sthitāḥ | atyārohasca bhūtātmān bhāskaraṁ svanena tejasā | prādurbhāva-sahasrasthaṃ teṣu teṣu teṣām viśvo | adharma-rucchayaḥ Krishṇa nihatāḥ tataśc surāḥ | “And thou, Kṛṣṇa, of the Yaḍava race, having become the son of Aditi, and being called Viṣṇu, the younger brother of Indra, the all-pervading, becoming a child, O Exer 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 Kṛṣṇa, thou hast slain hundreds of Asuras who delighted in iniquity.”

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

Viṣṇu Pur. iii. 1 (p. 265 of Wilson’s translation; vol. iii., p. 18, of Dr. Hall’s ed.).—Mancantarō tu samprāpte tathā Vaivasvate dvija | vāmanāḥ Kaśyapāḥ Viṣṇur Adityām śambabhava ha | Tribhiḥ kramair imān lakān jītvā yena mahāatmanā | Purandarāya trailokyam daṭṭaṁ nihata-karṣakam | “So when the Vaivasvata manvantara had arrived, Viṣṇu 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 Viṣṇu’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:

Bhāgavata Purāṇa, viii. 15, 1.—Baleḥ pada-trayam bhūmeḥ kasmād Harir ayāchata | bhāteekaraḥ kriṇaṇa-val labdārtho 'pi babandha tam |
2. Etad veditum icchāmo mahat kautāhalaṁ hi naḥ | yajnestvaraṁya 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 Sūka replies (verses 3 ff.) that after Bali had been deprived of life by Indra, he was restored by the Brāhmaṇs of the race of Bṛṣigu, who consecrated him for supreme dominion, and celebrated for him a Viśvajī 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.

The preceptor replies (verses 15, 28 ff.): Jānami Maghaevaṁ satrara unnater asya kāraṇam | tishyāyopābhritam tejo Bhrigubhir brahma-
vādībhīḥ | 29. Bhava-viśaho bhavān vā'pi varjayīteśvarāṁ Harim | nāśya saktah purāh uthātum kṛtāntasya yathā janāḥ | 30. Tasmād nilayam (=adarsanam,123Comm.) utoṇiya yāyoṁ sarve triveshtubam | yāta kālam pratikāhanto yathā satrāvipaṁyayaḥ | 31. Eṣha vipra-
balodakaryāh sampraty ūrjita-vikramāḥ | teshāṁ evaśvamānena sānubandho vināṃkhyataḥ |

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

123 The word nilayam, however, may also mean “abode,” in which case the sense will be “abandoning heaven, your abode, depart,” etc.
DWARF INCARNATION OF VISHNU

(The prophecy here uttered in regard to the fall of Bali as a result of his disregard of the Brahmanas 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 Bhrigus celebrated for him a hundred aśvamedhas (or horse-sacrifices).

The sixteenth section opens with an account of the distress of Aditi, the mother of the gods, at the discomfiture of her sons by the Daityas. She receives a visit from her husband the Prajapati 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?) 123 Who are the husband, or the sons, or other relatives, of any person? 124 (i.e. there are no such things

124 For an explanation of this word see above, p. 16, note 43. Here it stands for Kaśyapa.

123 Compare for this idiom the Rāghuvaṁśa, i. 2: Kau sūrya-prabhaṁ vādikā kva chālpa-vishayaṁ maṭiḥ | "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.

122 This sentiment appears to be here intended as orthodox: but similar observations, when made in the Rāmāyaṇa (Schlegel's and Bombay editions), ii. 108, 3 ff., are spoken of as dharma-paśu, which the scholiast in the Bombay edition interprets as = dharma-marga-viddham lokāyati-maṭivalabhanam, i.e., "opposed to righteousness, and derived from the tenets of the Lokāyastikas." The words are those: kaḥ kasya purvaṁ bandhaṁ kim āryaṁ kasya kaṁchit āko hi jñayate junctar ekaṁ eko vinyayati | 4 | tamśa mātā pitaṁ cheti Rāma sajota yo naraḥ | unnattaṁ āva so jayaṁ nati kočhīd hi kasyachit | 3. "What person is the relation of any (other)? what affinity has any one with another? For a creature is born alone, and perishes alone. 4. Whosoever,
as real relations); delusion alone creates them. 20. Betake thyself to Purusha, the divine Janardana, who dwells in the heart of all creatures, Vasudeva, the preceptor of the world. 21. Hari, who compassionates the afflicted, will fulfill 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 (payo-erata) 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.)—Tvaayarchita chaham apatya-guptaye payo-
vratenanugyanam samiditah | svamiona puratam upetya te sulan gop-
tamim Maritaka-topasy adhikshitah | 19. Upadhava patim bhadre praja-
patim akalmasam | maha bhavayati patyao evamrupam aavasthitam |
20. Naitat paraasai akhyeyam prihjayam 'pi kathamhana | sarvaam sam-
pradayati devi deva-gihaam avangavitam | 21. Suka uchaka | etavad
uktva bhagavam tatraivantaradhyata | Aditir durdabham labdhvaa Harer
jnanatmane prabhoh | upadhavaat patim bhaktya paraya krita-kritya-vat |
22. So vai samadhishoena Kasyapas taad abhidyata | pravihitam utmane
Harer anana hy avaitakshayah | 23. So 'dityam vrtym adhata topaa
chira-sambhiratam | samadhita-manah rajas daru vyagam yatha 'nimal |

"\n\nWorshipped 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 Mârtha (Kasyapa). 19. Wait, virtuous female, upon thy husband, the sinless Prajapati, 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 'aparam' in verse 3, which I have rendered by "affinity," according to the Vedic sense of the term, is explained by the commentator as =piaparam, "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 kriyam instead of aparam, 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 Visthū, in his character as one of the Ādityas, also, was the son of Kaśyapa and Aditi (see above, p. 118 ff.). The connexion with the old legend is therefore preserved here, as well as in the story given in the Bombay edition of the Rāmāyāṇa, above, pp. 132 and 134.

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

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

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

(Sect. 18, v. 28 ff.)—Tat-pāda-buṣchaṁ jana-kalmaśaṇaṁ sa dharmavaṇ mūrḍhnā adhāt sumangalam | yad deva-deva Giriśā candra-maulir dadhāra mūrḍhnā parayā cha bhaktāyā | 29. Balir vācha | svāgataṁ te nāmas tuḥhyam brahmaṇ kiṁ karaṇaṁ te | brahmaṁ śrīnāṁ toṇaḥ sākāhād manyo te aryā vapur-dharam | . . . . 32. Yad yad baṣo vānchhasi tat pratīkoḥma te tvāṁ arthinam vipra-sūtānutkaye | gaṁ

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.
FORM OF A DWARFISH BRAHMAN STUDENT.

k̻aṇchanaṁ guṇavad dhāma mṛīṣṭaṁ tathā 'nna-peyam uta vā viprakanyām | grāmāṁ samṛiddhāṁ turaṅgān gajān vā rashāṁ tathā 'ṛhatāma sampratītthaḥ | 28. "Acquainted with duty, he placed upon his head the auspicious water with which the Brahman's feet had been washed, which removes the sins of men, and which Giriṣa (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:


27. Tasmāt trīni padāṇy eva vṛīṇe tvad varadārshabhāt | stāvataiva siddho 'ham vittāṁ yacat prayažanam | 28. Sukaḥ uvācha | ity uktaṁ sa hasanṁ āha vānchhītam pratigrīhyatāṁ | vāmaṇāya mahīṁ dātuṁ jagrāṁ jala-bhājanam |

"Wherefore I ask from thee, the chief of the bountiful, a small portion of ground, three paces, lord of the Daityas, measured by my step. 17. I desire nothing more from thee, the generous lord of the world. A wise man incurs no sin when he asks [only] as much as he needs.
18. Bali answered: 'Thy words, son of a Brahman, are such as beseech an old man. Thou art a youth, with the mind of a stripling, and like one ignorant regarding his own interest. 19. He is not wise who, having by words revered 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 satisfied 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.'

Uśanās, 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:


139 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 proktam yan nety āhānītaṁ hi tat
| 39. Satyam pushpa-phalāṁ vidyād ātma-vriksahāya jivatāḥ \ vriksa
| ḍevati tan na syād anirūtam mūlam ātmanaḥ \ 40. Tad yatāḥ vrikṣaḥ
| unmālaḥ hukṣyate udevratā 'chirāt \ evam nasiṁānītaḥ sadyaḥ ātmā
dsukhod na saṁśayaḥ \ 41. Paraḥ rīktaṁ apūrṇam vair akṣaraṁ yat
tad "om" iti \ yat kinchid "om" iti brāyat tena richyeta vai pumān
| 42. Bhikṣhau sarvam om kuruṇān nālaṁ kāmena chātmane \ atihaitat
| pūrṇam abhyātmaṁ yac ca nety anirūtam vachaḥ \ 43. Sarvaṁ nety
| anirūtam brāyat sa dushkīrthā śaśan mṛitaḥ \ strīsu narma-vivekha cha
| vṛityo-artha praṇa-sankaṭaḥ \ go-brahmāṇārtha hiṁsāyāṁ nāṁrītaṁ syāy
jugupṣitaṁ |

29. "Uśanas, chief of the wise, knowing Vishńu'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 Vishńu himself, born of Kaśyapa and Aditi, [to be]
the fulfiller of the purposes of the gods. 31. That ill-advised
promise which thou, unwittingly, hast made to him, is not, I con-
sider, to the advantage of the Daityas;—a great error has been com-
mittod. 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 Vishńu? 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 pro-
erty into five parts destined severally for purposes of religion, renown,
personal interest, pleasure and family support, is happy in this world
as well as in the next.\footnote{The drift of verses 38 ff., which are founded upon a passage of the Veda quoted
by the commentator, is thus explained by him: \textit{Namo taraḥ pratisṛtya "na" iti}}

143
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 anritam vācyam | tatā ṛṣaśārdhaśaśārdhyatiḥ | atrūpi satyānṛta-śayatasthyāyam bahūriñcāstra-śrutāḥ hi prathamam "om" iti satyam "na" iti anṛtam" ity udiṇa satyānṛtanayor lakṣana-pūrvaśāṁ stuti-nimābhivyāṁ satyāṁ evitam anṛtāṁ cha nishriddham anantarām cha "parāy vai etad riktaṃ akṣaram" ityudāṁ satya doshāṁ anṛtā cha gaṇān uktvā "tasmat kāle eva dadyāt kāle na dadyāt tath satyānṛte mithunikaroṭi" ity upasamāhāreṇa vṛtti-samkāṣṭaśāṁ anṛtām apy anyaṃtāmaṃ tam imaṃ śrut-yārthaṃ darsanaṃ ākā "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 these 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 Bahūricea-Sṛuti (Rigveda Brāhmaṇa or Upanishad, unknown to me), as quoted by the commentator in his notes on verses 40, 41, and 42 of this passage, are as follows: "Om" iti satyam "na" iti anṛtam | tad etat pushpaṃ phalaṃ vācāḥ yat satyam | sa ha śvaro yaśasvī kalpita-kirtir bhavatiḥ | pushpaṃ hi phalaṃ vācāḥ satyam evadā | atha etad mūlaṃ vācāḥ yad anṛtam | tad yathā vṛkṣaḥ avāraṇāḥ étvāyati sa udevaritam evam eva anṛtām cādānam udiṇuṣṭām ātmānaṃ karoti sa āśvatiyati sa udevaritam | tamād anṛtam naved dayeta te enema | [anena te anṛtamaṃ "dayeta" sankṣetraśāṁ ātmānaṃ rakṣade iti śrut-yārtho | Comm.] parāy vai etad riktaṃ akṣaram yad etad "om" iti | tad yat kinccha "om" ity ahā atrā eva avmai tad richyte | sa yat sarvam "om" kuryā vṛkṣaḥ ātmānaḥ sa kāmāśya nīlāṃ śvāt | Atha etat pūrṇaḥ abhyātmāyād "na" iti | sa yat sarvam "na" iti brūyāt pāpakā "eya kīrtir jñayeta" sa ānena tatra eva āsyaḥ | Tusmat kāle eva dadyāt kāle na dadyāt tath satyānṛte mithunikaroṭi | "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 enema 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."
Bali Disobeys His Preceptor and Is Cursed by Him. 145

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 disobedient, yet wise and true to his promise; [saying], 15. ‘Though thou regardest thyself as extremely learned, thou art ignorant and stubborn in thy contempt of us: but thou who transgressed 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 ablation. 18. Next the offerer of the sacrifice, after himself washing with delight the blessed feet [of the Brāhman], 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.
146 Avanejanīnam apāṁ | 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 rūpam avardhatādāhutaṁ Harer anantaṣya guṇa-trayaṁtakam | bhūḥ khaṁ diśo dyaur vivarāḥ payodhayas tīryaṁ-nṛi-dvāhaṁ rishayo yaḥ aṣaṭa | "That dwarfish body of the infinite Hari, consisting of the three qualities, increased miraculously, [that body] in which were comprehended the earth, the air, the points of the compass, the sky, the abysses, the oceans, brutes, men, gods and rishis."

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

(Sect. 20, v. 33.)—Kṣititam padaikena Baler vichakrame nabhaṁ bārtraṇa dīśācha bāhubhīḥ | padaṁ dvātiyam kramatas triyūṭapam na vai śrītyāya tadiyam aṣu api | urukramasyānghir upary upary ato maharjanāḥbhīyam tapasaḥ paraṁ gataḥ | "He traversed the earth of Bali with one pace; and [occupied] the air with his body and the points of the compass with his arms. His second pace, as he strode, [filled] the heaven; and not even the minutest fraction of it remained for a third pace. The foot of the wide-striding deity rose upwards and upwards, and then reached beyond the Mahar-, Jana-, and Tapo-lokas."

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


143 See Wilson’s Viṣṇu Purāṇa (p. 48, note, and p. 213 = pp. 96, vol. i., and 226, vol. ii., of Dr. Hall’s ed.) for an account of these Lokas.
victory, the occasion of great festivity, with sound of kettledrums, in all the regions. 9. Beholding the whole earth taken from their master when consecrated for sacrifice, by an artful request for three paces of ground, the Asuras, greatly incensed, exclaimed: 10. ‘This is certainly not a petty Brahman, but Vishnu, the chief of magicians; disguised under the form of a twice-born man, he seeks to accomplish the purposes of the gods. 11. By this enemy, in the form of a supplicant student, has been taken all the property of our master, who had laid down his sceptre on the sacrificial grass. 12. Untruth cannot be uttered by one who is always devoted to truth—especially when he is consecrated,—by one who is pious and compassionate. 13. Wherefore it is our duty to slay him (the dwarf), and obey our master:”—so saying, the Asuras, followers of Bali, seized their weapons. 14. Against the wish of Bali, they all ran, infuriate, pikes and axes in hand, to slay the dwarf.”

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


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: pratīrūtya-yādīnena yo 'rthinām vipralambhate | “who deceives a supplicant by not giving him what had been promised.”
BALI SENT TO THE INFERNAL REGIONS.

labha dadamati teyā 'hem chaḍhya-māmin | tad-vaṭāka-phalam bhunkāha nirayaṁ katuḥit samāh | 26. "Then Virāt (Garuḍa), the son of Tārkṣhya, knowing the purpose of the lord, bound Bali with the bonds of Varuṇa" at the sacrifice on the day of the Soma libation. 27. A great lamentation arose in all the quarters of the two worlds (heaven and earth), when the Lord of the Aśuras was seized by the puissant Viṣṇu. 28. Him bound with the bonds of Varuṇa, whose prosperity was destroyed, but whose understanding was firm, and whose renown was vast, the divine dwarf thus addressed: 29. ‘Aśura, three paces of ground were given to me by thee: with two paces the entire world has been traversed: find a place for the third. 30. This world of thine extends as far as that [sun] warms with his beams, as far as the moon shines with the stars, as far as Purjanya rains. 31. With one pace I traversed the region of the earth, and [occupied] the air and regions with my body; and whilst thou wast looking on, I [traversed] the sky with a second [pace, filling] thy possessions with myself. 32. As thou hast not given what was promised, it is my pleasure that thou shalt dwell in the infernal regions; enter therefore thither, with the approbation of thy preceptor. 33. That man’s desires are frustrated, and he falls downward, far from heaven, who, after promising to a Brahman, does not deliver to him what he had solicited. 34. I have been deluded by thee, thinking thyself wealthy, when thou saidst ‘I give.’ Endure the infernal regions for some years as the penalty of that deceit.’”

Bali answers as follows (sect. 22):

(Sect. 22, v. 2).—-Tady uttama-tīka bhavān mameritaṁ vacco vyaṭkāṁ sura-varya manyaṁ | karomy ritaṁ tad na bhavet pratambhenaṁ pādaṁ trītyaṁ kuru śirahni me vijim | 3. Bābhemi nāhaṁ nirayaṁ pada-ḥyuto na pāśa-bandhād ojasanād duratyayāt | na śvārthā-kriṣhhrād bhavato vinigrāhāt astābhu-vādād bhṛisam udviṣa 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-

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See Manu, vii. 82; ix. 308. In R. V. vii. 65, 3, Mitra and Varuṇa are said to be bhūri-pādaṁ amritaṁ yam | “barriers against falsehood, furnished with many nooses.”—See Roth’s article on the principal gods of the Aryan nations, “Journal of the German Oriental Society,” vol. vi. p. 78, and the fifth volume of this work, pp. 57, 66,
fortune difficult to escape, nor loss 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 next 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).—Eṣa dānava-dāityānām agraśīḥ kṛti-vardhanaḥ | ajāsātīd ajayām nāyām sidam api na muhyati | 29. Kshiti-rikhitāt  

ehyutāh sthānaḥ kshipto baddhāscha bātrabhīḥ | jñātāhāsca pariśtyakte  

yātanām anuyāpitaḥ | 30. Gurusāh kharṣitaḥ kapi to jahau satyām na  

svavatāḥ | chhalair uktā maṇi dharmaḥ [quere dharmam?] nāyām  

tyajati satyāvah | 31. Eṣa me prāpiṭhā sthānaṁ duḥṣpryām amaryār  

api | Sāvarṇar antarasyāyam bhavitendro mad-āravyāḥ | 32. Tāvast  

sutalam adhyāṣṭāṁ Viśvakarma-vinirmitam | yan nādiyo vyādhayaścica  

klamas tāndra parābhavah | nopasargaḥ nivāsatām sambhavanti mamsa-  

chhayaḥ |

28. “This chief of the Dānavas and Dāiyas, 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 incalculable 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 Sāvarṇa Manvantara. 32. Meanwhile let him occupy Sutala, formed by Viśvakarman, where, by my will, neither mental nor bodily pains, nor fatigue, nor weariness, nor discomfiture, nor diseases afflict the inhabitants.”

(Sect. 23, v. 2).—Bali replies thus: Aho pragāmāya kṛitaḥ samud-yamāḥ prepanma-bhaktārtha-vidhan samāhitāḥ | yat lokāyalois toutamagraho nivārār abaddha-pārvo 'pasado 'svro 'rpiṭaḥ | 3. Suṣaḥ wāccha | ity uktā Harināmāya Brahmāgām na-Bhavan tataḥ | viveda Sutalam prito Baliḥ muktah sadānurāḥ | 2. “O, even the effort made to adore

347 If we should read dharmam instead of dharmaḥ, 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 Brahman, and to Bhava (Siva), Bali, being released, entered Sutala with joy, along with the Asuras.” Vishnu now addresses Usanas, the priest of Bali:


15. Sukra (Usanas) replied: ‘How can there be any irregularity in that ceremony of which thou art the lord, the lord of sacrifice, the sacrificial Man, adored in every aspect? 16. Whatever defects there may be in respect of texts, of order, of place, of time, of persons, or of materials,—the mere celebration of thee obliterates them all. 17. Nevertheless, great being, I shall fulfill the injunction which thou utterest: this is the highest happiness of men, to obey thy commands.’ 18. Having assented to the order of Hari, the divine Usanas, with the Brahman-rishis, rectified the irregularities of Bali’s sacrifice. 19. Having in this manner begged the earth from Bali, the dwarf Hari gave [back] to his brother Mahendra the heaven which had been taken from him by his enemies.”

148 Vishnu is called Upendra (the inferior or younger Indra), the brother of Mahendra, the great Indra.—See above, p. 133, line 6 from the bottom.
REFERENCES TO THE HARIヴァMS'A, AGNI AND MATSYA PURAŃAS. 151

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

(Sect. 23, v. 20).—Prajápati-patir Brahmá devarshi-pitri-bhúmpaiḥ| Daksha-Bhrígu-Angiru-mukhyaíḥ Kumáraṇa Bhavema cha | 21. Kaśyapa-pasyáditeḥ prityai sarva-bhúta-bhavaya cha | lokánám loka-pálanám akarod vámanam patiṁ | 22. Vedánám sarva-deva-náṁ dharmasya yávasaḥ śriyaḥ | mangalánám ektánánca kalpaṁ svargá-pavargayoh | 23. Upen-dráṁ kalpáyanahakro patiṁ sarva-vibhútyaḥ | tadd sarvágí bhútáni bhúddam mumudres nripa | 20. “Brahmá, the lord of the Prajápatis, together with the gods, rishis, pitrís, with Daksha, Bhrígu, Angiras, and other lords of the earth, with Kumára, and Bhava, 21. with a view to the gratification of Kaśyapa and Aditi, and the good of all creatures, made the Dwarf master of the worlds and of the guardians of the worlds. 22, 23. He made Upendra (Viśnú) 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 Viśnú, 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 Puráña, iv. 58–11, and is either referred to, or narrated more or less diffusely, in the Harivaṁśa, 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 Puráña are devoted to the same subject.148 I give an abstract of the 47th section, in which Viśnú’s incarnations are enumerated.149 It is here stated that it was in consequence of a curse pronounced by Bhrígu (as we shall

148 See Prof. Anrècht’s Catalogue, p. 425. The Matsya Puráña has been lithographed and published at Bombay, with a Mahrattí explanation; but the portion containing the sections in question has not yet reached me.

149 In verse 9 it is said that Kaśyapa was a portion of Brahmá, and Aditi of the Earth (Brahmanah Kaśyapas te aññaḥ Prithiviyaḥ te Aditir satkā).
see further on) that Viṣṇu 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 Prahlāda had been overcome, and Indra had gained the empire of the three worlds, Sukra, the priest of the Asuras, left them and went to the gods. They, however, entreated him not to desert them, when he reassured them by the promise of his support (vv. 60 ff.). They were nevertheless attacked by the gods, and again resorted to Sukra; when their assailants left them. Sukra then referred to their former discomfitures, counselled them to wait for a favourable turn of fortune, and declared his intention to resort to Mahādeva and obtain certain sacred texts which would insure their victory (vv. 65 ff.). They then promised to the gods to desist from hostilities and betake themselves to austerities (vv. 73 ff.). Sukra accordingly went to Mahādeva and asked for texts more powerful than those possessed by Bṛhaspati, the priest of the gods; when the deity directed him to perform a painful rite, imbibing the smoke of chaff (ksaṇa-dhāma) 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.). Viṣṇu, however, now interposed, and desired Indra to enter into him (Viṣṇu). This provoked the goddess, who threatened to burn them up. Indra called upon Viṣṇu to aly her before she could carry her threat into effect. Viṣṇu, though hesitating to kill a female, cut off her head with his weapon (v. 95 ff.). Viṣṇu 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

110 Compare Tāṇḍya Mahābhrāthmya, vii. 6, 20: Uṣāvī vai Kṣīva ‘swaṇāṁ purohitāḥ āśi iti tam dvōḥ kūmaṇghābhāh (kūmaṇghābhāh gobhiḥ) [Comm.] upā-mantrayunab | tasmōi stāṇy avāṇāmi prāyaḥkham | kūmaṇghāḥ vai avāṇāmi | "Uṣāvī Kṣīva was the priest of the Asuras. The gods invited him with milch cows. They gave him these Asāṇa texts. Asāṇa texts are milch cows.”

111 I have to thank Prof. Aufrecht for pointing out an explanation of this phrase given by the commentator on the Kālī Khaṇḍa of the Śkaṇḍa Pur. 16, 2, viz. Kāṇḍī khaṇḍītās tṛṇaḥāvachās avāṇām dānām |
the good of the world when unrighteousness prevails: 102 (vv. 102-103) 

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. 

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
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, Devayanti, 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 Prahrada, 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-
declared by Brahmā having then expired. In the Sāvargī Manvantara, however, they were destined to regain supremacy, and Bali, grandson of Prahrāda, would become lord of the worlds. Another boon was destined for Prahrāda, which Brahmā had forbidden Sukra to reveal (vv. 201 ff.). Elated by this prediction of their future ascendancy, the Asuras desired to anticipate the time of its realization, and challenged the gods to battle. A combat ensued, which lasted for a thousand years, at the end of which the Asuras were victorious. The gods then took counsel together, and invited Sādqa 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. Sādqa and Marka accepted the invitation, and the gods conquered the Asuras; who, being forsaken by these two priests, and undergoing the consequences of Sukra’s curse, were expelled by their adversaries from the upper world, and entered the infernal regions [226. Yajnopāh-vaya màs tatu tato jayāyāmaha 'surān | tadopāmantrayaṇ deveḥ Sāṇḍāmankau tu tās udbhau | 227. yaṁ chāhāya tu praktau “tyajetām asurān deveḥ | yevāḥ yuvāṃ bhajisyāmaha saja jītā tu dānavaṇ” | 228. evam kriyāhīrathī tatu Sāṇḍāmankau suras tathā | tatu devaḥ jayam prāpur dānavaḥ cha parājitatāḥ | 229. Sāṇḍāmanka-prityaktāḥ dānavaḥ hy abalās tathā | evam daityāḥ pura Kāvyā-kāpanāhīhātās tada | 230. Kāvyā-kāpanāhīhātās te niradhārāḥ cha sarvadāḥ | nirasyamanāḥ devoteḥ | cha viviśu te rāṣṭatām | ] (vv. 223 ff.). In consequence of Sukra’s curse, which operated periodically, Vishṇu was born time after time, (see above, p. 152), after a decline of righteousness, which he re-established, destroying the Asuras. For Brahmā had decreed that all those Asuras who should be disobedient to Prahrāda should be slain by men (231. tateḥ-prabhṛiti śāpena Bṛigor naimittikena tu | 232. yajne punah punar Vishṇur dharme prāśithiḥ prabhūḥ | kuruva dharma-vyavasthānam asurāgam pranāknam | 233. Prahrādasya niṣṭe tu na etāṃṣyanti asurāḥ cha ye | manushya-badhyās te sarve Brahma eyāharat prabhūḥ | Vishṇu’s incarnations are then enumerated (verses

128 See the fifth volume of this work, p. 280, note.
129 Regarding Prahrāda, or Prahlāda, see Wilson’s Vishṇu 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. Etāṁ tiereḥ smṛtāṁ tasya 
dīvaḥ sambhāteye dvijāḥ | mānushāḥ sapta yānāt (sic.) tu tāpaajas 
tāḥ nibodhata). These seven are (4) the Dattātreya, (5) Mānḍhātri, 
(6) Paraśurāma, (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 
Krishṇa.) The Bhāgavata Purāṇa gives twenty-two incarnations 
(i. 3, 1 ff.) viz.: Those in the forms of (1) Puruṣa, (2) Varāha or 
the Boar, (3) Nārada, (4) Nara and Nārāyaṇa, (5) Kapila, (6) Dattā-
treya, (7) Yajña or Sacrifice, (8) Bishabhā, (9) Prithu, (10) Matsya 
or the Fish, (11) Kūrma or the Tortoise, (12 and 13), Dhanvantari, 
(14) Narasimha or the Man-lion, (15) Vāmana or the Dwarf, (16) 
Paraśurāma, (17) Vedavyāsa, (18) Rāma, (19 and 20) Balarāma and 
Krishṇa, (21) Buddha, and (22) Kalki. These last two are represented 
as future. But the incarnations of Vaiṣṇava are innumerable, like the 
rivulets flowing from an inexhaustible lake. Bhishma, Manu, gods, 
sons of Manu, Prajāpatis are all portions of him (verse 26. Avatāraḥ 
ḥy asankhoyāḥ Hariḥ satteva-nilokher dvijāḥ | yathā ’ vidāsinaḥ kuryāḥ 
svasāḥ syuḥ sahasraśaḥ | 27. rishayo manavo devaḥ manu-purtāḥ 
mahayujjāsaḥ | kalāḥ sarve Haraḥ eva saprajāpatayasya tathā).

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

From the passages adduced in the preceding pages, it is clear that 
Vaiṣṇava 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 Yāsaka himself, nor Śākapūrī and Aurnāvābha, the ancient 
interpreters of the Veda, whose opinions he quotes, assigned to Vaiṣṇava 
yet 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. 64, 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 Vaiśṇav is not one. As the passage from which this latter excerpt was made is of great interest and importance, I shall quote it here at length:

Nir. 7, 4.—Tad yo 'nādiśeṣa-devataḥ mantras teṣu devatopapértkhaḥ | yad-devataḥ sa yajno va yajnāṅgaḥ va tad-devataḥ bhavanti | etah anyatra yajnāt prajāpatiḥ iti yajnikāḥ | nāraśasmin iti nairuktāḥ | api va sa kāma-devataḥ svāt práyō-devataḥ va | asti hy añārya bahulaṁ loka deva-devatyaṁ atithi-devatyaṁ pitṛi-devatyaṁ | yajna-devatva mantraḥ iti | api hy devataḥ devatāvat stāyante | yathā 'teṣa-prabhūrityo oṣadhi-paryantāṁ athāpy aṣṭam na devadevāni | sa na manyata āgantāṁ iev arthāṁ devatānāṁ pratyakṣa-ārāṁyam etad bhavaiti | mahābhāgyad devatāyaḥ śkaḥ atma bahudha stāyate | oṣaṁy ātmāno 'nva devāḥ pratyayānāṁ bhavanti | api eva satato na prakriyā-ḥūmabhīr rishayaḥ stvānti ity ātuḥ | prakriyā-sāravānāmbhyāḥ cha itaratra-jnanāno bhavanti itaratra-prakriyāḥ karma-jannānaḥ atma-jannānaḥ | atma eva evaṁ ratho bhavevaḥ atma ṭvāḥ atmaḥ "yuddham atmaṁ ishayaḥ atmaṁ sarvaṁ devaṁ" | 5. Tīraḥ eva devatāḥ iti nairuktāḥ Agnih prāhīva-tāno Vyāv eva Adro eva 'ntarikṣa-ṣṭhānaḥ Śūryo dyu-ṣṭhānaḥ | tāsaṁ mahābhāgyad ekaikasyāḥ api bahūṁ nāmāḥ dhvanyāni bhavanti | api eva karma-prithikteva yathā hotā 'dhavaryuḥ brahmā udgāta ity api oṣaṁy santāḥ | api eva prithaḥ eva suyāḥ | prithag hi stutayaḥ bhavanti tathā 'bhidhanāni | yatho etat-"karma-prithiktevaād" iti bahavo 'pi viśajya karmaṁ kuryaḥ | tatra samsthānakataṁ sambhogaikatavam cha upokṣhitayam | yathā prithiyam manuṣyāḥ pavaḥ devāḥ iti ekaikatavaṁ | sambhogaikatavam cha dṛśyata yathā prithiyāḥ Purjanyena cha Vyāv-Ādītyābhyaṁ cha sambhoga 'gnīna cha ekaikata lokasyā | tatra etat nara-rāṣṭram eva | 6. Ṭāha ākāra-ekṣitaṁ devatānām | puruṣa-vidhāḥ syuṛ ity ekam | chetanācād-vad hi stutayaḥ bhavanti tathā 'bhidhanāni | athāpi puruṣa-vidhikair ānagāḥ samstāyante | "pādevaḥ te Indra sthāviraṁ bāha" (R. V. vi. 47, 8); "yat sangriśbhāḥ maghavan kaśiṁ it te" (R. V. iii. 30, 5) | athāpi puruṣa-vidhikair draśvya-saṁyogaḥ | "ā devdaḥṁ khaṁ kharāḥyāṁ Indra yāhi" (R. V. ii. 18, 4); "kalyaṁīr jayaṁ suṣraṁ gīha te" (R. V. iii. 53, 6) | athāpi puruṣa-vidhikaiḥ draśvya-saṁyogaḥ | "ā devdaḥṁ khaṁ kharāḥyāṁ Indra yāhi" (R. V. x. 116, 2); "āḥudkarna śrudhī havam" (R. V. i. 10, 9) | 7. Apyuṣa-vidhāḥ syuṛ ity aparāṁ | api tu yaṁ dṛśyate 'puruṣa-vidhāṁ tat | yathā 'gnīr vāyur ādītyāḥ prithiv chandramāḥ iti | yatho etat"chetanācād-vad hi stutayo bhavanti" ity achetanāny
apy evam sthānte yathā 'keha-prabhṛtiṇy osahādi-parvāntani | yathō
etat "paurusā-vidhiḥkair angaśiḥ samātāya" ity ahaṭanaha evy evad
bhavati | "ahhi kramanti haritebhīr āsaḥbhīr" iti grāva-stutīḥ | yathō
etat "paurusā-vidhiḥkair ārexva-samyogair" ity evad api tādṛṣīsam eva |"sukhaṁ rathāṁ yuṣyuṁ sindhur āśvinam" iti nadi-stutīḥ | yathō etat
"paurusā-vidhiḥkair karmabhīr" ity evad api tādṛṣīsam eva | "hotuḥ chīt
pūraḥ havir adyaṁ āśata" iti grāva-stutīr eva | api cha udbhaya-viṣṇuṁ
syuḥ | api vapi puruṣa-viśhikāṁ eva satam karmaṁ āpam eva nyuḥ | yathā
yajno yajamanasya | esa cha akhyāna-samayaḥ | 8. Tīraḥ eva devatāḥ
ity uktam puratāt | tāsam bhakti-sāhacharyam evākhyānāmaḥ | aha
etūṇy Agni-bhaktiny aṣayām lokah prataḥ-savanām vasanto gāyatrim trivīrt-
stomō ratantarām sāma ye cha deva-gaṇeḥ samāṁnaṁ prathama eṁhā 
gnāry prithiv goodbye ita iti stīryah | aha asya karma vaḥanaḥ cha havishām
avahanaḥ cha devatāṇāṁ yah cha kinhid dārśiti-viśhayikam Agni-
karma eva tat | aha asya samaśtavikāḥ devāḥ Indraḥ Soma Varuṇaḥ
Parjanyaḥ pitaṃkṛḥ | Āgnā-vaśyayām havir na tu rīk samaśūkhi
dastayitūḥ vidyate | aha apy Āgnā-Pauruṣyaḥ havir na tu samaśtāvaḥ |
tatra etūṇy viśhakti-stutim rīcham udāharanti (B. V. x. 17, 8) 9. "Pusāh
tva itaḥ chhayaaveda pra vidvān anashṭapausr bhīvanasya gopāḥ | sa tva
stebhayah paridadat pitriḥbhīyo Agni devabhīyam svaidatriyebhayah" |
"Pusāh tvā itaḥ prachhavyayatu videvān anashṭapausr bhīvanasya gopāḥ |
yty esa hi sarvashām bhūtanām gopayita Ādityaḥ | "sa tva stebhayah 
pari damat pitriḥbhīyo" iti sāmvayikas trītyaḥ pādaḥ | Pusāh puratāt
trasya avādaśaḥ ity oṃk Agni upariśhāt trasya prakṛtanā ity 
aparam | "Agni devabhīyam svaidatriyebhayah" | svaidatrāṁ dhānan
bhavati vindater ekopāsaṛgya daññater vā syād devuṣāṣārgatā | 10.
atha etūṇi Indra-bhaktiny antaviśeṣa-loko māhāyānaṁ savanām 
grihams triśṭup pānchasāna-stomō bṛhat-sāyaḥ ye cha deva-gaṇeḥ 
samāṁnaṁ māhāyāmaṁ eṁhā yāscha stīryah | aha asya karma raś-
nupradānaṁ Vṛitra-cadho ya cha kā cha bala-kritir Indra-karma eva tat |
atha asya samaśtvikāḥ devāḥ Agniḥ Soma Varuṇaḥ Pusāh Bṛhaśpatīr
Brahmanapatiḥ Parvātaḥ Kusō Vīṣṇur Vāyuḥ | aha api Miṭro
Varuṇena samaśtāyaḥ | Pusāṅa Ruhṛena cha Somaḥ | Agniṇa cha Pusāḥ |
Vātena cha Parjanyaḥ | 11. Atha etūṇy Āditya-bhaktiny asau lokas
triśṭya-savanāṁ vairuḥ jagatv saṁpadasāna-stomo vairuṣaṁ sāma ye cha
deva-gaṇeḥ samāṁnaṁ uttama eṁhā yāscha stīryah | aha asya karma 
rasāndanāṁ rasmiḥhi cha rasādhāraṇaṁ yah cha kinhit pravahitam
SEVENTH SECTION OF THE NIRUKTA.

Aditya-karma eva tat | Chandramase Vayunam Suhvatasaena iti sahettavaḥ |
eteho eva athana-vyuheshvo ritu-chhandah-stoma-prishthasya bhakti-bhavan
anukalpayita | karad-anushubhakaviśka-stomo vairājām sāma iti prīhivy-
āyatanāni | hemantaḥ pankits triṇava-stomaḥ bākvaram sāma ity antari-
khāyatanāni | tiṣṭro 'tiichhandāś trayas-trimśa-stomo raivatam sāma iti ṛju-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, according to the ritualists (yājnikāḥ), addressed to Prajāpati; according to the etymologists (nairuktāḥ), they are spoken in praise of men. Or in such cases the deity may be an optional one, or a class of deities for it is a very prevalent practice to [classify rites] as those which have a god, a guest, or a progenitor, respectively, for their deity. In reference to what has been said that hymns are sacrificial, and addressed to a god, [it is to be remarked that] beings other than gods are lauded as gods, as e.g. the objects beginning with horses and ending with herbs (see 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.

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

125 This is the sense assigned to prīyo-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 udgāṭṛi, 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

187 Compare Taitt. Sanh., vi. 6, 8, 3: Indra-Vāyu hi savyāna | "For Indra and Vāyu are closely united."
praised as intelligent beings,'—it is also true that senseless things are in like manner praised, as the objects beginning with dice and ending with herbs (Nigh. 5, 3; Nir. 3, 7 ff.). Again, as [regards the remark] that the gods are ‘celebrated with members such as those of men,'—the same thing is done in the case of senseless objects, as stones are celebrated in the words, ‘They cry with their ruddy mouths’ (R. V. x. 94, 2). Further, the same is the case as [regards the remark] that the gods are [celebrated] ‘with the accompaniment of material objects such as those possessed by men,' for a river is praised in the words, ‘The Sindhu has yoked his beautiful car drawn by steeds’ (R. V. x. 75, 9). And the same thing applies to the remark that the gods are described with ‘functions similar to those of men,' for stones are lauded in the words, ‘Even before the priests they have eaten food of melted butter’ (R. V. x. 94, 2). Or the gods may be described under both forms (either as having, or as not having, a human form). Or, again, when they are described as similar to men, this may be merely in their character of actors in a particular function, as sacrifice is only the [temporary] act of the man who offers it. This is the condition of all narrations.125

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, Prīthivī, 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

125 The commentator Durga (as I learn from Prof. Roth's note, Illust. of Nir. p. 104) refers this observation to the Mahābārata, 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 Vāsudeva and Arjuna respecting the Khāṇḍaṇva 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 Vanaparvan, verses 8079 ff.

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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 Pūshana, 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 Pūshana, 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 Pūshana, who had been named before; or, on the other hand, it may be a celebration of Agni, who is mentioned afterwards. Suvidatra (from which svavidatriyobhyaḥ in the fourth clause, "May Agni," etc., comes) means 'wealth,' and is either derived from vid, 'to find,' with one preposition (sv), or from da, 'to give,' with two prepositions (sv and sv).

10. "The following are the objects connected with Indra's domain: viz. the atmosphere, the midday oblation, summer, the triṣṭubh metre, the panchaṣṭa 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, Pūshan, Bṛihaspati, Brahmaṇaspati, Parvata, Kutea, Vishnū, and Vāyu. Further, Mitra is lauded along with Varuṇa, Soma with Pūshan and Rudra, Pūshan with Agni, and Parjanya with Vāta.

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

"[The student] is to class the remaining seasons, metres, stomas, and prabhās (particular sāma formulae) under [one or other of] the [three] spheres above mentioned. Autumn, the anuṣṭubh metre, the ekavinsa stoma, and the vairāja sāma, belong to the sphere of earth. The early winter, the pankti metre, the triṇava stoma, and the sākvara sāma, belong to the atmospheric sphere. The later winter, the ati-
chhandas metre, the trayastrinás stoma, and the raivata sāma, are
connected with the celestial sphere.”

It will be observed that in the preceding classification of the gods,
the principal places are assigned to Agni, Vāyu, or Indra, and Sūrya,
who appear therefore to have been regarded in the time of Yāska as
the triad of deities in whom the supreme spirit was especially revealed.
Vishṇu 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 Brahmadeva, Vishṇu 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 Brahma,
Vishṇu 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 Brahaddevatā, in which the views
of Yāska are repeated, are derived from Weber’s Ind. Stud. i. 113 f.:

Brahaddevatā, i. 13.— *Bhavad-bhuta [sva bhā] vyasya jangama-sthāvar-
asya cha | asyaikā sūryam evaikam prabhavam pralayam viduḥ | asatās
cha sataḥ chaiva yonir esa Prajāpatiḥ | yad aksharam cha vākhyatā (?) cha
yathaiva Brahmadeva śatam | kṛita nāḥ hi tridhā ’’tmānam eshu lokahu
tishṭhati | Ibid. i. 14 . . . tīrṇaḥ evaḥ devatāḥ | stāsām eva mahatmyād
nāṁnāṁtyavam vidhiyate | tath āha sūrya-viśākṣaḥ tatra tatre ṛṣiyate | i. 13: “Some consider Sūrya (the Sun) to be the only cause of the produc-
tion 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

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

From the passage cited above (p. 30 f.) from Manu, it appears that the word Nārāyaṇa is there applied to Brahmā, and that no mention whatever is made of Vishṇu, as concerned in the creation. In fact Vishṇu is only once mentioned 141 by Manu, viz. in the following verse xii. 121:

Manasindum tisah kroto krante Vishṇum bale Ḍūrum | vāchy Agnim Mitram utarego prajana cha Prajāpatim |
"[He may contemplate] in his mind the Moon (Indu), in his hearing the regions, in his stepping Vishṇu, in his strength Hara, in his voice Agni, in excretion Mitra, and in procreation Prajāpati."
Vishṇu 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 Vishṇu 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 Vishṇu 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 Vishṇu 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 these first-named works. In proof of this I adduce the following passage from the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 14, 1 ff. (Schlegel's

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

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

Rāmāyāna, i. 14, 1 ff.—Medhāvi tu tato dhyātvā sa kincidi idam uttaram | labāha-sanjanas[t] tatas tāṁ tu veda-jno nripam abraśvī | 2 | 183 issīṁ to ’nyāṁ karishyāṁ putriyāṁ putra-kāraṇāt | athavaivaīrās proktair mantraṁ siddhāṁ visiṁnataḥ | 3 | 184 tāṁ prachakrame karmataṁ issīṁ kāma-samvidhāya | tasya rāja hitānveshit Vībhāṣaka-suto vaśi | 4 | tatra devāh sa-gandharvāḥ Siddhāscha munibhiḥ saha | bhaga-pratigrahastham vai pāreṇ eva saṁgatāḥ | 5 | Brahmā saṅgāvah Stiṁnus tatha Nārāyaṇah prabhuh | Indrāḥ cha bhaṣavān sakhād Marud-gaṇa-giritas tathaḥ | 6 | aśambṛde mahāyajne rājnas tasya mahātmanāḥ | tatra bhāgārthino devān āgaṇat an bhayādehata | 7 | ayaṁ rājā Daśarathah putrārti taptaṁvaṁ tapaḥ | issīvaṁ aśambṛdeh bhaṇaṁ bhaddaṁy evaṁ bhavaṁ | 8 | issīṁ cha putra-kāmo ’nyāṁ punaḥ kartum samudyaṁ | tath aṣṭa putra-kāmasya prasādam karmataṁ arhatha | 9 | aḥsiṁcha cha vaḥ sarvaṁ aṣṭaṁ rājan kṛitaṁjaṁ | bhayaṁ aṣṭa chaṁrāṁ putrās trayokya-viṁrutāḥ | 10 | te tathāya abraśvan devāḥ rishi-putrāḥ kṛitaṁjaṁ | mānyaṁ yo si no vipra rājā chaiva visesūtaḥ | 11 | prāpsyate paramaṁ kāmam etasyeṣṭyā na rādhipaḥ | iṣu uktav

183 Labāha-sanjanāḥ samādy-utthitaḥ | Comm. in Bombay ed.
184 Bombay ed. reads te ’ham for te ’nyām.

184 The Bomb. ed. here reads: 3. Tāṁ prakramad issīṁ tāṁ putriyāṁ putra-kāraṇāt | jahīv apana cha tejāvi mantra-drīkṣena karmanā | 4 | tato devāḥ sa-gandharvāḥ siddhāḥ cha paramarshayaḥ | bhavaḥ | pratigrahasthaṁ vai samasetya yathāvidhi | 6 | tāḥ sametuḥ yathāmyayām tasmin sadiṁ devaṁ | abraśvan loka-kārtāram Brahmāṇam vacanaṁ tataḥ | 6 | Bhaṣavāḥ uttam-prasādena Rāvanaṁ niṁna rākṣasaḥ | sarvaṁ no bādhaṁ viṁraṁ śūṣṭum tāṁ na śaknumaḥ ] “He then began that sacrifice for the sake of obtaining a boon, 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 Rāvana distresses us all by his power, and we cannot subdue him.’” What follows corresponds in the main with the readings of Schlegel’s text.

This text, it will be noticed, differs in several points from Schlegel’s [and from Gorresio’s] in (a) not stating the gods to have been already present at the preceding sacrifice of the aśvamedha; (b) in not naming Brahmā, Stiṁnus (Mahādeva), and Nārāyaṇa (Vīśṇu) 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 186 below. This, however, would not prove that the whole section was not a prior interpolation. See further on.
'ntarhitah devaś tataḥ Śakra-puṇgarmaḥ | 12 | tāḥ samethya yathānyāyam
tamin sadasi devaśaḥ | abruvan loka-kartāram Brahmānaṁ vachanam
tataḥ | 13 | teva-pradhitara-vara Brahmaṁ Rāvaṁ naṁ rākṣasaḥ |
sarvaṁ na bādhate darpāś maharṣiṁ ca tapo-ratāṁ | 14 | tvayā hy asya
dvo-dāna-yakṣhāṁ abadhyō 'iti
kāmatāḥ | 15 | mānayaṁtaśaṁ ca vākyam sarvam asya sakāmaṁ |
sa bādhayaṁ lokāṁ trīṁ vihīman rākṣasavāraṁ |
| . . . . 19. Tad mahād
no bhayaṁ tasmād rākṣasad āhara-darśanat | badhārtham tasya bhagavann
upāyaṁ kartum arhasi | evam uktāṁ suvaiḥ sarvaiḥ chintayitvā tato
'bṛhat' | hantāyaṁ vihitam tasya badhopāyo durātmanāḥ | tena "gandhā
arva-yakṣhāṁ deva-dāna-rakṣasam | abadhyāṁ syāṁ" iti proktaṁ
tathetvi uktṁ cha tad mayā | āvaśyantya tu tad rākṣo manuṣhāṁ nāmra-
kirtayaṁ | tasmāt sa manuṣhād badhyo mṛityur nānyo 'syā vidgato | etacch
ekhruṭe priyam vāyam Brahmayā samudāhritam | devaṁ Śakra-puṇgar
nām karolād vajād vāyam sarvāḥ | etacmin antara Vīśṇuṁ upayāto mahā-
dyutiḥ | sanka-ekkara-gadā-paṇī pita-vāsiḥ jagat-patiḥ | Vaināteyam
samāruḥya bhāskaraṁ tayoḍām yathā | topta-haṭaka-keśuṇa evndyaṁnaṁ
svottamaṁ | tam abruvaṁ suvaiḥ sarvāṁ samabhīṣṭutaṁ savatāḥ |
ārtanāṁ asi lokāṁnāṁ ārti-hā Madhuvanāṁ | yācānaye 'tas teṁ
ārtāṁ saranāṁ no bhavācyuta | brāta kiṁ karōgita Vīśṇuṁ tāṁ
abarcha vachāḥ | iti tasya vachāḥ vṛtuva pumar uchur idāṁ suvaiḥ | rājā
Dvaratāḥ nāma tapaṁvān sumahat tapaḥ | iṣṭavāṁ caśvamedhena
prajā-kāmaṁ sa chāpārjakāḥ | asman-niyogāḥ tvāṁ Vīśṇuṁ tasya
putratvam āpnuhi | tasya bhāryāṁ tīrthikām Hri-Srī-Kṛttee-upanām cha | Vīśṇo
putratvam āghachā kṛito 'tmanāṁ cāturvidham | tatra tvāṁ manuṣho
bhātva pravidham ākāśajñakām | abadhyāṁ daivataṁ Vīśṇuṁ samar
jahi Raṇaṁ | . . . . 34. Tvāṁ gatiḥ paramā deva sarveshāṁ naḥ
paramataṁ | badhāya devaśatṛṇāṁ niṛṇāṁ loka manaḥ kuru | sa nīyuktas
tathā devatāṁ sākhād Nārāyaṇāḥ prabhūḥ | tāṁ uvaccha iñyādā |

"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-śiras, to obtain for thee a son.' The
self-subdued son of Vibhāṇḍakā, 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, Sthāyu (Mahādeva), the lord Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu), and the divine Indra in visible presence, surrounded by the host of Maruta. He (Ṛishyasyinga thus) supplicated the gods who had come, desiring their shares, to the great āvamedha sacrifice [described in the preceding section] of that high-souled king: ‘This King Dāsratha, desiring a son, has performed austerity, and inspired with faith, has worshipped you with an āvamedha. 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, Brahma, 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, these gods then addressed a word to Brahmā, the creator of the world: ‘A Rākhasa named Rāvaṇa, having obtained a boon from thee, O Brahmā, in his pride harasses us all, and the great rishis devoted to austerity. For, O lord, a boon was formerly granted to him freely by thee when well-pleased, viz. ‘Thou shalt be indestructible by gods, Dānavas or Rākhasas.’ Obedient to thy words, we endure everything at his hands. This lord of the Rākhasas vexes the three worlds by his acts of cruelty . . . 19. We are therefore in great fear of this Rākhasa 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 (tasmān sadasi)? See the text of the Bombay ed., as quoted in note 164, verses 4 and 5. Gorresio’s edition connects the disappearance and reappearance of the gods thus, i. 14, 116 ff.: ity uktvā ntarhītaba devās tataḥ Sakra-purusa-śvaḥ | 12 | tāṁ dīrgho viśveṣa dīkṣāṁ kriyāyogam mahaviśvat | upetya loka-kartāraṁ Prayātām idaṁ vacaḥ | 13 | uchāṁ prānjālayo bhūtvā Brahmāṇam eva radaṁ tatha | 115: ‘Having thus spoken, the gods, headed by Sakra, vanished thence. 12. Beholding that initiation 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, Yakhas, gods, Dānavas and Rākṣasas;’ such was his request, to which I replied, ‘Be it so.’ But despising men, the Rākṣasas 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 Brahmat, the gods, headed by Ṣakra, were altogether delighted. In the mean time the glorious Vishnu arrived, bearing in his hand the shell, discus, and club, in yellow garments, lord of the world, mounted on Garuḍa, like the Sun on a cloud, with an armlet of refined gold, adored by the chief of the deities. After lauding him with prostrations, all the gods said: ‘Thou, Madhusūdana, art he who removes the affliction of the afflicted worlds. Wherefore we, distressed, beseech thee be our refuge, O Achyuta (Unfalling).’ Vishnu 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 āsvamedha sacrifice, desirous of offspring, for he is childless. Do thou, Vishnu, according to our appointment, take upon thee his sonship. Making thyself fourfold, do thou become the offspring of his three wives who resemble Hri, Sri, and Kīrti (Modesty, Prosperity, and Renown). Having then become man, do thou slay in battle Rāvana, 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 (tvat tā hi nāyas taṁ popaṁ hantum divaṅkasām). Vishnu, then, “the lord of the gods” (deva), “the most excellent of the immortals” (tridāsa-pungava), “adored by all the worlds” (sarva-loka-namaskrita), reassures the deities, promises to slay Rāvana, and to reign on earth for eleven thousand years.

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

"It is true that in the Epic poems Rāma and 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 with attention, without being reminded of the later interpolation of such sections as ascribe a divine character to the heroes, and of the unskilful manner in which these passages are often introduced, and without observing how loosely they are connected with the rest of the narrative, and how unnecessary they are for its progress." 187

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

187 In the Preface to his Viṣṇu Purāṇa, p. ix., 4to. ed. (= p. xv. of Dr. Hall’s ed.), Professor Wilson had previously made some observations of the same tenor: "But the ascription to individual and personal deities of the attributes of the one universal and spiritual Supreme Being, is an indication of a later date than the Vedas certainly, and apparently also than the Rāmāyāṇa, where Rāma, although an incarnation of Viṣṇu, commonly appears in his human character alone. There is something of the kind in the Mahābhārata in respect to Kṛishṇa, especially in the philosophical episode known as the Bhagavad Gītā. In other places the divine nature of Kṛishṇa is less decidedly affirmed; in some it is disputed or denied; and in most of the situations in which he is exhibited in action, it is as a prince and warrior, not as a divinity. He exercises no superhuman faculties in the defence of himself, or his friends, or in the defeat and destruction of his foes. The Mahābhārata, however, is evidently a work of various periods, and requires to be read throughout carefully and critically before its weight as an authority can be accurately appreciated." Professor Goldstücker, too, observes in the Preface to his Māyāva Kalpa Sūtra, p. xxxi.: "It is of course impossible for me to treat here, as it were incidentally, not merely of the question concerning the age of the Mahābhārata, but the relative ages of the various portions of this work, since it must be evident to every one who has read it, that it is, in its present shape, a collection of literary products belonging to widely distant periods of Hindu literature."
particularly: "As regards the Rāmāyana, Mr. von Schlegel has often observed to me that the chapters in which Rāma is conceived of as an incarnation of Vishṇu, might be entirely omitted without injuring the connexion of the story. In fact, at the point where the incarnation of Vishṇu 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 Vishṇu 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 Vishṇu."

An examination of the earlier portions of the Rāmāyana seems to confirm the opinion of Lassen that the 14th and following sections which describe the miraculous births of Rāma and his brothers as incarnations of Vishṇu, are additions interpolated at a later date in the original poem. It appears from various passages which I shall cite from the 8th and following sections, that the āsvamedha or horse-sacrifice, a rite of great importance and dignity, was instituted for the express purpose of procuring progeny for Dasaratha. 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 iṣṭi’, 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 to evam-prabhāvasya dhārmikasya mahātmanah | sutārtham tapyamānasya
nāśid vaṁśa-karaṁ sutāḥ | tasya chintayato buddhir uppanneyam mahā-
maṭeḥ | sutārtham vājī-madhena kimarthāṁ na yajāmy aham | sunitichitām
matiṁ krīvā yashāsya vasudhādhipaḥ | “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, 1 (=Bombay ed. i. 12, 1; Gorresio’s ed. i. 11, 1), it is said: Atha kāle vyatikrānte śiśre tadanantaram | vasanta-samaye
Regarding the Birth of Rama, with Remarks. 171

praśpta rāja yashṭum mano dadhe | tataḥ prasadāya śirasā tam vipraṁ
deva-varaḥsam | yajñāya varayāmanāsantānārthaṁ kulasya ēva |

"Then, when the winter had passed, and the spring had arrived, the king set his mind upon sacrificing. Having then propitiated, by [bowing] his head, that Brahman of divine splendour, he solicited him to [perform] a sacrifice for the prolongation of his race."

Then, after calling his spiritual advisers, Vāmadeva, Jāvali, Vasishṭha, etc., he says to them (v. 8 = v. 86 Bombay ed.; v. 11, Gorr.): Mama tātayāmanāsya putrārtham nāsti ēva sukham | tad aham haya-medhena
yajyam iti me matiḥ | tad-arthaṁ yashṭum iśkhaṁ haya-pūrvaṁ
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 gataṁ tāṁ patrīr narendro hridayangamāḥ | uvachā dikṣhāṁ
viśata yashṭeyham suta-kāraṇat | "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. 13; Gorr. 12th) it is said: Punah praśpta vasanto tu purṇah saṁvatsaro 'bhavat |
prasadārtham gato yashṭum haya-medhena viryacām | "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]: Patatrigā tadā
vārdāhāṁ sukhiśīte saha chetasā | avasaś rajantim ekaṁ Kauśalyā
putra-kāmyā), and the other two queens beside her (v. 37). 144

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

eśu saṁhitām pahālikā śanti iti prasiddhyā avasādaḥ | patatrina garuda-vasena ucy
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)."
Dakṣiṇāḥ porigrīhyātha suprīta-mānasā devīḥ | aehur Daśarathāṁ tatra kāmāṁ dhyāyati vai tadda | tato 'brahata Rishyasṛingaṁ rājā Daśarathāṁ tadda | kulaśya vardhanaṁ tat tu kartum arhasi svrata | tathāt sa cha rājānām uvācha dvija-sattamaḥ | bhavishyanti suta rājamāṁ chatvāras te kulodvahāḥ | “Having received the gifts with great gratification, the Brahmans then said to Daśaratha, ‘Think of the object you desire.’ The king then said to Rishyasṛinga, ‘Thou outhest, 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 Rishyasṛinga, 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 Rishyasṛinga 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; Gorr. 15) we are told that Viṣṇu, 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 (praṇāpatyaṁ naram), and bearing a large vessel full of nectar. This nectar he desires Daśaratha to administer to his wives, who would then bear sons. Viṣṇu then, after receiving the king’s homage, disappears.
Daśaratha gives the half of the potion to Kaśyapa, and a fourth each to Sumitra and Kaikeyi. They all in consequence become pregnant.

Section 16 (=Bombay ed. 17; Gorresio, 20) begins thus: Putrataṁ tu gatu Vishnuḥ rājnas tasya mahātmanaḥ | uvācha devān āhūya Svayambhur bhagavān idam | "When Vishnu had entered into the relation of sonship to that great king, the divine Svayambhu (Brahma) 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 gatu by gantum upakrānte, "had begun to enter." In Gorresio's ed. this section is placed as the 20th. The section proceeds to describe the creation of the monkeys, who were to be the allies of Rāma.

The conclusion of the aśvamedha sacrifice and the departure of the gods are again alluded to at the commencement of sect. 17 (Schlegel's ed.) in these words: 1. Samāpte tu kratau tasmin vājīmedha mahātmamaḥ | havirbhagān avāpyeshtān jagmur devaḥ yathāgataḥ | 2 | riśhayat ca mahātmānaḥ pratijagmuḥ supujitāḥ | rājānāḥ chaiva ye tatra kratau aśan samāgataḥ | 1. "When that horse-sacrifice of the great king had been completed, the gods, having received the desired shares of the oblations, departed as they had come. 2. The great rishis, too, after being duly honoured, and the kings who had come to the sacrifice, returned." Here we have another indication that the sections intervening between the 13th and the 17th form a later interpolation. With the commencement of this 17th section of Schlegel's ed., the opening verses of Gorresio's 16th section, and of the 18th section of the Bombay ed., coincide. The last-mentioned recension, however, from which I proceed to quote some verses, touches very briefly on the dismissal of the kings who had come to the sacrifice, and of Rishyasringa, and proceeds to the birth of Rāma and his brothers, whilst the other two texts enlarge on the former topics, and do not arrive at the last subject before their 19th section. Sect. 18 of the Bombay ed. begins thus:

1 | Nieśritto tu kratau tasmin hayamedha mahātmamaḥ | pratigrihyāmarāḥ bhagān pratijagmur yathāgataḥ | 2 | samāpta-dikṣā-niyamaḥ pratni-gaṇa-samanvitaḥ | pravigedha purīṁ rājā sa-bhritya-bala-vahanaḥ ;
3 | yathārham pujitās tona rājā cha prithivīvarāḥ | muditaḥ prayayur
desān prayamya muni-pungavam | 4 | śṛimātāṁ gachhatāṁ tathāṁ eva-
grihāṇi purāt tataḥ | dalāni rājām labhāṁ śubhraṁ prakriśāṁ charāśire | 5 |
gateśu prithivīścchu rājā Daśarathāṁ punāḥ | prāviveko purūṁ śṛimān
puraskṛitya dvijottamanā | 6 | Sāntāyā prayayau sārdham Śiśyaśringaḥ
supuṣṭaḥ | anuγamamāno rājā cha sānyātreṇa dhīmatā | 7 | Evaṁ
vīryāya tāṁ sarvān rājā sampūrṇa-mānasāḥ | uṣāṁ sukhitas tatra
putrotpatiṁ vichintayan | 8 | tato yajne samāpte tu rītunāṁ saññat
samatyayuh | tataḥ cha devādaśe māṣe ityādi | 1. “When that horse-
sacrifice of the great king had come to an end, the immortals,
after receiving their shares, returned as they had come. 2. The
ceremony of consecration being concluded, the king with his wives,
servants, army, and chariots, entered into the city. 3. The princes,
too, after being duly honoured by the king, and having made
obeisance to the most excellent muni, departed with joy to their
several countries. 4. The hosts of these glorious monarchs, as they
set out from the city for their homes, shone brilliant and delighted.
5. When they had gone, King Daśaratha again entered the city,
preceded by the Brahmans. 6. Śiśyaśringa, receiving homage,
set out with (his wife) Sāntā, followed by the wise king and his
attendants. 7. Having dismissed all these (visitors), the king, with
satisfied mind, dwelt in happiness, meditating on the birth of his sons.
8. Then six seasons elapsed after the sacrifice had been completed;
and in the twelfth month,” etc. [The sequel of this passage, to-
gether with the parallel verses of Gorresio’s edition, will be found
in the Appendix.]

Schlegel’s ed., as I have already noticed, does not reach the same
point of the narrative till its 19th section, which begins by relating
the birth of Daśaratha’s sons, twelve months after the conclusion of
the sacrifice, by which no doubt the horse sacrifice is intended (tato
yajne samāpte tu rītunāṁ saññat samatyayuh | tataḥa devādaśe māṣe
ityādi). After specifying the month, day, and planetary influences
under which Rāma was born, the writer proceeds: . . . Tājanāthaṁ
sarva-loka-namaskritam | Kauṣalyā ’janayad Rāmaṁ divya-lakṣāṇa-
samāyayatam | Kauṣalyā śubhāho tona putrenāmita-tejusā | yathā ‘dhipena
devāntām Adivēr Vajrāpāṇinā | [*bhavaya su hi lokānāḥ Rāvanasya
badhaya cha | Vishnuvir yārādhato yajno Rāmo rājiva-lochanaḥ | Bharato
REGARDING RĀMA’S BIRTH, WITH REMARKS.


“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 Viṣṇu’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 Viṣṇu, endowed with all virtues. Then Sumitrā brought forth two sons, of strong devotion and great energy, Lakṣmīṇa and Satrughna, possessing (each) the half (of the fourth part) of Viṣṇu.*) 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 Viṣṇu, 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, Lakṣmīṇa, 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 Viṣṇu, it does not appear so suitable to compare his birth to that of Indra (in that case a personage of less dignity than Viṣṇu), 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 Vasishṭha assured the king, by the auspicious sign of his being perambulated by the wild animals of the forest. The alarming event indicated was the arrival of Parasūrāma, preceded by a hurricane which shook the earth and prostrated the trees, and by thick darkness which veiled the sun. He was fearful to behold, brilliant as fire, and bore his axe and a bow on his shoulder. Being received with honour, which he accepted, he proceeded to say to Rāma, the son of Daśaratha (in section 75), that he had heard of his prowess in breaking the bow produced by Janaka (Rām. i. 67), and had brought another which he asked Rāma to bend, and to fit an arrow on the string; and if he succeeded in doing so, he (Parasūrāma) would offer to engage with him in single combat. Daśaratha is rendered anxious by this speech, and adopts a suppliant tone towards Parasūrāma, 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 Viṣṇu’s. Two celestial bows, he proceeds, were made by Viśvakarman, of which one was given by the gods to Mahādeva, the other to Viṣṇu. The narrative then proceeds (14 ff.):

Tadā tu devatāḥ sarvāḥ prīchhantī soma Pitāmaham | Sītikanṭhasya Viṣṇoḥ cha balabala-nirikhaḥyā | ahiprāyaṁ tu vijnāya devataṇāṁ Pitāmahaḥ | viroḍhaṁ janayāmāśa tayoḥ satyavatāṁ varaḥ | viroḍho tu mahad yuddham abhavad roma-harṣanam | Sītikanṭhasya Viṣṇoḥ cha paraśpara-jayaśihiḥoḥ | tadā tu jrīmbhitam saivaṁ dhanur bhima-parākramam | hunkāreṇa Mahādevaḥ stambhitōtha trilochanaḥ | devais tadā samāgamya sarshi-saṅghaiḥ sa-cha ṛnaṁ | yādhitau prāṣamaṁ tatra jagnatus taur suvottamau | jṛmbhitāṁ tad dhanur drīṣṭvā saivaṁ Viṣṇu-parākramaiḥ | adhikam meniro Viṣṇuṁ devaḥ sarshi-gaṇāṁ tathā | dhanū Rudras tu sankrūddho Videhesu mahāyaśaḥ | Devarātasya rājarṣher dadau haste sa-sāyakam | idaṁ tu Vaishnavāṁ Rāma dhanuḥ para-puraṁ | Richike Bhārgave prādad Viṣṇuḥ sa nyāsam uttamam | “The gods then all made a request to Brahmā, desiring to find out the strength and weakness of Sītikanṭha (Mahādeva) and Viṣṇu. Brahmā, most excellent of the true, learning the purpose of the gods, created enmity between the two. In this state of enmity a great and terrible fight ensued between Sītikanṭha and Viṣṇu, 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 prowess of Vishṇu, the gods and rishis esteemed Vishṇu to be superior.¹⁰⁹ 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 Vishṇu, which vanquishes hostile cities. Vishṇu gave this excellent deposit to Rīchika, the descendant of Bhrigu.” From him it came to Jamadagni, father of Paraśurāma. After referring to his father’s murder by Arjuna,¹¹⁰ 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 Vishṇu’s; and in the event of his succeeding, again offers to fight him. Rāma replies (section 76) that though his warlike qualities are con¬demned 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 Viśvāmitra; 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 Kaśyapa to leave the earth every night), but consents that his blissful abodes may be destroyed. He then goes on, v. 17 (Schlegel’s and Bombay editions—sect. 77, 49 ff. of Gorresio):

Akhayam Madhukantārām jānāmi tvām mahaścaram (or swesvacram) | dhanusah ’syā pariṃarśat svasti te ’stu parantapa | 18 | eto sura-gynyāh sarve nirikshanto samāgataḥ | tvam apratima-karmāgam aprativedandaṃ āhavo | 19 | na oṣyam mama Kākutṣha vrīḍā bhavitum arhatī | tvayā trai lokāya-nāthena yād ahaṃ viniḥ khrītaḥ | 17. “By the binding of

¹⁰⁹ The orthodox commentator (in the Bombay edition) will not allow this to be taken absolutely. He says: Vastutas tu prakṛta-yuddhe Vishṇor ādikya-darjanāti Tripura-badhe Śivasya ādikya-darjanāt tvayoḥ śāmya-grahāgam iti tātparyam | “In reality, as we find that Vishṇu is the stronger in the fight before us, whilst Śiva is stronger in the slaughter of Tripura, the result is that their equality must be assumed.”

¹¹⁰ See the first volume of this work, second edition, pp. 449 ff.
this bow I recognize thee to be the imperishable slayer of Madhu, the great Lord (or lord of the Gods): hail, vanquisher of thy foes! 18. All these assembled gods behold thee who art unequalled in action, unrivalled in fight. 19. It need be no cause of shame to me that I have been humbled by thee who art the lord of the three worlds.” Rāma then shoots the arrow, and destroys Parasurāma’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 Harivarṇamāla (sections 183 and 184), and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (x., 64th and previous sections), which indubitably regard Vishnu as the supreme Deity, also relate a combat between him and Mahādeva. There is no doubt, however, that the 119th section of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, which I now proceed to quote from the text of the edition published some years ago at Bombay, distinctly speaks of Rāma as an incarnation of the supreme Spirit. This Bombay text, though it follows the Devanāgarī recension of Upper India, does not, in this section, differ materially, except in the arrangement of the verses, from that of Gorresio. I should judge, from the nature of the epithets which are here applied to Vishnu, that this chapter, as it now stands, could not have formed part of the original Rāmāyaṇa. In the preceding portion of the poem it had been related that Sītā, after being recovered by Rāma on the defeat and death of Rāvanabh, had been suspected of unchastity by her husband, and had in consequence entered the fire. The 119th section then goes on thus:


171 This verse is found in Gorresio’s edition only, not in that of Bombay.
sthitam | kartā sarvasya lokasya bṛṣaṅho jñānavidāṁ vibhūḥ | upekshase
kathāṁ Stīmām pathāntiṁ havyavāhosi | kathāṁ deva-gaṅga-bṛṣaṅham
ātmānaṁ nāvabuddhyasa | Rīla-dhāmā Varṇaṁ paraṁ Vāsanāṁ cha
Prajāpatiḥ | tvam trayāṁ hi lokāṁ adikāṁ svayam praṅbhūḥ |
Budrāṇāṁ ashtamō Budrāḥ Sādhyānāṁ api panchamaḥ | Ativinau cāpi te
karnau chandrādiyatyau cha chākhausht | ante chādau cha bhūtānvāṁ drīṣyasya
tvaṁ parantapa | upekshase cha Vaidheīm mānushāḥ praṅṭito yathāḥ | ity ukto
lokapālais taṁ svāṁ lokasya Bāghavāḥ | abhrāti tridaṅga-bṛṣaṅham Rāmo
dharma bhṛttāṁ voraḥ | ātmānaṁ mānusham manye Rāmaṁ Daśarathāt-
majam | so 'ḥam yaśca yataś chāhaṁ bhagavāṁs tad bravitaṁ mo | itī brucā-
naṁ Kakutstham Bṛāhmaṁ brahma vidāṁ voraḥ | abhrāti śriṇu mo vakyaṁ
satyaṁ satya-parākramaḥ bhavān Nārāyaṇaḥ devaḥ śṛṅamīḥ chakrayuddhaḥ
praṅbhūḥ | eka-ṛīngō varaḥas tvam bhūta-bhavya-vapatsa-jīt aksharam Bṛā-
ma satyaṁ cha mādhye cha nānte cha Bāghava | lokānam tvam paro āhūmo
Vishaksenaṁ chaturbhujaḥ | Sārnga-dhānvaḥ Hṛśikṣeṣaḥ puruṣaḥ puru-
shottamaḥ | ajītaḥ khaḍga-dhṛṛg Vishnuḥ Kṛṣṇaḥ chaiva vrihadabalaḥ |
Senāntr grāmaṁ satyasya tvam buddhis tvam khaṁ médāḥ | praṅbhavaḥ
dhṛtyayaḥ cha tvam Upendro Madhusūdanaḥ | Indra-karmā Mahendras
tvam padmanabho raṅganta-kṛit | saranyaṁ saranaṁ cha tvāṁ āhūr bhīvaḥ
maharshayaḥ | sahasra-ṛīngṅo vedāṁ katuḥaśraḥ maharshayaḥ | tvam
trayāṁ hi lokāṁ adi-karaṁ svayam praṅbhūḥ | siddhānāṁ api sādha-
yāṁ abhrayaḥ chāsa pārvaṣya | tvam yajnas tvam vashakāras tvam
omkāraḥ paraṭ paraḥ | praṅbhavaṁ niśkhamā va te na viduḥ ko bhavaṁ
sī ti | drīṣyasya sarva-bhūteshu brāhmaṁsva cha gosu cha | diṅku sarvāṅ
gaṅga parvatsaḥ nābhuṣa cha | sahasra-charaṅgaḥ śṛṅmaṁ katuḥaśraḥ
sahasra-āṛik | tvam dhārayasi bhūtāṁ vasadāḥ cha sa-parçatāṁ | ante
prithviyaḥ saṅke drīṣyasya tvam mahāraṅgaḥ | trīn lokāṁ dhārayyaṁ Rāma
deva-gaṅghāva-dāvanān | ahaṁ te hṛṣyayaṁ Rāma jīva dev Sarvasvati
devaḥ romaṁ gūtreshu Brahmaṇaṁ mīrtāḥ praṅbo | nimeshaṁ te smṛītaṁ
rātritriṁ unmeshaṁ dīvavaṁ tathā | saṃskārās te bhavaḥ vedaṁ naitad asti
tevyā vina | āgaḥ sarvaṁ sartraṁ te sthairyaṁ te vasudā-talam | Agniḥ
kopaḥ praṇāşas te Somaṁ śṛṅgatavatākṣhaṇa | tevyā lokāṁ trayāṁ krāntāḥ
purā saṁ varīvamais triḥbhūḥ | Mahendras cha kṛite rājā Balim baddhāva
svadānaṁ | [79] yat paraṁ śṛṅyate jyotir yat paraṁ śṛṅyate tamaḥ | yat
param paraṁ adhāva paramāṁtiṁ kathaya | paramāṁkhyam paraṁ yach
cha tvam eva parītyaya | sthitya-utpatiṁ-viṁśānāṁ tvāṁ āhūṁ paraṁśānāṁ

[79] These two verses occur in Gorresio's edition only, not in that of Bombay.
gatim | ] Sitā Lakṣmīr bhavān Vīshnur devaḥ Kṛṣṇaḥ prajāpātiḥ |
badhārthaṁ Rāgaṇasyeśa praviṣṭo manuṣṭaṁ tanum ityādi |

"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 Yama with the Pīṭha, 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
Sitā’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 Rītadhāman, and the Prajāpati 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 Śvins
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 disregarest Sitā 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 re-
gard 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

172 In the parts of the Mahābhārata where Kṛṣṇa 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 Brahma-
munagrahād eva Brahma-vidyāunasūcikhyasa eva tādy-Siddhatayā tad-vaśikhyasa
“ātmānāṁ nāvabudhyase” iti Brahmaṇāya kṛitavat taj-jñānau iva sa-
vacāṇa-paddhanāya Brahmānāṁ gurum ajñā iva upāsadh ity ahā “ātmānāṁ” 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 Kākulstha (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 bear, 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 worlds, Vishvakṣena, the four-armed; the bearer of the bow, Śāṅgga, Ḫrishkeśa (lord of the senses), Purusha (the male), the highest of Purushas, the unconquered, sword-wielding, Viṣṇu, and Ḫṛiṣṇa 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 rishis 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 Śāṭyas, O thou primevally born. Thou art sacrifice, thou art the vashaṭkāra, 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 Brahmā the hairs on thy limbs. The night is called the closing, and the day the opening, of thine eyes. The Vedas are thy thoughts.176 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 Śrīvatsa. By thee

174 If this means, as it seems to do, Ḫṛiṣṇa, 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” (krīṣṇa tad-varnaḥ).

175 The commentator explains saṁskārāḥ thus: Saṁskāryante bodhyante abhir lokāḥ iti saṁskāraḥ pravṛtti-nicṛtti-vyavasthā-bodhaḥ | “Saṁskāras are the things by which people are instructed, the things which prescribe the rules of acting and forbearing to act.” But this cannot well be the sense here.
the three worlds were traversed of yore with thy three paces, and Mahendra was made king after thou hadst bound the terrible Bali. [*That which is known as the chiefest light, that which is known as the chiefest darkness, that which is higher than the highest,—thou art called the highest Soul. It is thou who art hymned as that which is called the highest, and [is] the highest. Men call thee the highest source of continuance, production, and destruction.] Sītā is Lakshmi,\(^{176}\) and thou art Vishṇu, the divine Kṛishṇa, the lord of creatures, who hast entered a mortal body for the slaughter of Rāvāṇa,\(^{177}\) etc.

In the same way as Vishṇu is associated with Rāma in the Rāmāyaṇa, so is he connected with Kṛishṇa in the Mahābhārata, the Vishṇu, Bhāgavata, and Brahma-vaivarta, Purāṇas, and other Vaishṇava works of a later date. In the two first-named Purāṇas, though Kṛishṇa is sometimes spoken of as a partial incarnation of Vishṇu (see the passage from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 33, 27, quoted above, p. 50, and another from the Vishṇu 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 Kṛishṇa 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 Kṛishṇa, in so far as he is introduced as an actor in the events of the poem, is generally made to play a merely human part, and to manifest no superhuman power in succouring friends, or overcoming enemies; while, as Professor Wilson remarks, his divine character is frequently disputed. In the Chhāndogya Upanishad he is spoken of simply as the son of Devaki. In various parts of the Mahābhārata he is described as rendering homage to Mahādeva, and as receiving from him boons of various kinds. In many passages he is identified with the rishi Nārāyaṇa, while his friend Arjuna appears as one with the rishi Nara, the inseparable companion of the former. In these various passages, however, Kṛishṇa is by no means regarded in general as an ordinary mortal. He receives various divine weapons from Mahādeva; in his

\(^{176}\) In regard to Lakshmi and Sītī, 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 Pāṇḍušu, he destroys Śisupāla 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 Kiṣṇu the son of Devakī 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 Devakī, the pupil of a teacher named Ghora,177 and that he was so enthusiastically devoted to the pursuit of mystical lore as to become indifferent to everything else:

Tad ha etad Ghoraḥ Āngirasah Kiṣṇaya Devakī-putrāya uktā
uvāca apipāsah eva sa babhūsa sa 'nta-velāyām eva-trayām pratipadyeta
"aksitam asy achyutam asī prāṇa-samāhitam asī" iti
"Ghora, the descendant of Āngirasa, having declared this [the preceding mystical lore] to Kiṣṇu the son of Devakī, 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-darśanaṁ Ghora nāmataḥ Āngirasa gotrataḥ Kiṣṇaya Devakī-putrāya sikhayaṁ uktā uvācha | tad "eva-trayām" ityādi
vyavahitena sambandhaṁ | eva cha etad darśanaṁ tratuva apipāsaṁ eva
anyābhya vidyābho babhūva | itthāṁ cha viśishtā iyāṁ vidyā yat Kiṣṇaya
Devakī-putrasya anyāṁ vidyāṁ prati triḍ-vichhedā-kari iti
purusha-yajna-vidyāṁ stauṁ | Ghoraḥ Āngirasaḥ Kiṣṇaya uktā imāṁ
vidyāṁ kim uvācha iti tad āha | evam yathokta-yajna-vidanta-velāyām
maraṇa-kāle etan-mantra-trayām pratipadyeta jāpe ity arthaḥ

177 I am not aware whether Ghora is mentioned in connexion with Kiṣṇa in any other work.
. . . prāṇa-saṁhitam prāgasya saṁhitam samyak tanukṛitancha sūkhamaṁ tatvatam asi . . . | "A person, Ghora by name, and an Āṅgirasa by family, having declared this doctrine of sacrifice to Kṛishṇa the son of Devakī, 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 Puruṣa-sacrifice by saying that it was so distinguished that it destroyed all thirst in Kṛishṇa, the son of Devakī, for any other knowledge. He now tells us what Ghora Āṅgirasa said after declaring this knowledge to Kṛishṇa. It was this: 'Let him who knows the aforesaid sacrifice, at the time of his death have recourse to, mutter, these three texts; . . . prāṇa-saṁhitam means, 'thou art the very minute, and subtle principle of breath.'"

II. I shall next quote some passages of the Mahābhārata in which Kṛishṇa is represented as rendering homage to Mahādeva, and consequently, to all appearance, as acknowledging his own inferiority to that deity. It is related in the Vana-parvan (vv. 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 (Droṇa-parvan, v. 2838) Arjuna is advised by Kṛishṇa to apply again to Mahādeva for the same Pāśupata weapon, as if the author (if indeed he is the same by whom the earlier passage was written) had forgotten that he had already got it. Arjuna, it appears, had vowed (vv. 2681 ff.) to slay 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.). Kṛishṇa hereupon advises Arjuna to supplicate Mahādeva for the Pāśupata weapon with which that god himself had formerly destroyed all the Daityas, and with which he (Arjuna) would be able to slay Jayadratha on the morrow (vv. 2838 ff.). Arjuna and Kṛishṇa then arrive with the speed of the wind, at the mountain on the summit of which Mahādeva abode, where they obtain a vision of that deity, with Pārvatī and his attendant Bhūtas (demons). On seeing him Vāsudeva (Kṛishṇa) bows down to the earth:
Mahābhārata, Droṇa-parvan, vv. 2862 ff.—Vāsudevas tu taṁ āriṣṭvā jagāna śivasā keśitim | Pārthaṁ saha dharmāṁ griñgam brahma saññam | lokāṁṁ viśva-karmām ajam ikṣanāṁ avayam | manasaḥ paramāṁ yonisā kṣam vāyum jyotishāṁ nidhim | erashtaram vairdhāram bhuvahka prakṛtim param | deva-dānava-yakṣaṁ mānavanānca sādhanam | yogānānca param brahma triptam brahma-vidāṁ nidhim | charācharasya erashtaram pratikartāram eva cha | kāla-kopam mahātmanāṁ sakra-sūrya-guṇodayam | evam te naṁ taṁ tadā Kṛishṇo vaṁ-mano buddhi-karmabhīṁ | yaṁ propaganti videśāṅgaḥ sākhāmadhyātma-padaśīṁ | taṁ ajam karaṇātmānaṁ jagmatuḥ sārasyam Bhavam | Arjunāḥ chāpi taṁ devam bhūyo bhūyo ṣpy avandata | jañāva taṁ sarva-bhūtādīm bhūta-bhavya-bhavodbhavam | tat ātā agatau āriṣṭvā Nara-Nārāyaṇo ubhau | suprasaṅna-manāḥ Sarvaḥ provācha prahasanam iva | āgataṁ vaṁ nara-kreṣṭhāṁ uɦīaṁhetāṁ gata-klaman | kineḥ vāṁ ғṣitaṁ vīraṇ manasaḥ khipram ucyatām | yena kāryaṁ samprāptau yuvāṁ tatt hāyāṁī kim | eviyatām ātmanāḥ hṛdayaṁ tat sarvam pradadāmī vām |

"The righteous Vāsudeva (Kṛishṇa) then, together with the son of Pṛthā (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. Kṛishṇa then reverenced him with voice, mind, understanding, and act.178 Those two [heroes] haḍ 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 Sāntiparvan, vv. 13152 ff., which I shall quote further on, Kṛishṇa explains away the worship which here and elsewhere he is said to have rendered to Mahādeva, by saying that it was done for the sake of example to others, and was in reality offered to himself, Mahādeva being one of his manifestations, and, in fact, one with him. But no hint is given of this here.
arrived, S'arva (Mahádeva), 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.’”

Krishña and Arjuna then recite a hymn in honour of Mahádeva, 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” (viśvātmano viśva-sriya viśvam dērīya tishṭhate). Arjuna now, after reverencing both Krishña and Mahádeva, asks the latter for the celestial weapon. They are thereupon sent by Mahádeva 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 Mahádeva and uttering the Satarudriya. Through the power of Mahádeva, the serpents change their shape and become a bow and arrow (v. 2899), which Krishña and Arjuna bring to Mahádeva. Eventually Arjuna receives as a boon from Mahádeva the Pāșupata weapon, with the power of fulfilling his engagement to slay Jayadratha (vv. 2906 ff.); after which they both return to their camp.

In the Sauntikā-parvan, 312 f., Mahádeva, smiling, as it were (hasann ēva), says to Aśvatthāman: Satya-śauchārjava-tyāgais tappās niyamena cha | kahāntyā matyā cha dhrītyā cha buddhyā cha vahsāt tathā | 313. Yathāvād abhām ārāddhāh Krishnenaśkliṣṭa-karmāṇā | tasmād īśṭātamaḥ Krishnāg anyo mama na vidyata | “I have been duly worshipped by Krishña, 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 Krishña.” (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.) Krishña thus celebrates the greatness of Mahádeva: Nūnāṁ sa dēva-devānām tēvareśvaram avyayam | jagāṁ karanāṁ Droniṣṭir ekas tenānāṁ bahūn | 766 | prasannā hi Mahādevo dadyād amarātām apī | viryaṁ cha gīrito dadyād yendram apī kattayet | 767 | vedāham hi Mahādevaṁ tatteva Bhāratarshabha | yāṁ chāṣya purāṇāṁ karmāṇi vividhāni cha | 768 | ādir

179 A long hymn from the Yajur-veda, which will be quoted further on in the chapter on Rudra.
KRISHNA'S ADORATION OF MAHĀDEVA.

esha hi dhūtānām mahāyam antaḥ cha Bhūrata | viheshṣatā jagach chedeśm sarvam ayaiva karmanā | 765. “Aśvatthāman resorted to the imperishable lord of lords of the gods of gods as his refuge; and through him he, though but one, slew many. 766. For Mahādeva, if pleased, can bestow even immortality, and prowess whereby any one may overcome even Indra himself. 767. I perfectly know Mahādeva, and his various works of old. 768. For he is the beginning, middle, and end of (all) creatures; and this entire world moves through his agency.’’

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

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

Asakto 'haṁ guṇān vaktum Mahādevasya dhīmatāṁ | yo hi sarva-gate
devo na cha sarvatra dṛṣṭaye | Brahma-Viṣṇu-sureśāṁ erashta cha
grobhur eva cha | Brahmadayaḥ Piśachāntāḥ yaṁ hi devaḥ uvācata | prakṛtiṁ
paratvena purushasya cha yaḥ paraḥ | chintyate yyo yoga-viśhīṁ
rishibhis tatteva-darsibhiḥ | akṣaraṁ paramam Brahma asačchaḥ sad-
asačchaḥ yat | prakṛtim
purushabhaiva kshobhayitaeva eva-tegāra | Brahma
maṇam aśrīyat tasmā deva-devaḥ prajāpatiḥ | ko hi sakta guṇān vaktum
deva-devasya dhīmatāṁ | garbhā-janma-jarā-yuko maṁtyo mṛityu-saman-vitaḥ | ko hi sakta Bhavaṁ jnātum mad-viḍhaḥ Paramesvaram | rite
Nārīyaṁ putra tāṅkha-chakra-gadā-dharatā | esā vidvān guṇa-
treṣāṁtho Viṣṇuḥ parama-durjayaḥ | divya-chakshur mahātejāḥ vitkshyate
[vikṣhate ?] yoga-chakshushā | Rudra-bhaktā tu Krishṇena jujad
vyāptam mahātmanāḥ | tasm praśādyā tadā devaṁ Badaryām kale
Bhūrata | arthāt 100 priyataratvaṁ cha sarva-lokeshu vai tadā | prāptavān
eva rājendra svabhākṣed Mahēśvaratā | pūrṇān varṣa-saharṣaṁ tu
taptavān esā Mahāvahā | praśādyā varadaṁ devaṁ charāchara-guruṁ
Śivam | yugo yugo tu Krishṇena toshito vai Mahēśvāraṁ | bhaktāṁ param-
mayā chaiva pratiṣṭhāvita mahātmanāḥ | aśvaryaṁ yādṛṣṭam tasya
jagad-yoner mahātmanāḥ | tad āyaṁ drīṣṭavān sākhāṁ putrārtha Harir
achyutāḥ | tasmāt parataranvaihā nāṇyam pāśyāmi Bhārata | vyākhyā-
tvaṁ deva-devasya sakto namāṁ abhētataḥ | esā sakto mahābāhur vaktum
bhagavato guṇāṁ | vihitātmeiva kārtyena satyam mahāvāṁ nṛṣpa 1

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

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

181 Professor Aufrecht (Catalogue, p. 54a, note) quotes the following verse from the 56th chapter of the Vāyu Purāṇa, as spoken by Mahādeva: Ayam me daśaśiṇo bāhuḥ Brahmā loka-pitamahah | vīma bāhu chā me Vishṇur nityam yuddhakaṁ nirjitaḥ | “Brahmā, the parent of the universe, is my right arm, and Vishṇu is my left arm, always overcomes in battles.” Must not the correct reading here be yuddhaṁ amirjitaḥ, “unconquered in battles”? 182 The printed text reads vikṣhayate, “is beheld,” but the sense seems to require viśkhata, “beholds.”
and as the divine teacher of gods and Asuras (suraṇu-guro deva Viśnu), to celebrate Mahādeva’s greatness. Kriṣṇa accordingly says (vv. 610 ff.):

Na gatiḥ karmanāṁ bakyā vettum itasya tattvataḥ | Hiranyagarbha-pramukhabh devaṁ sendraṁ maharshayaḥ | na vidur yaṣya bhavanam Ādityāḥ sukham-darśinaḥ | sa kathaṁ nara-mātrena bakyō ānātum satāṁ gatiḥ | tasyāham asura-ghnasya kāṃśchid bhagyavato guṇāṁ | bhavatāṁ vratāyāṁ vi ratrāṅga [or ratrāṅga?] yathātatham [“The course of the deeds of Īśa (Mahādeva) cannot be really known. He whose essence neither the gods headed by Hiranyagarbha, nor the great rishtis 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.”]

Kriṣṇa then relates how he had formerly seen Mahādeva. It appears that his wife Jambavati (v. 616), daughter of the king of the monkeys (kopaṇḍra-putri, v. 629), had come to him desirous of a son; she says (v. 619 f.):

Na hi te prāpyam astiḥa triku lokahu kinchana | lokān prīves tvam aparāṁ iḥhaṃ Yadu-kulodeha | tvaya devāra-vamatani eratbhātena suṣhayata | drāhiya pabhārtaram Rukmiṇyāṁ janitāḥ sutaḥ | “For there is nothing in these three worlds unattainable by thee (Kriṣṇa). Thou, scion of the race of Yadu, couldst create other worlds. By thee, after twelve years’ fasting and mortification, and worship of the nourisher of beasts (Mahādeva), sons were begotten on Rukmiṇī (another of his wives).”

Kriṣṇa promises to bring about the accomplishment of Jambavatī’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). Kriṣṇa enters, and is reverentially saluted by Upamanyu

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128 He is, however, called king of the bears in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. — See Wilson’s translation, p. 427 f. (vol. iv., pp. 76 and 79 of Dr. Hall’s ed.)

129 Compare what is said of Viṣṇumitra in the first volume of this work, p. 404.

130 This twelve years’ austerity performed before for the sake of progeny is alluded to further on in the Anuśasana-parvan, v. 6397, and the birth of a son is mentioned, v. 6889. As Kriṣṇa 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.

131 One of the features of the hermitage is thus depicted in v. 661: Kriṣṇa sar-
(v. 655), who tells him that after propitiating Mahādeva by austerities, he shall obtain a son equal to himself (v. 658). The saint then goes on to celebrate the greatness of Mahādeva, who, he said, had given boons to various beings, and to Vishnu his discus (v. 662 ff.):

_Hiranyakasipu_ yo 'bhūd dānavo Meru-kampanaḥ | tena sarvamaraś-vayaṁ Sarvāt prāptaṁ samārbudam | tasyaiva putra-pravaro Mandaro nāma viśrutatḥ | Mahādeva-varāḥ ohakraṁ varadhārayaḥ ayaṁ-hayat | Viśnoh chakranāca tad ghoṣaṁ vajram Ākhaṇḍalasya cha | śrīraṁ purā 'bhavat tāta Grahasyaṅgese Ṛṣvé | yat tad bhagavatā purvaṁ dattaṁ chakraṁ tavānaghaḥ | jalaṁtara-chaṁ hataḥ dāityanāca balagārvitam | utpāditaṁ Vṛishāṅkena diptam jvalana-sannibham | dattam bhagavatā tūbhyanām durkarṣham tejasā 'd bhuhum | na sākyam drashtum anyena varjayiti Pīṇākinam | Sudarśanam bhavati evam Bhavekotaṁ tada tu tāt | Sudarśanaṁ tada tasya loko nāma pratishṭitam | taj jīrṇam abhavat tāta Grahasyaṅgese Ṛṣvé | Grahasyaṅgase pravaro ādattasya dhitmatāḥ | na sāstrāṁ vahanty ange chakraṁ vajra-satāṁ uṣṭ | ardmanāśaḥ vibudhā Graheṇa subālyasā | Śiva-datta-varaṁ jagnūr aswaraṇān Śrīvaḥ bṛhiṣam |

"Hiranyakasipu, the Dānava, the shaker of mount Meru, obtained from Sarva (Mahādeva) the sovereignty of all the immortals for a hundred million years. He had an eminent and renowned son, called Mandara, who by the grace of Mahādeva fought with Indra for a hundred million years. Formerly both the dreadful discus of Vishnu and the thunderbolt of Ākhaṇḍa (Indra) were shattered against the limbs of Graha (Rāhu). That discus, resplendent and fiery, which was formerly given to thee by the god after slaying the marine monster, and the Dāitya, proud of his strength, was produced

pair nakulāḥ mṛigair vyāghrāvaha mitra-vat | prabhūvād diptā-tapasaṁ sannikashāt mahāmanāṁ | "Wesels 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.

167 In v. 655 the appellation _prunḍarikāśa_, "lotus-eyed," and in v. 669, that of _adokshaṇa_, are applied to _Ṛṣiṇa_.

168 This word occurs in Rigveda, viii. 17, 12, and the words are quoted in the _Nirukta_, iii. 10: Ākhaṇḍa _prva hīyase_ | "O Ākhaṇḍa, or destroyer, thou art invoked." It is rendered "shatterer," "destroyer," in Böhtlingk and Roth's _Lexicon_, s.v.
by Mahādeva. Bestowed upon thee 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, i.e. Mahādeva). It then received from Bhava (Mahādeva) the name of Sudarśana, and by that name it is celebrated in the world. That discus was shattered against the limbs of Graha. On the body of the wise and very powerful Graha, who had received a boon, no weapons, not even the discus, or a thousand thunderbolts, produce any effect. The gods being harassed by the most mighty Graha, slew on many occasions the Asuras who had received boons from Śiva."

After telling that many other persons had obtained boons by worshipping Mahādeva, the saint Upamanyu relates a story about himself, how his mother, after smelling him on the head (mūrdhany āghṛāya) had fully declared to him the greatness of this deity (vv. 724 ff.). In addition to the more general attributes assigned to the god, the following are some characteristics of a more special description (some of them sufficiently horrible or disgusting), as detailed with admiration by this female devotee. He assumes many forms of gods (as Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Indra, Rudra), and of men, of goblins, demons, barbarians, tame and wild beasts, birds, reptiles, fishes, with many varieties of human disguises, etc. (v. 731 ff.). He is the soul of all the worlds, all-pervading, residing in the heart of all creatures, knowing all desires (v. 742 f.). He carries a discus, a trident, a club, a sword, an axe (v. 745). He has a girdle of serpents, earrings of serpents, a sacrificial cord of serpents, and an outer garment of serpents' skins (v. 746). He laughs, sings, dances charmingly, and plays various musical instruments (v. 747). He leaps, gapes, weeps, makes others weep; speaks like a madman or a drunkard, as well as in sweet tones (v. 748). He laughs terrifically (v. 749). He is both visible and invisible, on the altar, on the sacrificial post, in the fire, a boy, an old man, a youth (v. 751). He dallies with the daughters and the wives of the rishis, with erect hair, obscene appearance, naked, with excited look (v. 752: kriḍate

188 In an account of Krīṣṇa's exploits in the Droṇa-parvan, however, it is said (v. 402) that the chakra was obtained by worshipping Agni: Khāṇḍavo Fārtha-sahitas tehaśivātu Hudāranām | Āgneyaṁ astraṁ durḍharṣahin chakram lehe maḥābaleḥ | In the same passage (v. 401) he is said to have obtained his shell (jāṅkha) by conquering Panchajana in the infernal regions.

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.):

Hatubhir vā kim anyais tair Iśāḥ kāraṇa-kāraṇam | na kuśrama yad anyasya lingam abhyarchyata svarīḥ | kasyanyasya svarīḥ sarvair lingam muktvā Mahēśvaram | archyate 'rohitā-pūrvaḥ va brūhi yady asti te brūtiḥ | yasya Brahmā cha Vīṣṇuḥ cha tvāṁ чhāpi saha daśantalāḥ | archayethāḥ sadā lingaṁ tasmāḥ ohhrṣhṭhatamo hi saḥ | na padmānāḥ na chaṅkānāḥ na vajrānāḥ yatāḥ praṇāḥ | lingānāḥ cha bhagānāḥ cha tasmād Mahēśvarat praṇāḥ | Devyāḥ kāraṇa-rūpa-bhāva-janitāḥ sarvāḥ bhagānāḥ striyo lingenāpi Harasya sarva-puruḥaḥ prayākṣa-chaṅkānāḥ | yo 'nyat kāraṇam tvarat pravodate devyā cha yad nānkitam trañokya satchāchare sa tu pumān vathyo bhaved durmatāḥ | puṁlingāṁ sarvam Iśanāṁ stri-līngam vidhī chaḥpy Uṃām | deābhyaṁ tanubhyaṁ vyāptaṁ hi charācharam idam jagat | "Is Iśā (Mahādeva) the Cause of causes for any other reasons? We have not heard that the linga (male organ) of any other person is worshipped by the gods. Declare, if thou hast heard, what other being’s linga except that of Mahēśvara is now worshipped, or has formerly been worshipped, by the gods? He whose linga Brahmā and Vīṣṇu, and thou (Indra), with the deities, continually worship, is therefore the most eminent. Since children bear neither the mark of the lotus (Brahmā’s), nor of the discus (Vīṣṇu’s), nor of the thunderbolt (Indra’s), but are marked with the male and the
female organs,—therefore offspring is derived from Maheśvara. All women produced from the nature of Devī as their cause, are marked with the female organ, and all males are manifestly marked with the linga of Hara. He who asserts any other cause than Īśvara (Mahādeva) or [affirms] that there is any [female] not marked by Devī in the three worlds, including all things movable or immovable, let that fool be thrust out. Know everything which is male to be Īśana, 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 Pārvati (vv. 837—841 f.); and a long description of the vision is given. Brahmā and Viṣṇu stand on Mahādeva’s right and left, and celebrate his praises (v. 869 f.):


875 f. Astuvaṁ vividhāḥ stotraṁ Mahādevam suraṁ tadaḥ | Brahmā Bhavaṁ tadaḥ ’stavaḥ ṛaṅghantoram udrayan | jyeṣṭha-saṁña cha deva-saṁ jagaṁ Nārāyaṇas tadaḥ | griṇan brahma paraṁ Śakraḥ tataḥ śastraṁ uttamam | Brahmā Nārāyaṇas chaiva deva-rajaścha Kuśikaḥ | asobhanta mahāmānas trayas trayaṁ śeṅgnaṇaḥ | 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 (Viṣṇu) 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 Jyeṣṭha sāman, and Indra, uttering that most eminent prayer, the excellent Satarudriya. Brahmā, Nārāyaṇa, and the king of the gods (Indra), the son of Kuśika, the three mighty deities, shone like the three fires.”

Upamanyu himself then lauds Mahādeva (vv. 880—923). At the conclusion of his hymn a shower of flowers falls from the sky on his head, accompanied by celestial odours, and music (v. 925 f.), and Mahādeva addresses him, offering to bestow everything he wishes. Upamanyu

181 The epithet of Kuśika is given to Indra in R. V. i. 10, 11. See the first vol. of this work, pp. 347 f.

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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 eoha bhagavan devah sava-sattvadhir avyayaḥ | sava-tattva-vidhāna-

jnah pradhāna-purushah parah | yo 'ṣijād dakṣinād angad Brahmāgam
-
loka-sambhavam | vama-pārśvat tathā Viṣṇuḥ loka-rakṣārtham Īśvaraḥ |
yuganto chaiva samprāpte Rudram Īśo 'ṣijat 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 Brahmā, the originator of the worlds, and from his left side Viṣṇu, 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 (kāśtrauḍana) with his relations, and that they may ever enjoy the near presence (sāṃsārāḥ) 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, Krīṣṇa expresses a desire that the god may vouchsafe to him a similar vision and the like favour. Upamanyu promises that Mahādeva shall appear to Krīṣṇa 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 (Krīṣṇa) is (vv. 964 ff.). Krīṣṇa is then consecrated by the Brahman (973 ff.). Equipped with a staff, shaved, clothed with rags, anointed with ghee, and provided with a girdle, living for one month on fruits, for four more on water, standing on one foot, with his arms aloft, he at length obtained a glorious vision of Mahādeva and his wife (v. 978), whom all the gods were worshipping, and among them Indra, Viṣṇu (the delight of his mother Aditi), and Brahmā, all uttering the rathantara sāma (S'aśaktarud eha bhagavan Viṣṇuḥ chāditi-nandanaḥ | Brahmā rathantarāḥ sāma trayanti Bhav-

vāntika). Krīṣṇa then describes the effect of this vision on himself (vv. 997 ff.):

Purastād dhīkṣithitāḥ S'arvo mamāsus trīdaśeṣvaraḥ | purastād dhīkṣi-

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OF MAHĀDEVA, AND OBTAINS BOONS FROM HIM.

195
tam drishtvā mameśanachha Bhārata | sa-Prajāpati-Sakrātāṁ jagad
mām abhyudaikheṣa | tathātum ca Mahādevam na me sakˈtir abhūta tādā |
tato mām abheda devaḥ "paṭya Krishṇa vaddva eha | tayo [tvayā ?]
hy arādhitaś chāhaṁ bataśo 'tha sahasraṇaḥ | tvat-samo nāsti me kaśchī
trisuvā lokahū vai priyaḥ" | tīraśa vandita devo devi pritāḥ hy Umā 'bhavat |
tato 'ham abruvam Sthānuṁ stutam Brahmādiḥḥiḥ evaṁḥ | "Before me
stood Sarva, the lord of the gods. Beholding Īśāna 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,
Krishṇa, and speak. I have been adored by thee hundreds and
thousands of times. There is no one in the three worlds so dear to me
as thou.’ The god having been revered 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): Viṁśaḥ Krishṇa parāṁ bhaktim
asmāṁ teva sakrāḥ | eviyātāṁ atmanāṁ troyah pritiḥ hi teṣy ā me parā
prajñāśāstāṁ varam Krishṇa dālāṁ teva sattamā | brāhi Yadvā-
śādāla yāṁ ichhaṁ sudurlabhāṁ | “We know, Krishṇa, slayer of foes,
thy eminent devotion to us. Choose what is most advantageous to thee,
for my love for thee is extreme. Choose eight boons; I will give them
to thee, most excellent being. Specify, chief of the Yadus, those boons
which are most difficult to obtain which thou desirest.” Krishṇa
then asks these eight boons: (1) steadfastness in righteousness, (2)
the destruction of his foes in battle, (3) eminent renown, (4) the
greatest strength, (5) abstraction (yoga), (6) amiability (priyatāṁ),
(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 superadds sixteen thousand wives whose
affection he should retain, and several other blessings. Mahādeva and
his spouse then disappear, and Krishṇa relates to Upamanyu all that
has happened (v. 1034). That sage then goes on to tell him a story
about a rishi called Taṇḍi, 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 Viṣṇu did not perfectly know, vv. 1052 (Brahmā Satakratūr Viṣṇur viśvedeṇaḥ maharṣhayāḥ | na vidus tvam tu tattvāna kuto vedaśmayah sayam). These words appear to have been especially gratifying to the god (vv. 1105 ff.). Taṇḍī had then come to Upamanyu's hermitage, and recited to him the eleven thousand mystical names of Mahādeva, which Upamanyu repeated to Kṛiṣṇa (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 Mṛītyu (Death), by him to the Rudras, and from them it came to Taṇḍī, etc.

A little further on (vv. 1358 ff.) we are told that Upamanyu expressed himself thus to Kṛiṣṇa:

Aśubhātaḥ pāpakarmāno yo narāḥ kalashKRITĀD | Ṣānam na pragad-yante tamo-rājasv-śritayah | Ibcarah samprapadyante deviḥ bhāvita-bhā-vanāḥ | sarvathā vartamāno 'pi yo bhaktāḥ parameśvare | sadṛśo 'ranyavānām mūnānāṁ bhāvātātmanām | Brahmatvaṁ Keśavatvaṁ cha Śakrātuvaṁ va suraiḥ saha | trayokyasyādhipatyām va tuṣṭo Rudraḥ pra-yachhitā ityād | "Those sinful men who are soiled by unhallowed (deeds) do not seek Ṣāna, living under the dark and passionate qualities. Brahmins who have meditated on the cause [of all things] seek Ṣāva. The man who is devoted to Mahēśvāra—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 Kṛiṣṇa), or of Indra, or the supreme lordship of the three worlds, including the deities."

In a later part of the Anuśāsana-parvan, 7402 ff., Kṛiṣṇa relates to Yudhishṭhira 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 204), who, among other tricks, had yoked Kṛiṣṇa's wife Rukmini to his car, and had wounded her with a goad, while drawing him on the road, and as a reward of Kṛiṣṇa's patient endurance of all this annoyance, had offered him his choice of boons, and had promised to Rukmini that she should be eminently renowned in the world, and the most distinguished of the sixteen thousand wives of Kṛiṣṇa, whom she should worship. The Brahman then disappeared, and Kṛiṣṇa per-
formed an Upāṇśu 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.

Yudhisṭhir then says to Krishṇa (vv. 7458 ff.): Durvāsasah prasādāt te yat tada Madhusūdana | avāptam śa vijñānaṁ tan me vyākhyātum arhasi | makābhāgyaṃcha yat tasya nāmaṁ cha mahātmanah | tattvato jñātum icchāmi sarvam matimatāṁ vara | Vasudevaḥ uvacṣa | Hanta te kṛtayāhāyāmi namaskṛtya Kapardino | yad avāptam mayā rājan bṛyaḥ | yah chāṛjitaḥ yasāḥ | prāyataḥ prātar uśthāya yad adhiye viśāmpate | prāṇajāḥ śatarūḍhyām tan me nigatataḥ śṛṇu | Prajāpatiṣ tat sasrījat tapasova 'nte mahātāpaḥ | Sankarās te aṣṭijat tata praṇaḥ śūvarva-jan-gamāḥ | nāsti kinchīt paraṁ bhūtām Mahādevaḥ viśāmpate | śa triṇoḥ. api lokesu bhūtānaṁ pravaro hi saḥ | na chaiva sthitau sthātuṁ kinchīd agro mahātmanah | na hi bhūtaṁ samaṁ tena triṇoḥ lokesu viśāle | gandhūnaṁ api saṅgrāme tasya krūddhasya śatavatāḥ | eisāṁnaḥ hata-bhūyīṣṭhāḥ evaneḥ ca patanti ca | ghoreṇccha ninadaṁ tasya Purjyaṇa-ninadopamam | śrutaḥ viṣayaḥ tyādayaḥ devanām api saṁyuṣa | yāṃśeḥa ghoreṇa rūpeṇa pasyate krūddhāḥ pināka-dhriṅk | na surāḥ nesurāḥ loko na gandhavāḥ na pannagāḥ | kupite sukheḥ dhanante tasminn api gudagataḥ | Prajāpatiṣ te Dakshāsyā yojate vitate kratau | vīcayādha kupoṇya yajnaṁ nirbhayasa te abhayat tada | dhanuṣaḥ vāṇam uśṭijya saṅghoḥaṁ vinanda caḥ | tena tarmā kutaḥ santiṁ viśādaṁ lehbhir saurāḥ | vidhāha ca sahasā yajne kupite ca Mahēśvare | tena yā-tala-ghoṣena sarve lokāḥ smāculaḥ | bhaṭṭāvar avatāḥ Pārtha visheṣuḥ ca surāṣurāḥ | āpaḥ chāukṣubhēre chaiva chakampē ca vaṃdharāḥ | vyadṛvaṃ girīyaḥ chāpi dyauḥ paphāla cha sarvaḥ | andhena tamase lokāḥ pravṛtiḥ na chakṣūre | pravṛtiḥ jyo-tiśām bhāḥ ca saka śuryena Bhārata | bhūitaḥ bhūitaḥ tataḥ santiṁ chačrūḥ evastayanaṁ cha | rishayaḥ sarva-bhūtāṇāṁ ātmanaḥ cha hiśaṁśaḥ | tataḥ so 'bhyaḍravaḥ devān Rudro raudra-parākramaḥ | Bhagasya nayane krūddhāḥ prahāreṇa vyātayat | Pūkhaṃ caḥ bhāhdi-dṛdrāvā pādena ca rashanivaśaḥ | purogānam bhakṣayata devaṁśaḥ ca vyātayat | tataḥ prasūmvar devaḥ te vyapamaṇaḥ tu Sāṅkaraṃ | punah ca sandaṁ Rudro āśṭham suṁśitaṁ śaṃcaḥ | Rudāsaḥ viśramm ṛṣiṣṭvāḥ bhūtaḥ devaḥ saharśhīhbhiḥ | tataḥ prasādayāmaṇaḥ sarve te vibhadhitamaḥ | jeyiṣ ca śatarūḍhyām devaḥ kriyā 'njalīṁ tada | samāstyaṁmahās tridāsaḥ prasādaḥ Mahēśvaraḥ | Rudāsaḥ bhāgaḥ yojna ca viśeṣaṁ ca te akalpoṇaḥ | bhayena tridāsaḥ rājan saranaṁ ca pra-
KṚṢṆA CELEBRATES THE

poṣiro | tena chaiva hi duṣṭena (tusṭena?) sa yejno sanāhito bhavat | yaṁ yac chaśparitam tatra tat tathaiva sa jīvayat | Aśurāṇāṁ purāṇy āsaṁ trīṇī vīryavataṁ dīvi | āyaśam rājataṁ chaiva suvarṇam api chauperam | nātakat tāṁ Mahāvau bhetum sarvāyudhāṁ api | atha sarva Mahāvauṁ jagmuḥ karaṇam arditaṁ | tataḥ uchur mahātmāṁ devaṁ sarva samagataṁ | Rudra rudrāḥ bhavishyanti patavaṁ sarva-karmasu | jahi dāśyāṁ saha purair lokāṁṁ trāyaseva mānate | sa tathoktaś tathety uktvā kriyā Vaiśṇuṁ varttamam | tālyam Agniṁ tathā kriyā pūnkeyṁ Vaiśvatam Yaman | vedān kriyā dhanuḥ sarvaṁ jyāṁ cha eśvinm uttāmaṁ | Brahmaṁārya sārikhiṁ kriyā vimuiyujya cha sarvāṁ | tripaṁeva śirvāṁ kalōma bāṁhaḥ pūrṇoḥ | vijñāṇamārthaṁ yamante śuḥkum paramgopam | na sambudhārāḥ chaiva devā tam bhuvanākaroṁ | sa-prajapatayaḥ sarve tasmin sumahattēvara | tato dhvātva tu bhavān Brahmaṁ tam amitaṁyaśaṁ | āyaṁ kriyē saṁkheṣhaḥ iti jñātvā sarvāṁ tathā | varamaṁ pūṃśeṣu tāte | vahāṁ vahāṁ Rudraḥ cha tē suraḥ | bahuva sa tada bāḥur balahantan yathā puruṣaḥ | sa cha pi brahmaḥ suḥtāvam Durvāṣaḥ nāma vīravāṇ | Durvāṣayāṁ mama pura chaīrām kālam upācasat | viprakāraṁ prayunke sva subhāṇa mama veśmāni | tān udāratayāḥ chāhaṁ chākaṁo chāti-duḥṣaḥan | sa vai Rudraḥ sa cha Śivaḥ sa 'gniḥ Sarvaḥ sa sarva-jit | sa vai chandraḥ sa Vaiyuḥ cha so 'dvinaṁ sa cha Viṣṇuḥ | sa chandraṁṣa sa chētaṁ sa Śuryo Varuṇaḥ oha saḥ | sa kalaḥ so 'ntaka mṛityuḥ sa tamo rātry ahāni oha | mārtha-mārthaṁ pitavaḥ sandhyo samvatsaraḥ oha saḥ | sa dhāta sa vidhiṣaḥ cha viva-karmā sa sarva-śiṣṭo | nakhaṛāṇi grahaḥ chaiva dīo 'tha vidhiṣeśa tathaḥ | viśva-mūrtiṁ amṛtyātmā bhagavān amara-dvitiṣaḥ | ekāḥ oha dve[daḥ]a chaiva bahūdaḥ cha sa eva hi | tatha saharañāḥ chaiva tathā tata-saharañāḥ | tīrtaḥ sa Mahādeo bhūmaḥ sa bhagavaṁ ajaḥ | na hi tahyaṁ gurur vaṁtaṁ api varara-kṣatir api | Yuddhishthira mahābhaḥ mahābhagyaṁ mahātmānaḥ | Rudrāya (?) bahurūpaya baḥu-nāmna nibodha me | Vadanty Agnim Mahādevam tathā Śīnuṁ Mahēśvaram | ekāḥ oha viśva-rūpāṁ Śivaḥ tathāḥ do tāny tasya

122 See Böhtlingk and Roth, s. e., būmaḥ, vol. v., p. 1660, where several passages of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa are referred to in which a kindred word, būmaḥ, is applied as an epithet to Kṛṣṇa. See also page 347 of the same vol.
GLORY OF MAHĀDEVA.

devanya brahmanāḥ vedajñāḥ viduḥ | ghorāḥ anyāṁ śivam anyāṁ te
tama bahuhū puṇaḥ | ugra ghorā tanur ya sā so 'gnir viḍuṣa so bhā-
skarah | śivā savmya cha ya tva asya dharmas tv āpo 'tha chandrasmāḥ |
atmano 'rāham tu tasyāgniḥ somo 'rāham punar uchyate | brahma-
charyaṁ charaty ekā śivā ya 'sya tanuś tathā | ya 'sya ghoratāmā
mūrtir jagat saṁkarate tadaḥ | iva ratvād mahātvach cha Mahēvraṁ
iti smṛītaḥ | yaḥ nirdahati yat tīkṣho yaṁ ugro yat pratāparan |
māṁsabherita-majādo yat tato Rudraṁ uchyate | devānāṁ sumahān yaḥ
dha yaḥ chāya visheya mahān | yaḥ cha visvam mahat pāti Mahādevas
tataṁ smṛītaḥ | dhumra-rūpaṁ cha yat tasya dhārayatītī ata uchyate |
samadhayate yaḥ mītyaṁ saraṁ vai sara-karmabhiḥ | manuṣhayān śivam
amośvahāṁ taṁmad eva śivaṁ smṛītaḥ | ityādi

Anusāsana-parvan, v. 7458 ff.—Yudhishtīra says to Kṛishṇa: "Thou
oughtest, Madhusūdana, to expound to me that knowledge which thou
then obtainedst by the favour of Dvārakā. 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 128] 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),
inenced, looks upon with his direful aspect, can enjoy tranquillity when

127 With this and the preceding lines compare Droṇap., 9632 ff.
128 It is part of the White Yajur Veda (Vaiśeṣaeyi 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 eating the puroḍāsa offering. The gods

184 For the older story about Bhaga and Pūshan, see Indische Studien, ii. 306 f.; and Tuittiiryana Sanhitā, ii. 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 yajñām Rudraḥ antar ṣāman | sa yajnam avihasyat | tam devāḥ abhisamagachhanta "kalpatāṁ naḥ idam" iti | te bruvan "svishṭam vai naḥ idam bhavishyati yad idam rūdhayishyam" iti | tat svishṭibrāṭha svishṭakṛtyavam | tasyā rūdhāṁ nirakṛtyam (4) yaya māṃ samatam | tasmād yoya-mātram avādyet | yaj jāyū "vadṛṣṭaḥ vṛṣṭaḥ rṣeṣvam tad yajnasya | yad upe cha strīpiṣṭhā abhiḥ ca ghrayet udhayam saṁbhāvīyai kuryat | avādyayā abhiḥkārayati | deīḥ sampadyate | deśpāda yajamānaḥ | pratiṣṭhitayai | yat tirsāchidham aṭiharan anabhividhāṁ javyastā abhidhidhyat | agreṣaṁ pārivarati titthena eva pārivarati | tat Pūṣṇa paryaharan tat | (5) Pūṣāḥ prāśya dato 'ṛṇaḥ | tasmāt Pūṣāḥ propiṣṭha-bhāgaḥ | adantaka hi | tam devāḥ abruvan "vi eai ṣāman ārādhī | aprāśīrya vai ayam abhiḥ" iti | tad Brihaspatyaṃ paryaharan | so 'bhūdot Brihaspati tittham vṛṣaṇa ṣāman ārādhīyati iti | sa etam mantram apadyat | "The gods excluded Rudra" [in the form of the Svishṭakṛit 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 (svishṭa).’ It is from this that the Svishṭakṛit insures the due performance of the rite.” [According to Professor Weber, Ind. Stud., ix. 217, the svishṭakṛit is the portion of the sacrifice destined for Agni Svishṭakṛit.] “They cut off the part which had been pierced to the extent of a barleycorn. 4. Wherefore let the adhavryu priest cut off [the prāśītra 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 prāśītra], only to
trembling then made obeisance to Sankara, 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 brähmān’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 prāṣītra.’ They handed it to Brishapati. 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 prāṣītra broke Pūshan’s teeth was, that it was ‘Rudriya’ (see the passage from the Sūtap. 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 arṣyāt (followed by tasmāḥ), in the above passage, must stand for arṣyaḥ (though the root rṣy is nowhere else conjugated in the seventh conjugation), and compares Taitt. S., vii, 4, 9, 1, arṣiḥ devaḥyaṁ for arṣy (see Ind. Stud., viii, 54, note); Kautil. 39, nyat for nyat; sammad-avyaḥ for samyaḥ-āyatā, Dhammap. verse 57; samyūcchāṁ from samyucchāṁ, Taitt. Br., i, 8, 1, 1; maddhyam from map, R. V., x, 60, 6; addhāḥ, addhayaḥ from apr; samyata te, Taitt. S., i, 2, 7, 1 (compare Weber’s Indische Streifen, i, 127, note 5).

The Sūtap. 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 | Ta ha śucar “upyaṇita yathā idāṁ na anuyāś asat kanyā ha abher yathā idāṁ nyād” iti | 6 | to ha śucar “Bhagya eva daśakiṭāṁ āśīyaṁ parihrata svad Bhagya prāśīkṣita tad yathā abher eva bhavishyati” iti | 7 | tad Bhagya daśakiṭāṁ āśīyaṁ parīhrata | tad Bhagya ‘svayakṣāh inference | tathā akṣiṇi mirdadāḥ | tathā in mīnaṁ tad āśā | tasmāḥ āśā “andho Bhagya” iti | 7 | ta ha śucar “no na atra amaḥ | Pūṣya eva parihrata” iti | 8 | Pūṣya parīhrata | tu Pūṣya parīhrata | tu Pūṣya prāśā | tathā āśā | tathā in mīnaṁ tad āśā | tasmāḥ āśā “adantakaḥ | Pūṣya” iti | tasmāḥ yaṁ Pūṣya charuṁ kuryanti prapīṣṭhānum eva kuryanti yathā adantakaḥ āvaṁ | 9

“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 tranquillised. 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 yaḥ prāśītram avadyati yad eva atra uṣṭdhaṁ yajñasya yad Rudriyaṁ tad eva eva nirmiṁite (hathi krtiṁ niḥkaraṁ, 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: Saḥ prāśītriṣi “Agnaś ta eva avagyena prāśītriṣi” iti | na vai Agniṁ kinyahna pinasti | tathā kha evam etad na kinyatā | 16 | tad na addhāḥ khyād | “na id me idam Rudriyaṁ daco hinaṣad” iti | tasmād na addhāḥ khyād | 16. “He eats that,
joined hands, muttered the Satarudriya. Being thus lauded by the gods, Mahēśvara became pleased; and they apportioned to him a distinguished share in the sacrifice, and, through fear, resorted to him as [saying], ‘I eat thee with Agni’s mouth.’ Nothing destroys Agni. So this does not destroy him. 16. Let no one eat it with his teeth, [thinking], ‘Lest this, which is connected with Rudra, destroy my teeth.’ Wherefore let no one eat it with his teeth.”

The following is a passage from the preceding section of the same Brāhmaṇa: 1. 7, 3, 1: Yajñena vai devaḥ dīvam upadakrūman | atha yo ’yam devaḥ paśūnam iṣṭe sa iva ahiṣata | taśmiṣṭi vāstavaḥ ity  śluk | vāstau hi tad ahiṣata | 2 | sa yena eva devaḥ dīvam upadakrūmanam tame u eva archanah śūryanātim chrenā | atha yo ’yam devaḥ paśūnam iṣṭe yah iva ahiṣata | 3 | sa aṣkataḥ “aha asya ha antaryanty u mā yajnād” iti | so ‘nūchchhēśvarāsa | sa aṣṭaṣṭau ivaṇām uṣṭoṣe | sa eva śvāśakrūtah bhūkṣā | 4 | te devaḥ abhraṃ “mā visvāhē” iti | “te eva mā yajnād mā ‘nirvāyata āhitam me kalpaṃ” iti | “tathā” iti | sa aṣkataḥ sa na uṣyat sa na kācchāna ahitā | 5 | te devaḥ abhraṃ “yesso ne no hūmśah giḥkhānya abhīvaṃ sarveṣāṃ teṣām kutaṃ uṣṭāṇā itaḥ ‘maśma āhitum kalpaṃ’” iti | 6 | te ‘dēvāryum abhraṃ “yathāpūrṇaḥ havīṃkaḥ abhīghēṣyaḥ” ekṣaṃ avadāṇāya purna āpiṣṭayaḥ | avatāyanaṃ kuru tataḥ ekaikam avadāṇām avadāṇaṃ | 7 | so ‘dēvāryur yathāpūrṇaḥ havīṃkaḥ abhīghēṣyaḥ ekṣaṃ avadāṇāya purna āpiṣṭayaḥ avatāyanaṃ akaro tataḥ ekaikam avadāṇām avadāṇaṃ | 1. “By sacrifice the gods ascended to the sky. Now the god who rules over cattle was excluded here. Hence men call him Vāstavya; for he was excluded [by remaining] on the sacrificial ground (vēṣye). 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 Śvāṣaktrt. 4. The gods said to him, ‘Do not disturb (the sacrifice).’ [He rejoined,] ‘Do not exclude me from the sacrifice; give me an obligation.’ They agreed. He kept together, and did not scatter, the materials of the sacrifice, or injure anything. 5. The gods said, ‘Take notice of all the offerings which have been presented, that we may form an obligation for him.’ 6. They said to the Adhāvryu, ‘Sprinkle the oblations in order with butter; and again replenish each fragment. Make them fresh; then cut off each part.’ 7. The Adhāvryu 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 Bōhlingk and Roth, s.v. Bhaga and Pūshan, has the following verses on these gods: iv. 6, 20 | Bhagasya netre bhagavăn pālitaḥ ruchā dhvī | uṣṣhēra sadaatha ’kēḥēḥ yah ēpantam aṣṭuḥ | 21 | Pūṣhān eṣṭiṣṭaḥ dantām Kālingasya yathā Balaḥ | S’apamāne garimāni yo’keśad darañcah 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 curing [Mahādeva]. 21. And he knocked out the teeth of Pūshan (as Bala had done to the king of Kālinga), because, when the great god was being cursed, he had laughed, showing his teeth.” vi. 6, 41 | Pūṣhāḥ ‘nāpata-yāḥ pichṣādāḥ bhagya-danto ’bhavat purū | yo ’ena Dakshāya kripāṃ yahāḥ viṣṭa-dvējah | “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,186 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 Vishṇu 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 Brahma his charioteer,188 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.187 Again, beholding him a child in the lap, with five locks,188 Umā, desiring to know,189 said, ‘Who is

186 See the second vol. of this work, pp. 378 ff., and the Karna-parvan of the M. Bh. vv. 1402 ff. below.
187 See the story from the Karna-parvan, cited below, vv. 1515 ff.
188 For the older forms of this story, see the second vol. of this work, pp. 380–384.
189 Like an ascetic, according to Böhtlingk and Roth, s. v. panchāshīka.
188 Or, is the proper reading jīvāsāmāṇān, 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. 9675, which throws some light on the one before us: Puruṣa deśghaṭomān tam devi yiṣṭā pravaiḥkāthūṭum | bōlam ankaṭoṭam kriśv aṣayam panaḥkāṭhām pūṇaḥ | Umā jīvāsāmāṇān vai ko yam ity abroṣṭi surāṇ | aṣiṣyataḥ cha Sākṣraya ejīméra praharipakāṭaḥ | bōlam svaṣṭiraṁ tam tasya krudhiṣyātāmāryam prahṛāḥ | prahṛāya bhagavatām tāryam sarva-lokeśvaro viḥvāḥ | tataḥ saṁcitāmāhita-hēyāḥ Sākro deśa-gaṇgair vṛttaḥ | jagāma sa-suras tāryam Brahman prahṛam aṣayam | te tam prasangya śirāmā prabhuḥ prūṇjasayā tadā | kāmasya ankaṭoṭam Brahman Pārvatīyāḥ bhistam adhiṣṭetam | bāla-rūpa-dhuroḥ śīkṣeyām nāsmāṅkīr abhiśīdaḥ | tasmāt tevam prakṛtām suḥśāmo nirjītāṁ yema vai aṣayam | ayuḥṣyataḥ hi bōlaṃ līlayā 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, jīvāsāmāṇān? though none of the printed copies read so] ‘Who is this?’ And the divine lord, master of all the worlds, all-pervading, with a smile, instantly paralysed the arm and thunderbolt of Indra, who showed ill-will, and in his anger was about to smile with the thunderbolt. Indra, his arm having been paralysed, immediately went with the gods to Brahma, the imperishable lord; and bowing with their heads, with joined hands, they said: ‘O Brahma, we have seen in the lap of Pārvati, a wonderful being bearing the form of a child; and we have not saluted him. Wherefore we desire to ask thee who is the child by whom we, including Indra, have been conquered, as if in play, and without any fight.’"
this?" And when Indra, envious, was about to smite him (the child) with the thunderbolt, he stayed the thunderbolt, and paralyzed that arm resembling a club. None of the gods, including Prajāpati, understood the lord of the worlds, [existing] in that most mighty deity [in the form of an infant]. Then the divine Brahmā, meditating on that being of boundless glory, and knowing that he was supreme, adored the lord of Umā. Then these gods propitiated Umā and Rudra; and the arm of the slayer of hosts became as before. And again, Mahādeva, becoming a powerful Brahman, by name Durvāsas, dwelt a long time in my city Dvāravatī. He practised very many perversities in my house, which, though difficult to support, I, through generosity, endured. He is Rudra, he is Siva, he is Agni, he is Śarva, the all-conquering; he is Indra, he is Vāyu, he is the Aśvins, he is the lightning, he is the moon, he is Iśāna, 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 Dhāti, and Vidhāti, Viśvakarman, the all-knowing, the constellations, the planets, the regions [or quarters], and intermediate regions or [points of the compass] universal-formed, immeasurable in essence, divine, of undecaying splendour. He is simple, twofold, manifold, a thousand-fold, and a hundred-thousand-fold. Such is Mahādeva, the vast, the divine unborn being; his qualities cannot be declared in a hundred years." Kṛishṇa proceeds uninterruptedly at the beginning of a new section: "Large-armed Yudhishṭhīra, understand from me the greatness of the glorious, multiform, many-named Rudra. They call Mahādeva Agni, Śaṅku, Mahēśvara, One-eyed, Tryambaka, the universal-formed, and Śiva. Brahmins versed in the Veda know two bodies of this god, one awful, one auspicious;*** 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 (tāvara) and great (mahat), he is called Mahēśvara. Since he consumes, since

*** In Vāj. S., v. 8, Agni is said to have three bodies. See the second volume of this work, p. 381, note.
he is fiery, fierce, glorious, an eater of flesh, blood, and marrow,—he is called Rudra. As he is the greatest of the gods, as his domain is wide, and as he preserves the vast universe,—he is called Mahādeva. From his smoky colour, he is called Dhūrjaṭi. Since he constantly prospers all men in all their acts, seeking their welfare (śiva), he is therefore called Śiva,” etc., etc.

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

Sanjayaḥ uvāca | Dharitarāṣṭram balam drishṭvā yuddhāya sa-
mupasthitam | Arjunasya hitārthāya Krishṇo vachanam abravit | Śrī-
hagavān uvāca | Suchir bhūtvā mahābāho sangrāmabhikhe sthitāḥ | 
parājanyāya kārānāṁ Durgā-stotram udāraya | Sanjayaḥ uvāca | ovam ukto 'ṛjunaḥ sankhye Vāsudeva俯 dhīmatā | avatirya rathāḥ Pārthāḥ 
stotram āha kriṣṇajitih |

“Beholding the host of Dharitarāṣṭra come near to the conflict, Krishṇa, in the interest of Arjuna, addressed to him these words: ‘Having purified thyself, O large-armed hero, standing in front of the battle, utter a hymn to Durgā for the overthrow of thine enemies.’ Arjuna, being thus addressed in battle by the wise Vāsudeva, descending from his chariot, uttered a hymn with joined hands.”

III. In the passage which I have quoted above (p. 169, note 167) from Professor Wilson, it is remarked that in some places of the Mahābhārata the divine nature of Krishṇa is disputed or denied. An instance of this denial is to be found in the following passage of the Sabha-parvan, in which Sīulpāla, prince of the Chedis, is introduced as objecting to the divine honours which had been paid to Krishṇa, and as ultimately suffering the penalty of his proud and contemptuous impiety at the hands of the incarnate deity.

Yudhisṭhirā having resolved to perform the Rājasūya sacrifice (Sabhā-parvan, v. 1211), is joined by Krishṇa, who is designated as Hari, the rishi, the ancient, identified with the Veda, invisible to those who know him, the highest of things moving and stationary, the source and destroyer of all things, the lord of the past, the future, and the present (v. 1213: Athaivaṃ brvasatām evaṁ lēśhāṁ abhyāyayau Hariḥ | rishiḥ purāṇo vedātma 'drisyā saḥiva vijñātām | jagatās taṃsthushāṁ śresṭhāḥ prabhavāv āhūyaya (āhūyayaś?) cha ha | bhāta-bhavya-
bhavan-nāthāḥ Kṛṣṇaḥ keśi-sūdānaḥ). Numerous kings assembled to
witness the celebration (vv. 1260 ff.). On this occasion Bhāsha proposed that, apart from the customary presents bestowed on all the kings, Krishṇa 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. —Esah ātmaṁ samastānāṁ tejo-bala-parā-kramaiḥ | madhya tapam ivābhāti jyotishām iva bhāskaraḥ | asūryam iva sūryaṁ nirvātāḥ iva vayunāḥ | bhāsaṁ hādāsam chaiva Krishṇe-daṁ sado hi naḥ | tasmāi Bhātavābhyanujñātaḥ Sahadevaḥ pratāpa-vān | upajhre 'tha vidhiyāyārygyam uttamam | pratijārāha tat Krishṇaḥ sāstra-dīśreṇa karmāṇaḥ | Sīśupālas tu tām pujāṁ Vasudeva na chakṣhavo | "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 Krishṇa, as a sunless place is by the sun, and a windless spot is by the wind. Commissioned by Bhāsha, the majestic Sahadeva then presented in due form to Vārāṇeṣya (Krishṇa) a most excellent offering, which the latter received with the act prescribed by the sāstra. But Sīśupāla could not endure that honour shown to Vasudeva."

Sīśupāla then proceeds to state at length a variety of objections to what had been done (vv. 1338 ff.). He urges that Krishṇa was a "transgressor of the injunctions of law (śrīti), a contemptible and ill-instructed person" (v. 1340: Ayaṁ cha śrīitya-atikṛantiḥ hy apageyo 'spa-dārśanāḥ); that he was not a king, or a person venerable from age, his father Vasudeva being still alive (v. 1343: Athava manyavo Krishṇaṁ śrīvaṁ Kuru-puṇava | Vasudeva śīla vaśyāk katham arhati tat-sataḥ | ); 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: Ayuktāṁ ātmanaṁ pujāṁ tvam punar bahu man-yass | havīvaḥ prāpya nisyāman prāśita śeva nirjane | ).

201 This line had previously occurred as part of verse 1218 of the same Parvan.
202 Similarly we read in Sīśupāla’s speech on the same occasion as given in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 74, 34: . . . Gopālaḥ kula-pārśvānāḥ | yatākā kākhaḥ puruṣā-śām sparṣyāṁ katham arhati | "How does this cowherd, the vilest of his race, deserve homage, any more than a crow deserves to eat an oblation?" The commentator thus gives what he calls the “real sense” of these words: “Gopālaḥ”
thus vented his indignation, Siśupāla leaves the assembly, followed by Yudhisṭhira, who endeavours to soothe him. Bhīṣma then defends Krishṇa's claims to the honour which he had received (vv. 1377 ff.):

"Na hi kevalam asamkam ayam archyatamo 'chyulaḥ | trayaṃām api lokanām archaniyo mahābhujak | Krishṇaḥ hi jītaḥ yuddho bahavaḥ kahatriyavahabhaḥ | jagat evaṁ cha Vārṣṇeṣu nāthkileṇa pratisthitam | tasmāt satva api epyddhsvu Krishṇam archāmi netarān | . . . . 1382. 
Na kevalo m vaṃ kāmaḥ Chedi-rāja Janārdana | na sambandham pravāsītya kritarthaḥ vā kathanchana | archānaḥ archānaḥ saṁdhīr bhui bhūta-sukhāvaham | Yaśāḥ brauryām jayaṁ ohāya vijnāyārām grāvyāmahaḥ | na cha kāsche idārūṣābhiḥ subalo 'py aparabhātataḥ | guṇaṃ epyddhān ātikramya Harir archyatamo mataḥ | jānā-epyddhā dvijātnām kahatriyānum balādhikāḥ | "1377: This unfailing 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 Kṛṣṇa have been conquered by Kṛṣṇa: and the whole world rests upon Vārṣṇeya. Wherefore, even though there be aged men [present], I worship Kṛṣṇa, and not the others. . . . . 1382: It is not therefore from interested motives, king of the Chedis, nor in consequence of our connexion, nor for the sake of anything he has done for us, that we worship Janārdana, who is worshipped by the good on earth, and who promotes the happiness of creatures. But knowing his renown, heroism, and victories, we offer him our worship. Nor is there here any mere youth whom we have never tried. Hari, surpassing the aged in his virtues, is regarded by us as most worthy

i ti veda-pritiyā-ādi-pālakaḥ ity arthaḥ | kutsitaṁ veda-vijaritaṁ lapantī iti kulapāḥ pākhyajah | tān aṁsatā samagāhatsya iti tathā saḥ | "akākā" kaṁ cha aṁsa cha kāke (=kā-āka) sukha-dukkhe te na vidyate, yasya saḥ | "akākā" āpikāmaḥ ity arthaḥ | sa yathā āpikāmo deva-yogyam puroḍaśa-mātraṁ na arhati api tu sarvasvaṃ api tathā 'yaṃ ēri-krishṇo brahmaśrī-yogyam samarpana-mātraṁ katham arhati | kinte utma-samarpanam apya arhati ity arthaḥ | "Gopāla" means the protector of the Veda, the earth, etc. ‘Ku-lapāḥ’ are those who speak what is evil, contrary to the Veda, heretics. ‘Kulapāṭhāna’ (Ku-ṇa-lapa-ṇaṭiṣṭa) is thus one who destroys (aṁsatā) such persons. ‘Akākā’ (the commentator chooses here to suppose that there is an elided a between yatā and kākā) is one to whom (‘kāke’) pleasure and pain (ka-ka-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 Kṛṣṇa does not deserve merely the offering suitable for a Brāhmaṇa-rishi, but also the offering up of one’s self."
of worship. In knowledge he excels Brahmans, and in force Kasatriyas."

1386: Pujyatayana cha Govinde hetu dov api saanathitau | veda-vedanga-vijnanam bala chapy adhitam tathau | nripam loke hi ko 'nyo 'sti visish'taṁ Kesavat rite | danam dakehyam prutam sarityam hriṁ kirtir buddhir uttamau | sannatih krit dhritis tuasitich yushtischa niyata 'chyutah | tam imaṁ loka-sampannam acharyam pitaram gurum | arghyam architam archarham sarve samkhshantu arhatha | ritev gurur vivahya cha snatakno nripatiḥ priyaḥ | sarvam etad Hrishiikesas tasmad abhyarchito 'chyutah | Krishnau eva hi lokanam utpattir api chapyayah | Krishnasya hi krite visam idam bhutaṁ characharam | uha prakritir aveyakta kartā chaiva sanatanaḥ | paraṁ cha sarva-bhutobhaya tasmad pujyatamo 'chyutah | Buddhir mano mahad eyya tejo 'mbhaḥ kham maht cha yā | chaturvidham cha yaḥ bhutam sarvam Krishnau pratishthitam |

1396: Sa-devakeshu lokeshu dhagavan Kesavo mukham | ayaṁ tu purusho balaṁ Sisupalo na budhyate | sarvatra sarvadā Krishnau tasmad evam prabhahat | yo hi dharmaṁ vicinuyad utkriṣṭham matimā narāḥ | slo vai paśyed yathā dharmaṁ na tathā Čchedāraṇ ayam | sa-eviḍha-balesho athavā parthiveshu mahātmasu | ko nārham manyoṭa Krishnau ko vā py enam na pujayet | athainām dushkritisām pujāṁ Sisupalo vyavasayati | dushkritisāṁ yathānāyāṁ tathā 'yāṁ kartum arhati]

"There are two reasons why Govinda is worthy of honour: his knowledge of the Vedas and Vedângas, 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,—Hrishiikesa is all this, and therefore he has been honoured. It is Krishnâ 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) Krishnâ."

The grounds urged for honouring Krishnâ in this and the following verses are of a different character from those in the preceding lines, which do not ascribe to him any qualities of a superhuman character; whilst the succeeding ones do. It is quite possible that the whole of this description of his qualities may not be of one age, but may contain interpolations subsequently introduced.
distinguishable matter (prakṛiti), and he is the eternal maker, transcending all beings: hence Achyuta is most worthy of honour. Intellect, mind, the great one (mahat), air, fire, water, sky, and earth—whatever fourfold being exists—all depends upon Kṛishṇa. 1896. The divine Keśava is chief among the worlds including the gods. But this foolish man, Śiśupāla, does not know that Kṛishṇa [is] everywhere and always—and hence he speaks thus. For this king of the Chedis does not regard righteousness in the same way as an intelligent man who can distinguish eminent righteousness. Who is there, whether among old or young, or among mighty kings, who will not regard Kṛishṇa as honourable, or who will not reverence him? Śiśupāla treats this honour as unduly paid. But it having been unduly paid, he should act as is befitting."

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

1433. Śiśupālaḥ uvāca | viśāhakābhīr bāheśhīr bhīthayan sarvāparthivaṁ | na eyapatrapas kasmār vṛiddhāḥ san kula-pāṁsanaḥ | yuktam etat triyāyām-prākritau vartatā tvayoḥ | vaktum dharmādu apetāthaṁ tvam hi sarva-kurūttamaḥ | nāvī naur iva samaddhā yathā 'nāho vā 'ndham anviyāt | tathā bhūtah hi Kauravyah yeshāṁ Bhīshma tvam agrantiḥ | Pūtanā-ghāta-pūrvāṁ karmāṇy aṣya víśeṣaṁ | tvayoḥ kīrtayata 'smakam bhūyāḥ pravyathitam manaḥ | avastāpya mūrkhaṁ Keśavaṁ stotraṁ ichṭahataḥ | katham Bhīshma na te jīvāt śatadhyāṁ vīd稞yate | yatra kutsā pratyakṣaṁ Bhīshma bālatarair naraṁ | tam inaṁ jñāna-vṛiddhāṁ san gopam sametotum ichhaṁ | yady annena hata bālīyo śakunīḥ chitram atra kim | tau vā 'śvavṛishabhaṁ Bhīshma yau na yuddha-viśāradau | chetanā-rahitaṁ kāśṭhakam yady annena nipātilam | pādena sakaṭam Bhīshma tatra kim kṛitam adbhutam | valmīka-mātraṁ sapāṭhānaṁ yady annena dhṛito 'chalaḥ | tadda Govardhana Bhīshma na tach chitram matam mama | bhuktam etena bahu annam kṛtataṁ naga-mūrdhāṁj

iti te Bhīshma śrīvānaṁ paraṁ viśmayam āgataḥ | yasya chānaṁ dharmāḥ bhuktam annam bāliyasaḥ | sa chānaṁ hataḥ Kāṁsāḥ ity etan na mahādhubutam | na na kṛtam idam Bhīshma nūnam kathayatāṁ satām | yad vaskhe teṁ adharmājaṁ vākyam Kuru-kulādharmaṁ | strīsho gosu na sāstrai gaitayed brāhmaṇesu cha | yasya chānamāṁ bhunijita yasya cha syāt pratihāyāḥ | iti santo 'nuśānte sujanaṁ dharmīnaṁ sadā | Bhīshma loka hi tat sarvaṁ vilathaṁ tvayoḥ drikṣaye | jñāna-vṛiddhāṁ cha

Vol. IV.
Śiśupāla’s deprecation of Kṛishṇa.

vyādhaṁ cha bhūyāṁ saṁ Kesavam mama | ajñātaṁ ivākhyāti samstuvan
Kauravādham | go-gnaḥ stri-gnaḥ cha san Bhitsha tvad-vākyad yadi
pañjate | evam-bhataṁ cha yo Bhitsha katham saṁstuvam arhati |

1451. Nānā prakṛitiṁ esa te jaghaṁyā nātra saṁśayaḥ | atah pāpyati
causāṁ Pāṇḍavānām aprīhyate | yahāṁ archyatamaṁ Kṛishṇaṁ tvam
cha yahāṁ pradarsakaṁ | dharmavāṁ tvam adharma-jñaṁ satam mārgaṁ
avopatiḥ | ityādi |

Śiśupāla answers Bhitsha: “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,⁴⁰⁴ 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, Bhitsha, art the leader.
Our minds have frequently been vexed by thee when detailing his
(Kṛishṇa’s) slaughter of Pūtanā and other feats. How is it,
Bhitsha, 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 Sākuni,⁴⁰⁵ 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,⁴⁰⁶ what wonderful thing did he do? If the mountain Govardhana,
a mere ant-hill, was held up by him for seven days,⁴⁰⁷ I do not regard
that as anything remarkable. Hearing that when playing on the hill-

⁴⁰⁴ The commentator explains this phrase as follows: Dev prakṛitiṁ parīṣānimyam
maṅga taṣṭam chir-pratisvibhasa ’cha [sūṣṭhā prakṛiti te etad-ubhayahyāṣādāhish-
thaṁ nāreṣṭhaṁ caṣṭu | tatra caṣṭaṁ caṣṭamaṁ, etc. “Two conditions are
changeable, viz. (1) illusion (maṅga) and (2) the reflected image of thought (chir-
pratisvibhasa) in it. The third condition is the basis of the erroneous ascription of
the other two, substance without distinction,” etc. I am indebted to Dr. R. Rost
for an important suggestion regarding the combination of two of the words in this
sentence. Dr. Rost informs me that in the text one MS. reads kuruttamaḥ and
another suvaṁ kuruttamaṃ.

⁴⁰⁵ A female demon slain by Kṛishṇa.—See Wilson’s Vishnū Purāṇa, p. 506
(vol. iv., p. 276, of Dr. Hall’s ed.).

⁴⁰⁶ See the Udyoga-parvan 4409, where Pūtanā and Sākuni (there spelt with a
long i) are mentioned together as having been slain by Kṛishṇa in childhood.

⁴⁰⁷ See Vishnū Purāṇa, p. 508 (vol. iv., p. 279, of Dr. Hall’s ed.).

⁴⁰⁸ See Vishnū 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 Bhishma, 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, Bhishma, thou basest of the tribe of Kurus? 'Let no one smite with his weapons women, 300 cattle, or Brahmins, 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, Bhishma, is seen by all to be falsified in thee. Thou, basest of the Kurus, eulogizing, speakest of Kesava as old in knowledge, and mature, and superior, as if I did not know him. If he, being a slayer of cattle, and of women, is, according to thy word, to be reverenced,—how, Bhishma, 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 Pandavas also is shown to be most wicked,—[these Pandavas] to whom Krishna 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 Bhimasena (v. 1482), who, however, is restrained by Bhishma from assaulting Sisupala, though the latter is anxious to fight him. Bhishma then goes on (1494 ff.) to give Bhimasena an account of Sisupala'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 Krishna came and took him into his lap, and the infant got rid of his superfluous members. 310 On seeing this, his

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300 See above, pp. 162 f.
310 On this story of Sisupala Lassen remarks (Indian Antiquities, i. p. 674 first ed.; p. 822 second ed.): "Sisupala in this case represents Siva, and the conflict of the Siva-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 Śiśupāla’s offences. Kṛṣṇa promises to pardon a hundred. Bhīṣma then proceeds (v. 1518 ff.):

Evam eṣa nṛpah pāpah Śiśupālahaṁ samanda-dhīḥ | tvāṁ samākhyaḥ vīra Govinda-vara-darpitaḥ | Naishā Chedi-pater buddhir yāya te āha-yate 'cheytum | nānāṁ eṣa jagad-bhurtuḥ Kṛṣṇaṁyaiva vinīśchayaḥ |
ko hi māṁ Bhīmasenaṁyā kehitāv arhati pārthivaḥ | kheptum kāla-paritattmā yathāśca kula-pāṁsanaḥ |
| eṣaḥ hy asya mahābhaṅge tejo 'ṁśuḥ cha Hārera dhruvam | tam eva punar ādātum ichhāty uta tathā viśuḥ |
| yenaiśa Kuru-sārdalā sārdalaloṁ iva Chedi-rāṭ | garjaty attva durbuddhiḥ sarvāṁ asmaṁ achintayan |

"Thus this wicked king Śiśupāla, 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 Bhīmasena, ought to-day to revile me, deprived by destiny of his reason, like this degrader of his race?’ For this large-armed (Śiśupāla) is certainly [an emanation of] the strength, and a portion, of Hari, which the pervading [deity] wishes to draw back again [into himself]; in consequence of which, O chief of the Kurus, this foolish king of the Chedis growls loudly, like a tiger, disregarding us all."

Śiśupāla 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.): "Śiśupāla is probably an earlier name of Śīva, who is called ‘Pārśupati,’ or lord, protector, of beasts. ‘Śiśu’ denotes the young of men and beasts, and ‘pāla’ protector. He had a second name ‘Sūnitha’ (Sabhap. v. 1410), which no doubt was the proper one."
any one who was desirous to incur speedy destruction should challenge him to fight. Śiśupāla hereupon challenges Kṛṣṇa; and the narrative proceeds:

(Verse 1561 ff.): Tātāḥ brūtvaiva Bhīhmasya Chedi-rājā uru-vikramāḥ | yuyuteur Vāseḍeṇa Vāseḍavam uvācha ha | āhuva tvām raṇaṁ gachha mayā sārdhaṁ Janārđana | yāvād adya nihannī tvām sahitam sarva-Pāṇḍavaṁ | saha tvayā hi me badhyāḥ sarvathā Kṛṣṇa Pāṇḍavaḥ| nṛpatīn samātikramya yair arājā tvam architaḥ | ye tvāṁ dāsam arājānam bālyād archanti durmatim | anarham arha-vat Kṛṣṇa badhyās te iti me matiḥ | ity uktā rāja-sārdalā [ṣ?] tathau garjanyo amarśhāṇaḥ | evam uktā tātaḥ Kṛṣṇo mrdū-purvaṁ idaṁ vaḥchaḥ | uvācha pārthivān sarvān sa makhaṁ cha Pāṇḍavān | esha naḥ satrur aṃyam pārthivāḥ Sātvattvānāḥ | Sātvatānāṁ nṛśaṁsātmā na hīto 'napakāriyām | Prāg- jyotisḥa-puram yatān asmān jñātā nṛśaṁska-kṛt | adhāvā Drāvākān esha sarṣiṣyaḥ san narādhīpaḥ | kṛṣṇalā Bhṛga-rājasya esha Raivatāko gīroḥ | hatvā baddhāḥ cha tāṁ sarvān upāyāt eva-puram purā | aṃvamdehaḥ sayam medhyām utrisṛalāḥ rakṣibhū vṛṣitam | pitur me yajna-vighnārtham ahaṁ pāpa-nilayayaḥ | Sauvtrāṇ pratīyātānca Bahhror esha tapasvināḥ | bhūyaṁ abhyakarad mohād akāma [m?] tāṁ yat gatam | esha mayā-pratīchhanno Kāruḥsārthe tapasvinim | jahāra Bhadrāṁ Vaiśālīn mā- tulasya nṛśaṁs-vat | pītri-svasuḥ kṛito duḥkhaṁ sumahad marṣhayām aham | dhiṣṭā hidaṁ sarva-rājnāṁ sanśīdhāv adya vartate | pālayant hi bhavanto 'dya mayy aṣṭa vyatikramam | kṛiṇiṁ tu paroksham me yāni tāṁ nibodhata | imaṁ te asya na asahyāṁ koṅaṁ adya vyatikramam | avalepād badhāhāśya samagre rāja-maṇḍale | Rukmiṁyāṁ asya mūḍhasya prārthana 'stād mumūrṣhataḥ | na cha tāṁ prāptāvān mūḍhāḥ śādrāḥ vedasrūtim iva | evam-ādi tātaḥ sarvā sakhās te narādhīpaḥ | Vāsudeva- vachāḥ brūtvā Chedi-rājāṁ vyagarhayaṁ | tasya tad-vachanaṁ brūtvā Śiśupālaḥ pratāpavān | jahāsā svanavaddhāśaṁ vāyaṁ chedam uvācha ha | mat-pūrvām Rukmiṁyāṁ Kṛṣṇa saṁsate pariṅkṛtyay | viśeṣatāḥ pariṅkṛṣheu vṛtīṁ na kurwāḥ katham | manyaṁāno hi kaḥ sate puruṣaṁ pariṅkṛtyay | anya-pūrṇāṁ striyaṁ jātu tvād-anayo Madhusudana | kshama vā yadi te śraddhā mā vā Kṛṣṇa mama kshama | kruddhāḥ vā 'pi prasannād vā kīṁ me treto bhavishyati | tathā bravataḥ evaśya bhagavān Madhusudanaḥ | manasā 'chintayāḥ chakraṁ daitya-garvaṁ nīruḍanam | etasmīṁ svam kāla tu chakro hasta-gate sati | uvācha bhagavān ucchair vāyaṁ vāyaṁ viśāraṇaḥ | śrīnvantu me mahipālaṁ yenaitat
"The king of the Chedis, mighty in valour, desirous to fight with Vāsudeva, after he had heard Bhīshma, then addressed the former: 'I challenge thee, approach to combat with me, Janārdana, till I slay thee with all the Pāṇḍavas. For together with thee, Krīṣṇa, I must utterly destroy the Pāṇḍavas, 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. Krīṣṇa then addressed these mild words to all the kings and the Pāṇḍavas, in their presence: 'This son of Sātvat, O princes, is the bitter enemy, truculent and ill-disposed, of us the Sātvatas, who have done him no wrong. This malignant man, a sister's son, knowing that we had set out for the city of the Prāgjyotishas, burned Dvārakā. While the king of the Bhojas was formerly amusing himself on the Revata mountain, he slew and captured them all, and then returned home. Bent upon wickedness, to interrupt my father's sacrifice, he carried off the horse intended as a victim, which had been let loose, attended by keepers. He in his infatuation carried off the wife of the devotee Babhrū, who had set out to return to [the country of] the Sauvtras, who had gone hence, and who had no passion [for him]. Under a magical disguise, he, like a cruel wretch, carried off for the Kārūsha the devout Bhadrā, daughter of Viśāla, [the daughter] of my maternal uncle. For the sake of my father's sister (Śiśupāla'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 Raśmīṇṭ, but the fool did not obtain her, as a Śūdra is excluded from the veda.' Hearing these and such other words of Vāsudeva,
all the princes together then reviled the king of the Chedias. But the mighty Śiśupāla, hearing these words, laughed a sonorous laugh, and thus spake: ‘How is it, that thou art not ashamed, Kṛiṣṇa, thus in the assembly, and especially before the princes, to make mention of Rukminī, 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, Kṛiṣṇa, 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 vexer of his foes, incensed, instantly struck off the head of the king of the Chedias with his discus. The great-armed (warrior) fell like a mountain smitten by a thunder-bolt.”

211 Rukminī had been betrothed to Śiśupāla, as we are told in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, v. 26, 1 ff. (Wilson, p. 573, first ed.; p. 69, vol. v. of Dr. Hall’s ed.): Bhishmakaḥ Kuḍinā rūpā Viṣṇu-bhismaḥ ‘bhavat | Rukmi tasyādhaśvat putro Rukminī cha vaśīañca | Rukminīṁ chakama Kṛiṣṇaḥ sū cha tām chāru-kūśinī | na dadau yohate | chaśnīṁ Rukmi dasaṇaḥ chakrīṇa | dadau ca Śiśupālīyā Jārāsandha-prachoditaḥ | Bhishmakaḥ Rukminī uccīḍhau Rukminīṁ uru-vikrāmaḥ | “Bhishmaka was king in Kuḍiṇā, in the country of the Viśdhabas. Rukmin was his son, and the beautiful Rukminī (his daughter). Kṛiṣṇa loved Rukminī, and the sweetly-smiling maid (loved) him, but Rukmin did not give her to the wielder of the discs, when he asked her; but urged by Jārāsandha, Bhishmaka, mighty in valour, together with Rukmin, gave her to Śiśupāla.” Kṛiṣṇa 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 Harivāmśa, sect. 117, vv. 6579 ff.; and in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. sections 48 ff.

212 See the sequel, vv. 1585–1588. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa (Wilson’s translation, p. 437, first ed.; vol. iv. p. 104, of Dr. Hall’s ed.) tells that Śiśupāla had been in a former birth the Daitya Hīranyakaśipu, who was killed by Viṣṇu in his man-lion incarnation. He afterwards became Bārya, who was slain by Bāma. In his character as Śiśu-pāla he evinced an intense hatred towards Viṣṇu, “a portion of the supreme being, who had descended to lighten the burthens of the earth,” (V. P. iv. 14, 14: Śiśupālātvena bhāgavate bhū-bhrāvataṁ bhāratiyaṁ avatārāṇiḥ sanuṇkhyaya Puṣṭrīkiṣṇanākhyaya upari dresanubhandhau atitarūm chakūra | ) and was in consequence slain by him;
Duryodhana, the son of Dhritarashtra, and the principal leader of the Kuru-kshetra, is represented as manifesting a similar disbelieving attitude in the Bhagavata's divine character, or at least as maintaining a proud and contumacious resistance to his claims. In the Udyoga-parvan (vv. 2527 ff.), Sanjaya unfolds the divine nature of Krishna, “who,” he says, “being distinct in nature, and self-subsisting, is able, by a thought, to subject to himself the earth, the air, and the heaven” (prthivi-vina-chantarikshanchaadyam chaiva Purushottamaḥ | manasaiva visishtatmā nayaty atma-vaha vaśi).

He then goes on to say, vv. 2529 ff.:

Ekato va jagat kriṣṇam ekato va Janārdanaḥ | sārata jagataḥ kriṣṇaḥ atirikto Janārdanaḥ | bhāma kuryaḥ jagad idam manasaiva Janārdanaḥ | na cha kriṣṇam jagad cakṣatam bhasmikartukṣa Janārdanaṃ | yataḥ satyaṃ yato dharmo yato hrīr ārjavaṃ yataḥ | tato bhavati Govinda yataḥ Kṛśnaḥ tato jagat | prthivi-vinaḥ chantarikshancha divanca Purushottamaḥ | vīrāśrayati bhūtatmaḥ kriṣṇam ida Janārdanaḥ | sa kriṣṇa Pāṇḍavaḥ sattrām lokāṃ sammohayam ēva | adharma-niratāṁ mādhvāna dagdhum iṣṭhāti te sutaḥ | kāla-chakrāṃ jagad-chakrāṃ yuga-chakrāṃra Janārdanaḥ | ātma-yogena bhagavān porivartayate 'nīsam | kālaśaya cha hi nrityoṣeṣa jangama-ṣṭhāvarasya ēha | tato bhagavān ekaḥ satyam etad bravmi te | śaṁ api mahāyogī sarvasya jagato Hariḥ | karmāya āra ḍhate kartum kinārasya ēva vardhanaḥ | tena vanchayate lokāṁ māyāyogena Kēśavaḥ | ye tum ēva prapadyante tena mūhyanti mānavāḥ | Dhṛitarāṣṭraḥ uvācha | kathāṁ tvām Mādhavaṁ vṛttā sarvā-loka-mahāvaram | katham enaṁ na vedāṁ tad mamaṁśah sakṣa Sanjaya | Sanjayaḥ uvācha | kriṣṇa rājaṁ na te vidyā mama vidyā na hiyate | vidyā-ḥno tamo-dvāsato nābhijñānti Kēśavaṁ | vidyāyā tāta jānāṁ triyugam Madhuraṇām | kartāram akṛiṣīṁ devam bhūtāṇāṁ praḥabhavyayam | Dhṛitarāṣṭraḥ

but as his thoughts were “constantly engrossed by the supreme being,” Sītuḥāpa became united with him after death; for the lord gives “to those whom he is favourable whatever they desire,” and “bestows a heavenly and exalted station even upon those whom he slays in his displeasure.” This is further explained in the next section, where we are told that Krishna as an object of hatred was ever present to Sītuḥāpa’s thoughts, and that he was constantly uttering his name, and though this was done disrespectfully and in malice, 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 Sītuḥāpa’s brother, king of the Śilvas (whose capital was Saubhas), to revenge his death, his assault on Dhruvakṣa, his desire to slay Krishna, and the destruction which he thereby drew upon himself, are narrated in the Vana-parvan, vv. 615-690.
ASSISTS KRISHNA'S DIVINE CHARACTER.

"On the one side the whole world, on the other Janardana,—in his essence Janardana 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 Krishn, he is therefore victory. The chief of males (or spirits), Janardana, the soul of beings, imparts activity to the earth, air, and sky, as if in sport. He having made for the Pándavas a sacrifice, deluding, as it were, the world, wishes to burn up thy (Dhritarāṣṭra's) infatuated and unrighteous sons. The divine Kesava by his own abstraction (yoga) makes the circlus 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. Dhritarāṣṭra said: How dost thou know Mādhava, the great lord of the whole world? and how is it that I do not know him?—tell me that, Sanjaya. Sanjaya answered: Hear, O king, thou hast not knowledge; but to me knowledge is not wanting. He who is devoid of knowledge, and sunk in darkness, does not recognize Kesava. By knowledge I recognize Madhusūdana, who exists in the three ages (yugas), the maker, the unmade, the god, the source of beings, and the cause of their destruction. Dhritarāṣṭra asks: O Gāvalgaṇi (Sanjaya), what is this devotion of thine to Janardana, 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 Janardana from the scripture (śāstra). Dhritarāṣṭra said: Duryodhana, do thou seek Hṛishikēśa, Janardana; Sanjaya is to us an authoritative teacher: resort to Kesava as thy
refuge. Duryodhana said: If the divine son of Devaki should destroy the worlds, I should not, declaring friendship for Arjuna, resort today to Kesava."

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 Bhimasena, he will remember the words of his father (nihata Bhimasenena smartāni vachanam pituḥ)." After some further conversation, Dhritarāṣṭra asks to be further instructed about Krishṇa, when Sanjaya proceeds as follows (vv. 2560 ff.):

Sanjayaḥ uvāca | śrutam ma Vāsudevasya nāma-nirvachanām suḥśam | yāvat tatrābhiṣajye 'ham apramayo hi Kesavaḥ | vasanat sarva-bhūtānāṁ vasantād devo-yonitād | Vīshṇuḥ vahyaḥ | maunād dhīyānāc cha yogāchāra vidhāti Bhārata Madhavam | sarva-tattvamayātvaḥ cha Madhuhā Madhusūdanaḥ | krishtir bhū-vāchakaḥ sabdo naśca naśca nirvṛti-vāchakaḥ | Vīshnus tad-bhāva-yogāchāhaha Krishṇo bhavati Sātvataḥ | puṇḍarikam paraṁ dhamam nityam akshayam avayam | tadbhāvāt Puṇḍarikākṣaḥ dasya-trāśaṇaḥ Janārdanaḥ | yataḥ satteva na caryāt vace cha sattvaḥ na hiyatā | saṁtvataḥ Sātvatas tasmād arṣha-bhūd Vṛishabhokṣaṇaḥ | na jayate janitār 'yam Ājas tasmād anikṣiptaḥ | devānām eva-prakāśateva damād Dāmodaro vibhuḥ | hareḥt sukhat su-khaśvayād Hṛṣīkehastam anuto | bāhubhyām rodasī bībhruḥ mahā-bhūh iti śrīrthaḥ | adho na kahiya jātu yasmāt tasmād adhokṣajāḥ | naraṇām ayaṇāḥ chāpi tato Nārāyaṇaḥ śrīrthaḥ | pūraṇāt sadānāḥ chāpi tato 'saṃ Puruṣottamaḥ | aṣṭaḥ cha sataḥ chāiva sarveṣaḥ prabhāvayaṇaḥ | sarvasya cha sada jñānāt Sarvam etam pramakahataḥ | satya pratisīhṭhitaḥ Krishṇaḥ satyaṃ atra pratisīhṭhītam | satyāt satyānāḥ Govindas tasmāt Satyo 'pi nāmataḥ | Vīshṇuḥ vikrāmanāt devo jayanaśa Jīṣhṇu ucyate | sātvatadvād Anantaśca Govinda vedanād gadām | atattvaṁ kurute tatvaṁ tena mohayate praṣaṇaḥ | evaṁvidha dharmo-nityo bhagavām Madhusūdanaḥ | āgantu hi mahābhāvar brahmaṇyārtham ahyataḥ |

"Sanjaya says: Thou hast heard from me the auspicious explanation of Vāsudeva's names, as far as I understand the subject; for Kesava is immeasurable. He is to be known as Vāsudeva from his dwelling (casanā) in all beings, from his issuing as a Vasa from a divine womb. From his greatness (rāja) he is called Vasiṣṭ. From his silence, (maunā) contemplation, and abstraction, do thou know him to be Madhava. From his possessing the nature of all principles, he is
Madhuhan, and Madhusūdana. The word kṛishi denotes ‘earth,’ and na denotes ‘cessation’; Viṣṇu, from containing the nature of these things, is Kṛishṇa, the Sāttvata. Puṇḍarīka means the highest abode, eternal, unchangeable, undecaying: from his having that character he is Puṇḍarīkākṣa. From terrifying the Daśyus he is Janārdana. Inasmuch as he does not fall from, or fail in, existence (satīva), therefore, from his existence, he is Sāttvata, and from his excellence (aruhabhat) he is Viśishṭabheskhaṇa. 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 Hrīśhkeśa from joy (hareha), 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 kahiya) he is Adhokshaja. From movement among men (nārāṇam"112 ayana) he is called Nārāyaṇa. From filling (pūraṇat) and from abiding (sadana) 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 Viṣṇu from striding (vikraṇa) Viṣṇu from conquering (jaya) Ananta from his eternity, and Govinda from the possession of cattle114 (vedana dvara). He makes the reality an unreality, and so deludes creatures. Of such a character, constant

112 Perhaps the true reading is nāruṇaṃ, “waters,” as in the text of Maṇu, cited above, p. 31.

114 Another explanation of this name is given in Śānti-parvan, v. 13228 f.: Naḥ-śaṃ eka dharaṇīṃ pūram asindaṁ vai ghṛgataṁ | Govindaḥ iti tenāḥaṁ devair vāghbhir abhisthitvataḥ | “And since I discovered the earth which had formerly been destroyed, and had sunk into the abyss, I was therefore lauded by the gods with praises as Govinda.” And in the following verse, occurring in the description of the ocean, in the Ādi-parvan, v. 1216, the word Govinda is thus interpreted: Gām vindataḥ bhagavatā Govindenaimitavājā | vaśāḥ-rūpinā chāntar vikshobhita-jalāvilām | “[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 boar found the earth beneath its surface.” I notice in the same passage another verse (1216), which seems to show that, at the period when it was written, the Hindūs were acquainted with the cause of the tides, or at least with the influence of the moon upon the ocean: Chandra-tyādhi-kaṣaya-pasād udvittirmi-saṃkūlam | “[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 unfalling 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 Pāṇḍuas. While he was with them, Duryodhana plotted to confine him (v. 4388), 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.):

Vidureṇaivam uktas tu Keśavaḥ śatru-pāga-ha | Duryodhane m Dhār-
tarāśtram abhyabhāsthata viryacān | eko 'ham iti yaḥ mohad manyaḥ
māṃ Suyodhana | pariḥṣaya sudurbuddhe grahitum māṃ chikirshasi |
thaiva Pāṇḍavāḥ sarve tathāvāndhaka-vṛishnayaḥ | iḥādītyādha Rudrā
ta Vasavā da saharekhibhiḥ | svam uktoj jahāsochchhai Kṛiṣṇaḥ para-
vīra-ha | tasya sāmamayataḥ Šaurer vidyūr-rūpāḥ mahātmanaḥ | angush-
tha-mātrās tīrdaḥ mamuchuḥ pāvakārchiṣaḥ | asya Brahma lalāta-tho
Rudro vakshasi chāabhavat | loka-pālaḥ bhujeshv āsann Agnir āsyād ajā-
yata | Ādityāḥ chaiva Sādhyaḥ cha Vasavo 'thāśvīnā apī | Marutāḥ cha
sahendraṁ Viśv devās tathāiva cha | babhūvaḥ chaika311-rūpāy
Yaksha-
Gandharva-Rakshānām | prādurāśaṁ tathā ārībhāyāṁ Sankara-ahans
Dhananjayaḥ | dakhīnaṁ 'thārjun āhanvai haṁ Rāmaḥ cha saityataḥ |
Bhīma Yuddhikṣhirāḥ chaiva Mādri-putrau cha priṣṭhataḥ | Andhakaṁ
Vṛishnayaḥ chaiva Pradyumna-pramukhāṁ tataḥ | agrā babhūvaḥ Kṛiṣ-
nayaḥ samudaya-mahāyudhāḥ | sankha-chakra-gadā-sakti-sārga-lāngala-
nandakāḥ | adhīrtāntodgyatā eva sarva-praharāṇāṁ cha | nānā-bāhushu
Kṛishnasya dipamānāṁ sarvāṇāḥ | ityādi.

"Being thus addressed, the heroic Keṣava, slayer of hostile bands, thus addressed Duryodhana, son of Drītarāśṭra: 'Since, Suyodhana, thou, in thy delusion, regardest me as if I were alone, and, O fool, seekest to overcome and confine me, [know that] here are all the Pāṇḍavas, the Andhakas, and the Vṛiṣṇis, as well as the Ādityas, Rudras, and Vasus, together with the rishis.' Having thus spoken, Keṣava, slayer of hostile heroes, laughed aloud. As the mighty de-

311 Quere, may not chaika be the proper reading?
descendant of Śūra [Krishṇa] smiled, the gods, wearing the appearance of lightning, of the size of a thumb, and luminous as fire, issued forth from him. Brahmā occupied his forehead, Rudra was produced on his chest, the guardians of the world appeared on his arms, and Agni sprang from his mouth. The Ādityas, 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. Sankarshaṇa and Dhananjaya also were manifested from his arms, Arjuna armed with a bow from his right, and Rāma holding a plough from his left, Yudhishtīra and Bhīma, the sons of Mādri, from his back. Next Andhakas and Vṛiśni, headed by Pradyumna, arose on his front, with their weapons ready. A shell, discus, club, spear, bow, plough, and sword, were seen prepared, and all weapons, gleaming in every form on the different arms of Krishṇa."

In the next passage, taken from the Kṛṣṇa-parvan also, Duryodhana, and other warriors on his side, put themselves on the same level as Krishṇa (except in one place, vv. 1625 ff.). It is there related (vv. 1265 ff.) that Kṛṣṇa promised to Duryodhana to encounter and slay Arjuna, or be slain by him. Kṛṣṇa says, however, that in some respects he is inferior to Arjuna; as, for instance, in not having such a charioteer as Arjuna had in Govinda (Krishṇa) (v. 1302: Sārathis tasya Govinda mama tādriṇa na vidyate); while in other respects he regards himself as having the advantage (v. 1304). As, then, Krishṇa, creator of the world, preserves the car of Arjuna (Krishṇaḥ e sa raṣṭā jagato rathaṁ tam abhirakṣahati), if, in like manner, Sālya, king of the Madras, the ornament of the battle-field, who is equal to Sauri (Krishṇa) and, as well as Dāśārha, (Krishṇa) who knows a horse’s heart, is skilled in horses, will act as his charioteer, Kṛṣṇa thinks the victory of Duryodhana’s side will be certain (v. 1308: Ayaṁ tu sadrīkaḥ Sāureḥ Sālayaḥ samiti-kobhanaḥ | sārathyam yadi ne kuryād dhruvas te viṣṇyo bhavet | . . . 1311: Ecam abhyadhikah Pārthāt bhavaṁyāmi gamair aham | Sālyo ’py abhyadhikah Krishṇaḥ Arjunāḥ api chāpy aham | yathā ’śva-hridayam veda Dāśārhaḥ para-

214 If the words raṣṭā jagatoḥ, "creator of the world," are not an interpolation, it is not easy to perceive how Kṛṣṇa could have regarded Krishṇa as his equal, as he would never have thought of calling Sālya, or any other of his brother warriors, the creator of the world.
vīra-hā | tathā S'alyo 'pi jāntle haya-jnānaṁ mahārathaṁ |) Duryodhana then goes to Sālyas, and asks him to act as charioteer to Karṇa, saying that he (Sālyas) was equal to Kṛṣṇa, that there was no other person who could drive Karṇa but himself; and that Brahmā had fulfilled the same office to Mahādeva (v. 1328 f. : Sārathyam rathināṁ śreṣṭha praṇayāt kartum arhasi | tvayi yantari Rādhaye vidoivho me vijesyate | abhīstham hi Karmasya grahitā 'nyo na vidyate | rīs hi tvām mahābhāga Vāsudeva-samaṁ yudhi | sa pahi sarvathā Karṇaṁ yathā Brahmā Mahēsvaram |). Sālyas, 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 Karṇa, and could alone destroy their enemies. He points to his thick arms, which would smite like a thunderbolt, and asserts that he could by his own strength cleave asunder the earth, scatter the mountains, and dry up the seas (v. 1361 : Pāsya pitau mama bhujau vajra-saṁhanopamau | . . 1363 : Dārayeṣaṁ mahiṁ kriṣṇāṁ vikireyaṁ cha parvatān | S'osheṣayeṣaṁ samudrāṁ cha tejasaṁ svana pārthiva |). He will not brook to undertake the office of driving a person who is his own inferior²²² (v. 1365 : Kasmād yunakehi sārathye nīchasyādhirathe rāna | na mām adhuri rājendra niyoktuṁ tvam iñhahasi | na hi pāpyasaḥ kreyāṁ bhūtvā preshyatvam uteṣaḥ |). 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 Karṇa as superior to himself (v. 1379 : Na Karṇo 'bhayadikas tvatāḥ), but considered Karṇa to be superior to Arjuna; while the world regarded him (Sālyas) as superior to Kṛṣṇa, whom he excelled in strength, as well as in knowledge of horses and their dispositions, (v. 1384 : Manye chaḥbhayadhikāṁ S'alya guṇaiḥ Karṇaṁ Dhananjayāt | bhavantām Vāsudevāḥ cha loko 'yam iti manyate | Karṇo hy abhayadhikāḥ Pārthād astrān eva nararshabha | bhavān abhayadhikāḥ Kṛṣṇād aśva-jnāno bale tathā | yathā 'svahṛdayaṁ veda Vāsudeva mahāmanāḥ | dvigunaṁ tvām tathā vety Maḍrāṣeṣvarātmajā |). Sālyas is flattered by his being reckoned superior to Kṛṣṇa, and agrees to act as charioteer to Karṇa, vv. 1387 ff. : Yad mām brahavi Gāndhāro .

²²² He regarded Karṇa as what he was generally supposed to be, a Sūta, or charioteer, by caste (sūta-puruṣaṁ, v. 1374).
war between the gods and asuras.

madhye saṁyasya Kaurava | vieśeṣaṁ Devaki-puruśat prātimāṁ asaṁ ahāṁ
tvayī | esa sārathyaṁ atiśtho Rādhayaṛya yaśāvīnaḥ | yudhyataḥ
Pāṇḍava-gṛṇaḥ yathā tvāṁ vīra manyaśe | samayāḥ cha hi me vīra
kaścid Vaikartaṁ prati | utarjayaṁ yathā-braddhāṁ ahaṁ vācho 'ṣya
sannidhau | Sanjayaḥ uvācha | tatheti rājan putras te saha Kṛṣṇena
Bhārata | abraviṁ Madra-rājasya matam Bharata-sattama | “I am
pleased with thee, Kaurava, since in the midst of the army thou
declarest me to be superior to the son of Devaki. I undertake to be
charioteer to the renowned Kṛṣṇa when he fights with the chief of the
Pāṇḍavas, as thou, hero, thinkest [I ought to do]. And now that I
have entered into a certain agreement with Kṛṣṇa, let me candidly
excuse to him the words I have used.” Sanjaya proceeded: “Thy son
(i.e. Duryodhana) having assented, declared to Kṛṣṇa the resolution of
the king of the Madras (Salya).”

Though he had thus gained his point, by persuading Salya to act as
charioteer to Kṛṣṇa, Duryodhana is nevertheless represented as pro-
ceeding, 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
Brahmā had formerly done duty as charioteer to Mahādeva in a war
between the gods and Asuras. In this war the gods, it is related,
were at first the victors (1394). The three sons of the Asura Tāraka
thereupon performed severe austerities, which induced Brahmā to
grant them a boon (1397). They asked that they might become in-
destructible by any being whatever, which, however, Brahmā declined
to grant, as immortality, he said, was not an universal attribute
(1399). They then asked that they should occupy three castles, and
from thence move about the earth at will, and that after a thousand
years these three castles should become united, and that they them-
soever should only be destructible by the deity who should be able to
overthrow the castles with a single arrow (1402 ff.: Vaiyam purāṇī
trīṇy eva samāsthāya mahīm imām | vicharisyāmo loka 'emin . . .
tato varṣa-sahase tu samasīyāmaḥ parasparam | ekabhaśvam gamish-
yanti purāṇy etāṁ chānagha | samāgaṭāni chaitāni yo hanyād bhagavāνhe
 tadā | ekṣeṣeṇa deva-varaḥ sa no mṛityur bhavasyati |). Brahmā granted
this boon, and the Asura Maya built them three castles, one of gold, in
heaven; a second of silver, in the air; and a third of black iron, on
earth 118 (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 Tārakākha, 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 overthrowing 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 "sāṅkhya" 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 griñanto brahma sākṣatam | . . . . tushṭevo vāgbhir ugrābhīr bhayeshā abhaya-daṁ niṣpa | sarvatmānam mahātmānaṁ yanāplāṁ sarvaṁ atmanā | tapo-videhair vividhair yogāṁ yo veda chātmānaḥ | yaṁ sāṅkhyaṁ atmano ceti yasya chātmā vaśa 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-bhūtāyaṁ dṛṣṭiva tam ajāṁ jagataḥ pratim|). 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

118 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 (viśh-\textit{artum tava tejo 'rāhaṁ na takṣhyāmaḥ}), 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," (\textit{ardham ādāya sarvāhām tejasā 'bhayadhiko'bhavat | sa tu devo balandaṁ sarvebhya balavattarāḥ | Mahādevaḥ iti khyātas tataḥ prabhṛiti Sankaraḥ}). 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: \textit{mūrtik sarvāḥ samādhāya trayākṣaraṁ tatas tataḥ | rātham to kalpayishyāmaḥ}). The composition of the car, formed by Viśvakarman and the gods, is then described at great length (vv. 1471–1492). Vishṇu, 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 Kṛta age, the serpent Vāsuki, the Himalaya and Vindhya mountains, plants, the sun and moon, day and night, various goddesses, duty, truth, the vaśaṁkāra, the gāyatrī, etc., formed portions of the car, or of its appendages. Mahādeva’s weapons and equipments are then specified (1495 ff.). At verse 1503 it is repeated that "Vishṇu, Agni, and Soma formed his arrow; for all the world," it is added, "is formed of Agni and Soma, and is said to be composed of Vishṇu, and Vishṇu is the soul of Mahādeva of boundless power.\textsuperscript{219} 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 Bhṛigu and Angiras. . . . 1507. He is the constant preserver of virtuous, and destroyer of wicked, men. The divine Sthāṇu (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." (\textit{Isuṁ chāpy abhavat Vishuṁ Jvalanaṁ Somaṁ eva cha | Agni-Somaṁ jagat kṛitenaṁ Vaishnavāṁ chokyate jagat | Vishuṁ chātmā bhagavato

\textsuperscript{219} Can these words be a Vaishnava addition to the passage?

\textit{VOL. IV.}}
Bhavasyamitā-tejasaḥ | tamādv dhanur jyā-sāṁspāstam na vishehur 
Harasya te | tamśīna śara tigam-manyum mumochasahyam Ṛśvakāḥ |
Bṛhaug-Angiro-manyu-bhavam krodhāgānim ati-duṣyaḥam | sa nila-lohito 
dhūmrah kṛtivasaḥ bhayankaraḥ | . . . 1507: Nityamḥ trātā cha 
hanāha cha dharmādharmaśrilan narān | pramāthābhīh bhīma-balaś bhīma-
ṛ-pair manojayaḥ | vibhāti bhagavān Sthānuṣ tair svātma-guṇair cētal | 
tasyāngāni samāśritaḥ sthitam viśvam iḍām jagat | jangamājāgamam 
rājān bhūbho 'dhaḍa-darśanam |)

Taking the arrow produced from Soma, Viśṇu, 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 
triśṭhato hi yaḥ) should be made his charioteer. The gods next 
gave 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 Viśṇu, 
Soma, and Agni in his hand (1536). He then sets out, 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 Viṣṇu in the arrow, when it is being fitted on the string, 
and from the movement of Brahmā and Mahādeva. Viṣṇu 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. 1546 ff. it is said that the rishis praised Mahādeva, and increased his 
strength (rīhaya tatra devoṣāṁ stwanto bahūbhīḥ stavaḥ | teṣaḥ khaṃmayai svadha-
yanto rājena 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.
DURYODHANA REQUESTS S'ALYA TO BE KARNA'S CHARIOTEER. 227

Karṇa. Salya, he adds, is superior to Kṛishṇa, Karṇa, and Arjuna, and as Karṇa resembled Mahādeva in fighting, so Salya resembled Brahmā in guiding [a chariot], etc. To supply additional motives for compliance, he then (1581 ff.) goes on to tell Salya another story about Parasūrāma performing austerity to propitiate Mahādeva and obtain celestial arms. Mahādeva appears to him, and tells him he shall obtain arms when he has qualified himself by purification to receive them. Parasūrāma renews his austerities and religious ceremonies (1591), and is at length appointed by Mahādeva to slay the Daityas who had been harassing the gods (1599). He successfully accomplishes this task (1806), and receives celestial arms from Mahādeva. Parasūrāma had, as Duryodhana goes on to say, taught the divine science of archery to Karṇa (1613), which proves that Karṇa is free from sin; and Karṇa is not, as Duryodhana believes, a Sūta 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 āditya-sadān mṛgini vyāghram janishyati? 1617)? Duryodhana then recurs to the legend of Brahmā becoming Mahādeva's charioteer, and renews his exhortation to Salya to perform the same office to Karṇa. 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 Kṛishṇa 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 Karṇa should slay Arjuna, Kṛishṇa 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 hanyāḥ cha Kuṁtiyaṁ Sūta-putraḥ kathancanā | drīṣṭvā Pārthaṁ hi nihataṁ svayam yoteyati Keśavaḥ | tukha-chakra-gadā-pāngir dhakṣyate tava vāhinīm | na chāpi tasya kruddhasya Vṛṣṇeṣyaṁ mahātmanaḥ | sthānyate pratyankṣahu kaścid atra mṛginas tava). Duryodhana in reply expatiates on the eminent prowess of Karṇa, and of Salya himself: (1643) Tvaṁ Salya-bhūtaḥ sātrāṇām avihāhyah parakrame | tataṁ tvam ucyate rājan Salyaṁ ity ari-vudana | tava bahu-balam prāpya na sekuḥ sarva-Sātvatāḥ | tava bahu-balād rājan kintu Kṛishṇo balādhikāḥ | yathā hi Kṛishṇena balaṁ dhārayaṁ vai Phālguna kāte | tathā Karṇa—
S'alya consents to act as charioteer to Karna.

tyayibhaev teyā dhāryam mahad balam | kimartham samarsa sainyam
Vāsudeva nyāstrayet (sic) | kimartham cha bhavān sainyam na hanishyati
Māriṣa | "Thou art a spear (salya) to [pierce] thine enemies, irresistible in valour: hence, O king, destroyer of thy foes, thou art called Salya."

Feeling the power of thy arm, all the Sātvatas could not [resist]. But [it is said that] 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 Karna 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 declarlest me to be superior to the son of Devaki. I undertake to be charioteer to the renowned Karna," etc. This repetition of the same speech of Salya at the close of the episode regarding Mahādeva’s conquest of the Asuras with Brahmā for his charioteer, and Paraśurāma’s acquisition of celestial weapons, renders it probable, as I have already said, that this episode has been subsequently interpolated. As Salya had already consented, in vv. 1387 ff., to do duty as Karna’s charioteer, it was quite unnecessary to detail at great length the legend of Brahmā and Mahādeva, which had been already briefly alluded to in verse 1330, and which is merely followed by a renewed expression of Salya’s willingness to comply with the request of Karna and Dārjyodhana.

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: Salyabhūtas tu jatśrūgaḥ yasmāt teṣam yudhi mānada | tasmāt Salya hi te nāma kathvate prithivi-tala | 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 agro sainya maṇada, "before the army, confer of honour," are substituted for madhovo sainya Kaūrava, "in the midst of the army, O Kaurava."

223 In the Vāmana-purāṇa, sect. 6, quoted in Prof. Aurore’s Catalogue, p. 165, it is stated that Dharma with a divine body was the heart-born son of Brahmā, that his (Dharma’s) wife was Ahiṇḍā, 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 Krishṇa, having gone with other friends of the Pāṇḍus 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 Pāṇḍus), with the view of pacifying Krishṇa, recounts (vv. 471 ff.) his marvellous deeds in former births, his austerities, his slaughter of the Daityas and Dānava (478), his various forms (480); his three strides as the son of Aditi (484), and his destruction of various enemies (487 ff.); and then proceeds thus (vv. 496 ff.):

Yugante sarva-bhūtāni sambhīṣpya Madhusūdana ātmānāvātmasat kriyā jagad atithi parantarā prakāra vāyu nābhi-padmād ajaya ta [Brahma] charāchāra-gurur yasyedaṁ sakalam jagat tathā hantum udvatau gheṣau Dānavau Madhu-kaiṣākhau tayor evatikramam ārthasā krudhāhāyā bhavato Hareḥ lalitājā jātavan Sambhuḥ śīlāā gāyate srirocanaḥ itihaṁ tās api devatā svach-chātra-samudbhavau tvaṃ-niyoga-karau stāv iti me Nārada 'bravīt tathā Nārāyaṇa purā kṛatubhir bhārī-ṣakshiṣṭaḥ śīta vā tvaṃ mahāsātraḥ Krishṇa Chait-rarathe vane naivaṃ pūrve nāparo vai karīhyanti kriyāni vai yānī karmāṇi dṛṣṭaṃ balaḥ eva mahābalaḥ kriyāṇa Puṣṭartkākhā Bahadura-sahāvān| Kaileśa-bhavane chāpi brāhmaṇau niravaccha saha] Vaiśam-pāyanaḥ wācha | svam uktāś mahātmānaṃ ātmā Krishnāyāṃ Pāṇḍavāḥ | tāśyam ātīlataḥ Āśām ity uvaḥ Janāradaḥ | māmaiva tvaṃ tāvāhaṁ yo madhyās tavaiva te | yas tvaṃ deveṣṭi sa mām deveṣṭi yas tvaṃ anu sa mām anu | Naraṃ tvaṃ asī durdaḥhareḥ Hare Hare Hare Hare | kālo lokam imam prāptau Nara-Nārāyaṇau rishi | anvayaḥ Parthā mātās tvaṃ tattvaḥ cāhaṁ tathaiva cā | nāvavīr antaraṃ bak-yəṁ vedīlum Bhārata-rathabha

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

(Hridhāva Bhāmama yo'sau Dharmo divya-vayopaḥ sadā | tasya bhūrya te śūnā | tasyaṁ ajanayat satu | Hariṁ Krishnām eha devashe Nara-Nārāyaṇau tathā | yogābhāsa-ratou niyam Hari-Krishnau bahhuvaṇa)."

231 See also the extract from the Droupa-parvan, translated above, p. 186.
232 See above, p. 186.
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 Vārṣheya (Kṛishṇa), 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 Kaśitabha, 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 (Kṛishṇa's) body, and they execute thy commands,—this Nārada declared to me. So, too, O Kṛishṇa, Nārāyaṇa, thou didst formerly celebrate a great sacrifice in the Chaṭṭararatha forest, with oblations and many gifts. The ancients [have] not [done], nor shall those who are to come do, the deeds which thou didst, Puḍḍīkākṣa, 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 Kṛishṇa, became silent. Then Janārdana (Kṛishṇa) 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. 1518 ff.), went northward, to the top of the Himālaya, 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. 1548 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. 1561 ff.). At that moment a

284 The mutual attachment of Nara and Nārāyaṇa, or Arjuna and Kṛishṇa, 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.
Arjuna is overcome by Mahādeva, and worships him.

Dānava, in the form of a boar, is meditating an attack upon Arjuna, who prepares to shoot him with his arrows. The Kīrtā desires Arjuna to allow him to shoot the Dānava, as he had been the first to take aim; but Arjuna will not consent; and they both shoot together, and kill the boar. Arjuna addresses the Kīrtā, and complains that he had acted in an unsportsmanlike manner (na hy eko mrigayā-dharmo yas tvayā 'dya krito mayā), and that he should therefore kill him. The Kīrtā replies that he had aimed first, and had killed the Dānava, and would kill Arjuna also. Mahādeva, in the form of the Kīrtā, 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 Mahādevam Girīṣām kāla-pāśinam | dadarśa
Phālgunas tatra saha devyā mahādyutim | sa jānuḥḥyām mahāṁ gatvā
śirasā praṇipatya cha | prasādayāmasa Haram Pārthaḥ para-puran-
f vak | Arjunaḥ uvacah | "Kapardin sarvadēvasa Bhaga-nētra-nipātana
deva-deva Mahādeva nila-grīva jaṭā-āhara | kāraṇānānca paramaṁ
jāne tvam Tryambakam viṁhum | devānānca gatiṁ deca tvat-prasūtam
īdāṁ jagat | ajeyas tvam triḥḥir lokaiḥ sa-devāsura-mānushaiḥ | Śivaṁ
Vīṣṇu-rūpāya Vīṣṇavo Śiva-rūpino | Dakṣhayajna-vināśaya Hari-
Budrāya vai namaḥ | lalāṭākāhāya Sarvāya mālakhaṁ bula-pāyaṁ
|  pīṇkā-prōte sūryāya māṛjālaya vadhase | prasādaye tvam bhagavan
sarva-bhūta-mahāvara | ganeśaṁ jagataḥ sambhuṁ loka-kāraṇa-kāraṇam |
prādhāna-puruṣhāttalam param sukhāmataram Haram |

"Then Phālguna (Arjuna) beheld the god Mahādeva, Girīṣa, bearer of the trident, resplendent, together with his goddess. Falling on the ground on his knees, and bowing his head, the son of Pṛthā, 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 Śiva in the
form of Vishṇu, to Vishṇu in the form of Śiva, 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 Mārjaya,” 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 Pradhāna and Purusha (matter and spirit), the supreme, most subtle, Hara.’”

Mahādeva then embraces Arjuna, and says to him:

1637 ff.—Devadevaḥ uvach | Naras tvam pūrva-dēho vai Nārāyaṇa-sahāyaṇaḥ | Badaryāṁ tapavān ugrāṁ tapo vrasāyitaṁ bahuḥ | tvayi vā pāramāṁ tojo Viṣṇau vā prurṣottamam | yuvāḥyāṁ puruṣa-gāyaḥ yāṁ toṣa dāhitaḥ jagat | Sakrābhisekakum armah dhanur jalaśa-miśvanam | pragrihyā daṇavaḥ tāstās tvayā Kuśāma cha prabho iva | “Thou wast Nara in a former body, and with Nārāyaṇa for thy companion, didst perform dreadful austerity at Badari for many myriads of years. Either in thee is the highest power, or in Vishṇu 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 Kuśāma, when thou hadst grasped a great bow resounding like the clouds.”

Mahādeva then offers Arjuna the choice of a boon. Arjuna takes the Pāṣupata weapon (v. 1643), which Mahādeva gives him (v. 1650), though he cautions him against discharging it rashly, as it might destroy the whole world. Arjuna accordingly receives the weapon (v. 1656).

Again, in the Udyoga-parvan (vv. 1917 ff.) it is related that Bhīṣma informed Duryodhana that on one occasion the gods of different classes came to Brahmā, and the narrative then proceeds (vv. 1920 ff.):

Namaskṛtyopajagmua te loka-vriddham Pitāmaham | parivāya cha viśvām paryāsaṇa divaukasau | tuṣhāṁ maṇāḥ cha tejaśchāpy ādādānāv icaujaśa | pūrva-dēho vyātikrānta Nara-Nārāyaṇaṁ rīṣaḥ | Vṛihaospatis

237 This word is explained in Böhtlingk and Roth’s Lexicon as a spot to the right of the altar, where the sacrificial vessels are cleansed. It is mentioned in Sāyaṇa’s commentary on R. V. i. 1, 4: and (as Prof. Aufrecht has pointed out to me) it occurs in the Vāj. Sanh. v. 32, where the commentator defines it as the place where the (sacrificial) vessels are washed (mārjatyaḥ | tatra hi pātrāni prakṣāyante).
THE GODS SEE NARA AND NĀRĀYĀNA.


“Doing obeisance, the gods approached the Progenitor, the chief (or ancient) of the worlds; and encompassing, they sat around the lord of all. The two ancient and surpassing gods, the rishis Nara and Nārāyaṇa, deprived them, as it were, of thought and of strength by their splendour. Viśvapati inquired of Brahmā, ‘Tell us, O Progenitor, who these two are who do not approach thee.’ Brahmā said: ‘These devotees of mighty strength, burning and shining, who sit pervading
and illuminating the earth and the sky, these are Nara and Nārāyaṇa, who have travelled from world to world, strong by their own austerity, of great dignity and valour. These two have perpetually gladdened the world by their deeds. Know, O Priest, that these, destroyers of their foes, of great intelligence, adored of gods and Gandharvas, have become twain for the destruction of the Asuras.’ Having heard this, Indra, accompanied by all the hosts of gods, headed by Vṛihapati, went to the place where these two devotees were performing austerity. Alarm having been at that time excited among the celestials by a war between the gods and Asuras, he (Indra) begged of the great Nara and Nārāyaṇa a boon. They replied, ‘Choose.’ Then Indra said, ‘Let us be delivered.’ They answered Indra, ‘We will do what thou desirest.’ And with their assistance Indra conquered the Daityas and Dānavas. Nara, the vexer of foes, having slain in battle the enemies of Indra, thousands and hundreds of Paulomas and Kālakanjas,—he, standing in a whirling chariot, cut off the head of Jambha, who was swallowing up Arjuna in battle. He demolished Hiraṇyapura (or the city of gold), on the other side of the ocean, having slain in battle sixty thousand Nivātakavāchas. 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.)

\[336\] 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 Kurus to adopt moderate counsels by showing the great power of Arjuna and Krishna, Parashurama told them another story about the two rishis Nara and Narayana. There was formerly, he says, an universal sovereign named Dambhodhava, who had an overweening conceit of his own prowess. Being told by his independent Brahmans that there were two ascetics whom he could not match, viz. Nara and Narayana, 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. Dambhodhava, however, insisted on fighting, when Nara took a handful of straws, and defied him. With these arms he neutralized all the arrows of Dambhodhava’s host, and as the straws whitened all the air, and penetrated into the eyes, ears, and noes of the assailants, Dambhodhava 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 Droga-parvan, vv. 419 ff.:

Arjunaḥ Keśavasyātmā Kṛishṇo ’py ātmā Kṛiṣṭināḥ | Arjuno vijayo nityam Kṛishṇo kṛitvāca ākṣauti | sarveṣaḥ api ca lokahū Bhikalav aparajitaḥ | pradhānayenaiva bhūyashtham akeyāḥ Keśāve guṇāḥ | mohād Duryodhano Kṛiṣṭiṇam yo na vedita Keśavam | mohito daiva-yogena mrityu-pāra-puraskritāḥ | na veda Kṛiṣṭiṇam Dārāham Arjunaḥ chaiva Pūndavam | pūruva-deva mahātmānam Nara-Nārāyaṇav ubhau | ekātmānau deva-dhātavāḥ dṛṣṭyeto manushair bhvai | manasaḥ ’pi hi durdharshau sonam etām yasyavīnau | nābhayetām iheckhantau manushatvāḥ cha nechhataḥ |

"Arjuna is the soul of Keśava (Kṛishṇa), and Kṛishṇa too is the soul of Kṛiṣṭin (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
Dāsārha, and Arjuna the Pāṇḍava. The former gods, the two mighty ones, Nara and Nārāyaṇa, though, in reality, one in nature, are by men on earth seen separated into two. These illustrious beings, who are invincible even in imagination, could, if they desired, destroy this army, but from their humanity they do not desire it.”

Again, in the Bīṣma-parvan, vv. 2932 ff., Bīṣma exhorts Dur-yodhana to come to terms with the Pāṇḍavas, who, he says, are invincible, in consequence of Kṛṣṇa’s protection. To illustrate Kṛṣṇa’s divine greatness, Bīṣma goes on to tell a story of his being celebrated by Brahamā 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 ff.). 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 bhavishyeneha bhavitā yaccha yat parame kurtaṇa yah prabhuḥ chaica Brahma yaccha paraṃ prema param padam | tendasi krīḍa-saṁ-vadaḥ prasannena surarṣabhaḥ | jajato ’nugrahārthāya yāhito me jagata-patiḥ | "mānushaḥ lokam āteṣṭha Viśvadevaḥ iti tralenaḥ | asuraṃ badhārthāya sambhavavam maḥattaḥ | songrām me niḥatāḥ yev api daitya-dāna-vārāhakaḥ | te ime niṣtiḥ sambhūtāḥ ghora-rūpaḥ mahābālaḥ | te sām badhārthām bhagavān Nareṇa sahiḥ bali | mānushaṁ yoṁiṁ āsthāyā cha-riṣhayai mahā-talaḥ” | Nara-Nārāyaṇau tānu tu puruṣaṁ rīṣe-śattamaṁ | ajeyau hi rāne yau sametair amarair api | sahitau mānusho loka sambhūtām amita-dvayuḥ | maṣṭhas te tānu nājanti Nara-Nārāyaṇo rīṣeḥ | yasyaḥām ātmaṇo Brahma svaraya jajataḥ sutiḥ | Viśvadeva ’nuneyo vaḥ sarva-loka-mahāvaram | tathā mānushya ’yam iti kadāchit sa-śattamaḥ | nāvajneyo mahāāvayaḥ smaḥaḥ-chakra-gaḍa-dharaḥ | etat paramakṣha guhyam etat paramakṣha padam | etat paramakṣha satyaḥ | etad akṣharam avyaktam etad ohśvatam eva cha | etat Puruṣa-sanjna vai gṛtato jñāyate na cha | etat paramakṣha tejaḥ etat paramakṣha sukham | etat paramakṣham satyam kṛṣitaṁ Viśva-karmaya | tamata sūrṣaṁ saṁceṣaṁ saṁvāraḥ chāṁsita-vikramaḥ | navajneyo Viśvadeva mānusho ’yam iti prabho | yaḥ ca mānusha-mātro ’yam iti brayaṁ sa manda-dhiṣṭaḥ | Kṛṣṇeśām avajñanāt tam dhun puruṣādhaṁ | taṁ yoginam mahātmānam praviṣṭham mānushāṁ tānum | yo ’vamanyey Viśvadevaṁ tam āhuś tāmavaś janāḥ | devaṁ charācharātmaḥ-
CELEBRATED IN A HYMN BY BRAHMA. 237

naṁ trisūrākaṁ svarchasam | padma-nādham na jānati tam āhū

tāmasam janaḥ | kriṣṭa-kaustubha-dharam mithrām abhayankaram |
avajānan mahātmānam ghoṣe tamaśi mājjaṁ | . . . 3002 : Vārī 'si

purā tālā munibhir bhāvatāmbhiḥ | mā gacchha saṃyugam tona Vāsu-
devena dhanvinā | Pāṇḍavaṁ sārdham iti yat tat tatr mohād na budhyam |

manye tvāṁ Rākhasāṁ kṛuraṁ tathā ehasī tamo vrītaḥ | tasmād

dvīhārī Govindam Pāṇḍavamha Dhananjayam | Nara-Nārāyaṇo devaṁ

do 'nyo dvīhārā hi manavaḥ |

"That being who is supreme, who is to be, who shall continue to be supreme, who is the soul of beings, and the lord, and who is Brahma, the supreme existence,—it is with him, propitious, that I have been conversing, O eminent deities. The lord of the world was entreated by me [in these words] to show favour to the world: 'Do thou, celebrated as Vāsudeva, appear in the world of men: be born on earth for the slaughter of the Asuras. The Daityas, Dānavas, and Rākhasas 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 Brahma, this the highest renown. This Being is the undecaying, the undiscreetible, the eternal. This Being which is called Puruṣa 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 comprehension: from his contempt of Hrishikēsa they call such a person the lowest of men. Whoever despises Vāsudeva, that great contemplator who has entered a human body,—men call that person
one full of darkness. Whoever is ignorant of the glorious god whose self is the world, whose mark is the śrīvatsa, from whose navel sprang the lotus,—men call that person a man full of darkness. Despising that great being who wears the diadem and jewel (kauśubha), who relieves his friends from fear, a man is plunged in horrible darkness.”

Bhishma then says to Duryodhana (v. 3302): “Thou wast formerly, my son, prohibited by the contemplative munis [who said]: ‘Engage not in battle with that archer Viśudeva and the Pāṇḍavas.’ Since thou, through infatuation, regardest not this [prohibition], I look upon thee as a cruel Rākṣasa, and thou art enveloped in darkness. It is for this reason that thou hastest Govinda (Krishṇa) and the Pāṇḍava Dhananjaya (Arjuna). For what other man could hate the gods Nara and Nārāyaṇa?”

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

Purā ṣham atmajāh Pārtha prathitaḥ kāraṇāntaraḥ | Dharmasya Kurukṣeṣvaraḥ tato ṣham Dharmajāh śrīitolah | Nara-Nārāyaṇau pūrṇau tapas tepatur ayayam | dharma-yanaṁ samārūḍhau parete Gandharvamāde | tat-kāla-samaye chaive Daṁṣha-sugno bādhva ha | na cha eva kālayad bāhaṁ Dakhya Rudrasya Bhūrata | tato Dadhichi-vachanāt Dakhya-sugnaṁ apāharat | ṣasāja śūlāṁ kopena praśaṅgātanām mūhur mūhuk | tath chaham bhasmaśat kriṣṇa Dakhya-sugnaṁ sa-viśram | avayoh sahasa "gaṇahad Vadya-ākramam antikat | vegena mahatā Pārthā padat Nārāyaṇarasi | tatās tat-tejas "vishtāḥ keśaṁ Nārāyaṇaṁ ha | bāhuvra munjavaraṁ tu tato īha munja-kavāvan | tath ca śūlaṁ vinirbhūtaṁ hukkaṁsah mahattanā | jagāma Śankara-karaṁ Nārāyaṇa samāhataṁ | atha Rudrā upādhyāvat āv bishka tapasā niyatuha | tataḥ enam samudbhutaṁ kaṁśha jagraṁ pāṇina | Nārāyaṇaṁ sa visvātmā tenasya śrī-keśhumād | atha Rudra-vighātartham ishikāṁ Naraṁ uddhārat | mantraiś ca saṁyuyojati so 'bhavaṁ paraśūr mahān | kṣiptaḥ ca sahasā tena khandanam prāptaśvāṁ tada | tato 'ham [ˈyam?] Khandapaśuṁ śrīitolah paraśukhandanāt | . . . . 13275. tatoḥ sahālnayor yuddhe Rudra-Nārāyaṇātmah | udeviṇaḥ sahasā Kristnāh sarva-lokās tada 'bhavan | nāgrihīṭā Pavakaḥ śubhram makheshu suhulaṁ haviḥ |

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.
vedaḥ na pratiḥānti eva rishīṇām bhāvītām anumānam | devān rajas tamāḥ
ehaiva samāndhītis tadā | vasudhā sanchakampe cha nabhaḥ cha vipap-
phāla ha | nishprabhāni cha tejāmi Brahmā chaivaśana-ahutaḥ | agāch
ohosham samudraś cha Himavāṃśa cha vyāśtryata | tasminn eoa samut-
panne nimittām Pāṇḍunandana | Brahmā vṛīto deva-gaṇaṁ rishiḥśi cha
mahātmabhiḥ | ajagāmāsvabhāṁ desāṁ yatra yuddham avartata | sa
'njali-pragraho bhūtvā chatur-vaktro niruktā-gaṁ | udācha vacanaṁ
Rudraṁ "lokānām astu vai śvam | nyasyāyudhāni viśeṣo jata hita-
kāmyoṣā | yaś aksaharam athāvyaktam tisāṁ lokaseya bhāvanam | kūṭa-
sthāṁ kariṇi nirdvandvam akarteti cha yaṁ viduḥ | vyakti-bhūva-gata-
svayeṣa ekā mārtir iyaṁ śubhā | Naro Nārāyaṇaṁ chaiva jātau Dharmā-
kulodehau | tapasā mahaṭa yuktau deva-kreṣṭhau maha-vaśtau | ahaṁ
prasaḍā-jas tasya kutaśchī hāsanāntare | tvam chaiva krodha-jāś tatā
pūve-sargo sanātanaḥ | mayā cha sārdham evaram vibhūahi chai√
maharṣibhiḥ | prasaḍayāvā lokānāṁ śanitir bhavatu mā chaṁrāṁ |
Brahmāṇaṁ te evam uktas tu Rudraḥ krodha-gnim uterjana | prasaḍayāv-
māsa tato devaṁ Nārāyaṇaṁ prabhum | kāryaṁ cha jagāmāyām
vareṇyaṁ varadam prabhum | tato 'tha varado devo jita-krodha jītaṃ-
riyāḥ | pritimān ahavat tatra Rudreṇa saha sangataḥ | rishibhir Brah-
maṇaṁ chaiva vibhūahi chai supūjitaḥ | udācha devam Itānām tisā sa
jagata Hariḥ | "yas tvam vetti sa māṁ vetti yas tvam anu sa māṁ anu |
nāvayaḥ antaram kinchid mā te bhad buddhir anyathā | adya-prabhriti
kritaṁ śatāko me bhavato ayam | mama paśy-ankitaḥ chāpi kriyākṛte
tvam bhavishyasi" | evam lacaḥaṁ utpādyā paraspara-kritaṁ tadā | sa-
khyam chaivaḥ tulaṁ kriyāḥ Rudreṇa sahaṁ prāṇiḥ | tapas tepatworeg-
grau vieṣṭhya tridiva-kāsaḥ | esha te kathitaḥ Pārtha Nārāyaṇa-jaśa
mṛśaḥ | nāmāni chaiva guhyaṁ niruktāni cha Bhaṁata | rishibhiḥ kathi-
tāntaṁ yāṁ sankirtitāṁ te | evam bahu-viśhāṁ rūpas āharmāḥ
vasundhāram | Brahma-lokanaḥ Kaunteya golokanaḥ sanātanam | mayā
tevam raktihūṁ yuddhe mahāntam prāptaṁ jayam | yas tu te so 'gra
to yāṁ yuddhe sampraty upaśhīte | taṁ viddhi Rudraṁ Kaunteya deva-
devam kapardinam | kālaḥ sa eva kathitaḥ krodha-jeti mayā tava |
niḥbiḥ tena vai pūve-sargo hatavān asi yān ripān | aprameya-prabhāvaṁ
taṁ deva-devam Umad-patim | namasv-evam prayato viśeṣaṁ Haraṁ
aksahayaṁ | ityādi |
13265. "Formerly, son of Pritha, most excellent of the Kurus, I was
celebrated on another occasion as the son of Dharma: and hence I was
called Dharmaja. In former times Nara and Nārāyaṇa, mounted on the chariot of righteousness, performed an undeizing penance, on the mountain Gandhamādana. At that juncture 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 Nārāyaṇa. The hair of Nārāyaṇa, penetrated by its glow, became of the colour of grass (muṣaja): from which I am called Munjakēśavat. The trident being repelled by the great being with a yell went back into the hand of Sankara, when struck by Nārāyaṇa. Rudra then ran up to those austere rishis, when Nārāyaṇa, the soul of all things, with his hand seized him by the throat, when he had thus sprung up: hence his (Siva's) name of Sitikaṇṭha. Nara next raised a straw for the slaughter of Rudra, and applied to it sacred texts, whereby it speedily became a huge axe. Hastily hurled by him, the axe (paraśu) became shattered into fragments (khaṇḍana), from which shattering of the axe, he is called Khaṇḍaparaśu.” Arjuna here interposes to ask who was victorious in this conflict; when Kṛṣṇa proceeds: 13278. "When Rudra and Nārāyaṇa had become engaged in battle, all the worlds were instantly distressed; the fire did not receive the shining butter offered in the sacrifice; the vedas were not revealed to the contemplative rishis; [the qualities of] passion and darkness invaded the gods: the earth trembled, the sky became split; the luminaries lost their light; Brahmā fell from his seat; the ocean became dried up, and the Himavat wasted. When this prodigy had arisen, Brahmā, surrounded by the host of gods, and the magnanimous rishi, came to that disastrous place where the battle was raging. The four-faced god (Brahmā), the penetrator of mysteries, with joined hands, addressed these words to Rudra: 'Let the welfare of the worlds be [consulted]; put down thy weapons, lord of all, from goodwill to the universe. This is one auspicious form of him, now in the state of manifestation,—of him whom [sages] know as the undeaying, 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 Nārāyaṇa, 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 bounties; 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 Īśana (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 ārīvatsa of mine be the mark of the trident: and thou shalt be the śrīkaṇṭha 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 Prithō, 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 Gόlokā, in manifold forms. By me thou hast been preserved in battle, and hast gained a great victory. But know, son of Kuntī, 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, Hāra, the undecaying lord of all.'

Again, in the Śānti-parvan, Vaiśampāyana tells Janamejāya how Nārada, after returning from Śveta Dvīpa, saw the two saints, Nara and Nārāyaṇa (v. 18337):

231 See verses 13140 and 13145 of the S'anti-parvan, quoted below.
232 A similar expression has already occurred above, p. 230.

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He descended rapidly from the sky to the spacious Badari. There he saw the ancient gods, the two most excellent ribs, performing severe penance, self-sustained, great devotees, in splendour surpassing the sun which illuminates all the worlds, bearing the ārvatā mark, adorable, wearing a circle of matted hair, web-footed and web-armed, with the mark of the discus on their feet, broad-shouldered, 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, Nārada rejoicing, and saluted by them in return, welcomed, and questioned in regard to his health, became absorbed in reflection, beholding those highest of persons." He then recollected to have previously seen them in the Śveta Dvīpa. Nara and Nārāyaṇa next ask him if he had seen in the Śveta Dvīpa the supreme Spirit, their own highest substance (dvayoḥ prakṛtiḥ paraḥ). 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 inviable manner; and that he had on that occasion beheld them at the side of the deity (vv. 13351 ff.: Adyāpi chainam pātyāmi yuvām pātyam sanātanau | yair lakṣaṇaih upetaḥ sa Harir avyakte-rūpa-dhīrih | tair lakṣaṇaih upetau hi avyakte-rūpa-dhārah yuvām | drīṣṭau yuvām mayā tatra tasya dvayaḥ pārvatāh). Some further conversation ensues; and it is then related (v. 13397 f.) that Nārada remained a thousand years of the gods in their hermitage, worshipping the deity, and Nara and Nārāyaṇa.
V. In the following passage (which is commented upon by Lassen in his Indian Antiquities, 1st ed., i. 621 f., 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 Pāṇḍavas, aided as the latter were by Krishna, Dhirarashtra gives an account of the exploits of the Yādava 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 Yādavas waged frequent wars with the tribes of ancient India. In a short enumeration of his feats (the passage quoted in the text) he is named Govinda, or the proprietor of cows, and it said of him that he grew up among the herdsmen. 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 herdsmen, inasmuch 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 herdsmen, for according to the Mahābhārata he supplied to Duryodhana (by whom he had been solicited to assist him in the great battle) thousands of herdmen, who are called the gopas of Nārāyaṇa. These take no share in the battle, and are very seldom mentioned.—See Udyoga-parvan, v. 130 ff.; and Droṇa-parvan, vv. 3255 ff., where the Nārāyaṇas, the herdsmen, are spoken of along with the Kāmbojas, etc., as having been conquered by Karna, etc. (Nārāyaṇa cha gopāḥ Kāmbojānācha ye gatāḥ | Karmaja viṣṭūḥ | )
The Nārāyaṇas are also mentioned in the Droṇa-parvan. 752 and 759 (see Bühlingk and Roth, a. 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-saṅkhāmas-tulyaṁ nāh | gopāṁ ardhāmar mahaḥ | Nārāyaṇa ut khyātaḥ saro samgrāma-yodhinah | to vā yuddhi duryāharaṁ bharante caksya saṁikāḥ | ayudhyamāṇāḥ samgrāma nyāstānāsro 'ham skataḥ | abhyām anyataram Pārtha yat te kriyātaram matam | tad viṣṇuṁ bhavān agra pravāyana teḥ hi dharmateṣaḥ | "Let one of you either take those invincible soldiers, the great hundred millions of herdsmen called Nārāyaṇa, 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 Pṛthu, first choose 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 Nārāyaṇa, destroyer of his foes, who had been at his will born among men" (Nārāyaṇam amitraśḥnām kāmāy jātam ayaṁ nṛśheṣa), though he was not to fight. Duryodhana chose the army of warriors.

* The word saṁkhāma occurs also in the Droṇa-parvan, v. 147.
Droga-parvan, 382.—Dhritarāṣṭraḥ utaḥa | ṛṣiṇa divyāṇi karmāṇi
Vāsudevasya Sanjaya | kriyavān yāni Govinda yatāḥ nanyāḥ punāṁ
kvaḥit | samvartāhata gopa-kule balamaiva mahatmanā | viṣhayāpitam
balam bāhov trishu lokasuḥ Sanjaya | Uchabhaśkrava-tulya-balam vayu-
vega-samath javo | jaghāna Haya-rājanaḥ Yamunā-vana-vāsinam | Dānavāṁ
ghora-karmāṇaṁ gouvam mrityum āvottohipam | viṣha-rūpa-āharam
balya bhūjāhyāṁ nijāghāna ha | Pralambhaṁ Narakaṁ Jambham
Pītham va 'pi mahāsauram | Muraṁ ohāmara-sankās̄am abadhit pushka-
rekaḥpāṇaḥ | tathā Kaṁce mahātejaṁ Jarāsandhama pāliitaḥ | viṣvamaṇaiva
Kṛishṇaṁ sagayāṁ pātiyo raṇa | Sunāṁ raṣa-vikrāntaṁ samagrākshau-
hinti-patiḥ | Bhoja-rājasya madhyas kiḥ dhrutā Kaṁsyaṁ vīyavān | Baladeva-dvītyena Kṛishṇaṁ-āmītra-ghātinā | taraevi samare dagdaḥ sa-
sainyaṁ Sūrāsena-ṛat | Durvāsāṁ nāma vipraraekhi tathā parama-
kopanaḥ | ārādhitaḥ sadārṇa sa ohāmaï praḍadouvarān | tathā Gándhāra-
rājasya sutāṁ vīraṁ vayāṁvare | nirjīthya prithivi-pālana avahai pushka-
rekaḥpāṇaḥ | amrihyamāyaḥ rājyaṁ yasya jātyāḥ hāyaṁ ēva | rathavi-
vāhīke yuktaḥ pratodana kriṣa-vrāṇaḥ | Jarāsandham mahābāhun upa-
yena Janardanaḥ | pareṇa ghatyāmasya samagrākshauhinti-patim | Chedi-
rājanaḥ vikrāntaṁ rājā-sena-patim balt | argha viḍavānānanda haghāna
paṭu-vaṭ tadda | Saubhāyaṁ dāitya-puraṁ saasthaṁ Sāśa-guptaṁ durā-
sadam | samudra-kukkha vimānasya pāṭyāmāsa Mādhuvaḥ | . . . . . .

v. 400: Pravītya māravārim mahābhūtaḥ abhiśāṃvitaṁ | jīgāya Varu-
ṇaṁ sāmhaṁ saṁhitāntargatam purā | yudhi Pancajañjanama hāvaṁ pātā-
tala-vāsinam | pānchajanyāṁ Hṛiṣṭikēo divyāṁ sāmhaṁ avāptavān | Khandade Pārtha-sahitaṁ toshayāvā Hutaśānam | agnayaṁ astraṁ dur-
ārhasaṁ ohakram ībhā mahābalaḥ | Vaiṇateyaṁ samāruhya trāsasvātā
tāravātal | Mahendra-bhavanād vīraṁ pārijātem upānavat | taccho
marṣhitavan Sakro jaṁānaṁ taya pariṇāmam | rājanaṁ chāpy ojātaṁ
kanchit Kṛishņeṇa na śuṛuma | yaccho tad mahād ādeheyaṁ sāhāyaṁ
mama Sanjaya | kriyavān Pungārākṣaṁ kas tād-anya śāhṛati | labha-
bhāktya prasanno 'ham adṛākehaṁ Kṛiṣṇam tevarām | tad ma sviditaṁ
sarvam pratyaksham ēva chāgamam | nāntaṁ vikrama-yuktasya buḍhāya
yuktaya va punāḥ | karnagāl aksaye guntun Hṛiṣṭikēyaṁ Sanjaya |
tathā Gadaṁ cha Sambahaṁ Pradyumno 'the Vēdārthaḥ | . . . . . .

410: Ete 'naya balavantāh ca Hṛiṣṇi-vīraṁ prahārīṇaḥ | kathoḥhūnt
Pāṇḍavāntākāṁ bhṛgyeṇaṁ samare sthitāḥ | abhātaḥ Hṛiṣṇi-vīreṇa Kalinga
mahatmanā | tathā samāvyitam sarvam bhaved iti matir mama | nāgāyuta-
balo viraḥ Kailāsa-tikharopamaḥ | vana-mālt hālt Rāmas tatra yatra
Janārdanaḥ | yam ahū sarva-pīlaraṃ Vasūdevaṃ dvijatayah | aṣṭi vā hy
esāḥ Paṇḍūrīnāṁ yotaye rthāya Sanjayaḥ | sa yadā tata saṁmahat Paṇḍa-
vārthāya Sanjayaḥ | na tadā pratisamyoḍaḥ bhavitā tasya kaśchana | yadi
ena Kuravah sarve jāyeyur nāma Paṇḍavān | Vārshneyo rthāya teshāṁ
vai gṛihṛtya tastram uttaman | tataḥ sarvān nara-vyāghro hatvā nara-
patin raṃ | Kuravānē cha mahābahuḥ Kunyai dadyāt sa medinīm |
yasya yantā Dṛṣṭakṣeṣo yoddhā yasya Dhananjayaḥ | rathaṣya tasya kaḥ
sanḍhyo pratyankho bhaved rathaḥ | na benacchīd upāyena Kurūnāṁ dṛṣṭyate
jayaḥ | tasmād ma sarvām āchākṣva yathā yuddham avartata | 324

“Dhṛtarāṣṭra says: Hear, Sanjaya, the divine acts of Kṛiṣṇa,
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 Hayaś [horses], dwelling in the woods of the
Yamunā, equal to Ucchaisravas (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, Naraka, Jambha and Pīthā, the great Asura, and Mura, re-
sembling the immortals. So, too, Kansa, of great force, supported by Ṛṣi-
sandha, was, with his host, overthrown in battle by Kṛiṣṇa, through
his valour. Sunāmaṇ, 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 Sūrāsenas, was, with his army, burnt up in battle
by Kṛiṣṇa, destroyer of his enemies, seconded by Balarāma. And
a Brāhmaṇa rishi called Durvāsas, extremely irascible, was worshipped
by him (Kṛiṣṇa), together with his wife, and bestowed on him
boons. 325 So, too, the lotus-eyed hero, having conquered the princes,
carried off the daughter of the king of the Gāndhāras at the Swa-
yavara: 326 and the princes, being unable to endure him, were

324 Towards the close of Dhṛtarāṣṭra's speech the following verse of a proverbial
carder occurs:—v. 429: Paṇḍūraṇāṁ hi badha Śūta vaṣṭram veṣyante triṣṇay api | "When
men are ripe for destruction, even straws smite like thunderbolts."
325 See the Aneśasāma-paṛvan, vv. 7402 ff., referred to above, p. 196.
326 Larsen, Ind. Alt. i., 822, first edition (p. 769, second edition), note, thinks this
story has probably some foundation in fact, and adds that Nagasajit, king of the
Gāndhāras, is mentioned in the Alt. Br., viii. 34. See Colebrooke's Essays, i. 46,
and the second volume of this work, p. 368.
yoked like hightbred horses to the bridal car, and wounded with the goad. Janārdana, by a clever device, caused Jarāsandha, the large-armed, lord of a complete army, to be slain.  \[227\] 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 Krishṇa]. Assailing Saubha, the self-supporting (i.e. flying) city of the Daityas, on the shore of the ocean, protected by the Sālva (king), and difficult to destroy, Mādhava overthrew it.” [Then follows a list of numerous tribes, Angas, Bangas, etc., etc., conquered by Krishṇa.] . . . . . . . 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 Panchajanaa dwelling in Pātalā, Hṛṣīkeśa obtained the divine shell Pāṇčajanyā. Having, along with Pārtha (the son of Prithū, Arjuna), propitiated Agni in Khāṇḍava, this mighty being acquired the irresistible fiery weapon, the discus.  \[228\] Mounted on Garuḍa, and terrifying Amāra-vatī (the city of Indra), this hero brought back the pārijāta from the abode of the elder Indra.  \[229\] And to this Sakra submitted, knowing his prowess. And we have not heard of any of the kings who has not been conquered by Krishṇa. Then who but Puṇḍarīkākṣa could have performed that very wonderful act which he did in my assembly? Through the faith which I had attained, I beheld Krishṇa, 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 Hṛṣīkeśa 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 Vṛshni tribe, summoned by the great Vṛshni hero, Keśava, will join in some way the host of the Pāṇḍavas, and stand up in the battle. Hence, in my opinion, everything will be doubtful. Wherever Janārdana is, there is also the hero Rāma, in strength equal to ten thousand elephants, resembling the summit of Kailāsa, wearing a garland of wild flowers, and carrying a plough. Or Vāsudeva, he whom the Brahmans call the universal father, will fight for

227 See the story as told in the Sābhā-parvan, vv. 848 ff.

228 Compare note 189, p. 191; and see Ādi-parvan, v. 8196, where the story is told.

229 See Wilson’s Vīṣṇu Purāṇa, pp. 586 ff. (vol. v., pp. 87 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 over come the Pândavas, Vārāhṇya (Krīṣṇa) would on behal f of the latter seize his pre-eminent weapon; and having then slain all the princes and the Ksauravas in battle, this great-armed and tiger-like man (lit. man-tiger) would bestow the earth on Kuntī. What chariot can stand in the conflict against that chariot of which Hrihikeśa is the driver, 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, Arjunaḥ Keśavasyātmā, "Arjuna is the soul of Keśava," etc.

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

Kaśyapa Dantakūra mamārasa | anoma dayāhā varsha-jagān anātha 
Varāṇasi nagari sambhāvita | ayaṁ sva yuddha manyatas 'nyair ajayām 
tam Khaḷavayaḥ nāma Nishāḍa-rājya | vageena śilam abhikhyata jambhāḥ 
iste sa Kṛṣṇamati hataḥ parāsvaḥ | tathagrañṇam evaṁ svaṁ śastraṁ 
Śrīhyo-Andhakānām madhya-gataḥ sahaṣ-ṣṭham | apātayad Baladeva- 
Ālayo hataḥ dadaḥ chograsamāya rājyaḥ | ayaṁ Saubbham yodhayāmsa 
vastham vihīrānānām māyāyā Śīlova-rājyaḥ | Saubbha-ḍvāri pratya-
grañṇāt sataghnāṁ dorbhyāṁ kaḥ enaṁ visaheta marīyaḥ | Prāgjayotisānā 
nāma bāhūva āryam pūrayaṁ ghoram Asuraṁ āsanayam | mahābalo 
Narakas tatra Bhauṁo jahāra-ddīyaḥ maṇi-kūḍāla sūḥṣaḥ | na taṁ devaṁ 
saha Sākreṇa sūkṣaṁ samāgataḥ yuddha mrityor abhītaḥ | āryaṁ ca taṁ 
vikramaṁ Keśavanā balaṁ tathādāstraṁ arāṇyaṁ | jānanto 'aya 
prakṛitiṁ Keśavanā nyayojayan dasyud-bahūya Kṛṣṇam | sa taṁ karma 
pratīṣṭhāvāva dushkaram aicayavān saṁdhishu Vāsudevaḥ | nirmohanā 
śat sahasra-āstaṁ sancbhidya pāśāṁ sakṣaṁ kṣuruṁ 
|Murasam 
ḥataṁ viṁśatyaugha-akṣho nirmohanāṁ āsaṁ jāgama viṣṭaḥ | tatraiva 
teṇāya bāḥraṁ yuddhaṁ mahābalaṁ śiśvīśaṁ Vīṣṇoḥ | iste sa Kṛṣṇaṁ 
ḥataṁ parāṣu vāteno maṁkhaṁ karni-kāraṇaḥ | āhūtya Kṛṣṇo maṇi-
kūḍāla te ātava ca Bhauṁaṁ Narakam Murancaḥ | bṛṣīya vṛtta yatāvā 
chaiva vidvīṁ pratya-jagāṁ pratima-prabhavaḥ | asmaṁ varāṁ adadāme 
tatra devaṁ āryaṁ kṛtiṁ kramaṁ raṇe taṁ | "kramaṁ ca taṁ 
yuddhāmatvaṁ na syad ākāśe āsṛpa ca taṁ kramaṁ syat | śatrasā 
gātra na ca taṁ kramaran" ity eva Kṛṣṇaṁ ca tadāh kṛtaṁ kāraṇaḥ | 
svaṁ-ṛṣya Vāsudeva 'prameyaṁ mahābala guṇa-rampat sadaiva | tam asa-
hyāna Vīṣṇum ananta-vṛtya asāmbhate Dhāṛthārādhāstro viṣṭum |

"Once, in the forenoon, when I had muttered my prayers, and concluded my ablutions, a Brahman addressed to me these pleasant words:
'Son of Prithä, thou hast a difficult work to do; thou hast to fight with thine enemies, O Savyasaśeśa (a name of Arjuna). Shall Indra with his steeds, and wielding the thunderbolt, go before thee in battle, smiting thy foes, or shall Kṛṣṇa, the son of Vāsudeva, with his car, to which Sugrīva (one of Kṛṣṇa'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. Kṛṣṇa was obtained by me as a helper in slaying the Dasyus, and I think that this was effected for me by the gods. That man will try to stretch over the ocean, the immeasurable receptacle of waters, with his arms, who thinks to conquer
in battle the glorious and eminently heroic 
Krishna. If any one should attempt to split with his hand the white mountain (viz. Kailasa), a vast pile of rocks, his hand and nails would be worn away, and he could produce no effect upon the mountain. That man would extinguish blazing fire with his arms, would stop the moon and sun, would daringly plunder the ambrosia of the gods, who should think to conquer Vasudeva in battle,—[Vasudeva] who having boldly destroyed in battle the Bhoga kings, carried off on the same car with himself Rukmiñi his bride, shining in renown, of whom the great Raukmiñeya was born. He (Krishna) having by his prowess destroyed the Gandhara, having conquered all the sons of Nagajit, forcibly released [king] Sudarshana, renowned even among the gods, who had been bound [by the sons of Nagajit], and was making an outcry. He slew Pandya with the fragment of a door, and crushed the Kalingas in Dantakura. Through him the city of Benares, which had been burnt, and remained for many years defenceless, sprang into existence. He regarded Ekalavya the king of the Nishadas as invincible by others in battle, [but slew him], having smitten him furiously with a rock. Jambha sleeps, bereft of life by Krishna. Seconded by Baladeva, he also prostrated [Sunamana] the wicked son of Ugrasena standing in the midst of the assembly of the Vrishnis 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 Salvas, terrible from his magical powers, and arrested with his arms at the gate of Saubha the weapon Sataguni: what mortal can assail him? There was an im-

340 One of the commentators says that Sudarshana was a certain king, and explains devataνām latāmam by devataνām madhya pradastam, “approved among the gods.” Another commentator says latāmam = sivamayam, “a head-jewel or ornament.” The Bhagavata Purana, x. 34, 8 ff., tells a story of a Vidyadhara also named Sudarshana, who in consequence of a curse had been changed into a serpent, but who renewed his former shape on being touched by Krishna’s foot.

341 The construction and sense of this verse are not very clear.

342 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 (kāmysql) city of Saubha and of its king in the Vasa-parvan. The story is first of all briefly given in vv. 615–636; and afterwards very diffusely in vv. 856–889. Krishna splits the city with his discs Sudarshana (v. 883), and kills the king of the Salvas himself (v. 886).—See Lassen’s Indian Antiquities, p. 616, 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 sided 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 Daśyu. Vāsudeva, possessing divine power in his magical endowments (śīvāvadāṁ siddhitam), 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 Vishnu of surpassing strength had a fight with the powerful foe; who, smitten by Krishṇa, sleeps lifeless, like a karnikā 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 Vishnu, of infinite power, whom the son of Dhyitarāṣṭra hopes to overcome.”

244 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 Harivamāna, 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 Phāṣṅgara or Thugṣa, 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-pāśa, the hāla-pāśa, and the Varṇa-pāśa. In the Vana-parvan, 879, the epithet kahurāṣṭa, sharp as a razor, is applied to Krishṇa’s discus.

244 See verse 4407 of this same parvan; Nirmochana bhakṣākhakārāḥ pāśair baddhāḥ māhāśeṣāḥ | 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. Böhlingk and Roth s.v. 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 Vama-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 Pàñjávas in the forest; and as he showed himself greatly incensed at the conduct of the Kuruí, Arjuna, to appease him, related (needlessly, one would think, if he was regarded as the Supreme Deity) his exploits in former births (vr. 471 ff.).

Arjunaḥ vadeṣaḥ | Dāsa-varṣa-
saharāṇī yatra Sāyangriho muniḥ | vyaḥrasu teṣau purā Kṛishṇa
parvate Gandhamadānaḥ | dāsa-varṣa-saharāṇī dāsa-varṣa-katāni cha
puskarasaeva vasāḥ Kṛishṇa teṣau apo bhakṣayaḥ purā | ardhe-āhur
vithalāyām Pāḍyamad Mahesūdānaḥ | atishkiḥ eka-pādena vayu-bhakṣaṇaḥ
katar samāk | avakriṣṭottarātaneḥ kriṣṇo dharmänāṃ-santataḥ | atiḥ
Kṛishṇa Sarasvatyaṁ satro dvādasā-vaṁśikho | Prabhāsam apy athāsūdyā
tirtham punga-janochitam | tathā Kṛishṇa mahātejāḥ dieyaṁ varṣa-
saharikam (sic) | atiśhās teṣau yathaikma pādena niyama-sthitāḥ | loka-pravṛtti-hetos teṣau iti Vyoṣo mamābhravati | khetra-śāñc sarva-
bhūtānām aūr aṁtaḥ ca Kesāva | nādhānaṃ tapasaḥ Kṛishṇa yajnas
tvaṁ ca sanātanaḥ | niḥātya Narakam Bhumaṃ aḥṛtya maṇi-kuṇḍalaḥ |
prathamotāṣṭaṁ Kṛishṇa me bhāyo aśvam avāryeḥ | kṛteśa tatt karma
lokānām rishabhah sarva-loka-jitaḥ | abadhaḥ tvam raṇa sarvāṃ sametām
daytā-dānavān | tataḥ sarveśvaratvaṁ ca sampradāya Saćhi-pateḥ |
manuṣhānu mahābho prādurbhhato'ṣi Kesāva | ca tvam Nārāyaṇo哈尔
Harir aṭṭh purāntopaḥ | Brahma Somāḥ ca Sūryaḥ ca Dharma Dhātā
Yamo nālaḥ | Vaiyu Vaiśravaṇo Rudraḥ kūlaḥ kham prthivi dītaḥ | ajaśa
charāchara-guruḥ ekaṁ teṣau puruṣottamaḥ | parāyanaṁ devam
urdhvaṃ kratubhir Madhusūdānaḥ | ayo jhūri-tejāḥ vai Kṛishṇa Chai-
traratho vane | katarā tata-saharāṇi svasraya Janārādanaḥ | ekaśaṁsām
 tadā yajne paripāryeṇi bhāgasāḥ | . . . . Sāditaḥ Mauvāṇaḥ pātaḥ
Nismadā-Narakam katuḥ | kītaḥ kihmaḥ pumāḥ panthāḥ puram Prāg
jyotiṣam prati | Jārāthyam Āhuritiḥ Krāthāḥ Śīnapālo janaiḥ saha |
Jarāśandhaḥ ca Śāvayāḥ ca Sataḥānaḥ ca nirjitaḥ | tathā Purānya-
252 KRISHNA’S AUSTERITIES, AND ONENESS WITH VARIOUS GODS.

ghoshaṇa ratnāditya-varchaśa | avāpetr mahishṭam bhokṣyām | rasa virijyā
Bukmini | indrayunno hataḥ kopād Yavanāt | cha Kāsorūmān | hataḥ
Saubha-patiḥ Śālvas tvayā Saubhāḥ cha pātītaṃ | śravatyām hato
Bhōjaḥ Kārtavṛtya-samo yudhi | Gopātis Tālaketū | tvagyā viṁhitāv
ubhau | tām cha Bhogavaitṁ puyām Rishiḥ kām tām Janārdana | Deś-
raṇām atmasāt kriyā samuḍrāḥ gamayishyasi | na krodho na cha
mātasyaṁ nānṛtaṃ Madhusūdana | tvayi tīṣṭhati Dāśārha na nriśaṁ-
ryaṁ kuto 'nrijyā | āsmaḥ cheitya-madhya tvāṁ dippyamānām va-lejāvā |
agnyā rishayaḥ sarve 'yāchantābhayaṃ Ahyuta |

Vana-parvan, 471. “Formerly, Kṛṣṇa, thou didst roam for ten
thousand years on the mountain Gandhamādan, where the muni
Śaṅkar quietly 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 Prabhāsa, 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 Vāsia declared to me. Thou, Keśava, art the spirit residing in
men’s bodies, the beginning and the end of all existences, the re-
ceptacle 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 per-
formed 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 Puru-
shottama (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 Adīter api putratvam, and ending niḥatatāṁ
katako 'svarāḥ]. The nooses of Murū were destroyed; Nisunda and
Naraka were slain; the way to the city Prāgjyotisaha was again rendered safe. On the Jārumā Āhvṛiti, Krātha, Siṣupāla with his men, Jarāsandha, Saivya and Satahanvan 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 Salva, the lord of Saubha; and Saubha was thrown down. Bhūja, equal to Kārtavirya in battle, was slain by thee on the Iravati, as well as both Gopati and Tālaketu. And having subdued to thyself Dvārakā, thou wilt cause the holy Bhogavatī and the Rishikā to flow to the ocean. Neither anger, nor envy, nor falsehood, nor cruelty, abides in thee, Dāśārha (Krishṇa): how then canst thou be deceitful? The rishis came to thee, [Achyuta,] whilst thou wast sitting in the midst of the Chaitya (sacrificial ground), resplendent with thy own brightness, and begged of thee security. [Then follow some lines which have been quoted above, p. 229, beginning Yugānte sarva-bhātanī sankhīpya, etc.]

VI. Although, as we have already seen from various passages of the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, Krishṇa is generally identified with Viṣṇu, and Viṣṇu with Brahmā, or the supreme deity, yet in a text quoted above (p. 49) from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 33, 27, Krishṇa is spoken of as only a partial incarnation of the godhead. The same is the case in another passage in the first section of the same tenth book of the Bhāgavata. The king there says to Śuka 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 (tatrābhāmbattirnāya Viṣṇo vīryāni bhāsa naḥ | avatirya Yadov vaṁśa bhagavān bhūtā-bhāvanāḥ | kriyān yāni visvātma tāni no vada vistarāt). Śuka 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:

248 See the first volume of this work, pp. 450 ff.
Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. i. 21 ff.—Girah samādhau gajante samritām
nīśamyā Vedaḥ triḍatān uvāca ha | gām paurushim mā śrīgumāmarāh
punar vidhiyām aha ātma tathaiva māchirām | puraīva puśka (Īśvara, Comm.)
vadhrilo dhara-jñaro bhavadāhīr aṁśair Yaḍuhaṇjaṁjyaṁjyām |
sa yāvad uṛṣṇiḥ bharam tavasvēvāraḥ ma-kāla-tāktyāḥ kṣhapayāhī chāreś
bhavi | Vasudeva-grihe sākahād bhagavān Purushaḥ paraḥ | janishyate
tat-priyārthaṁ samhāvanticu sura-striyaḥ | Vasudeva-kalā nantaḥ sa-
hara-vadamaṇaḥ svarat | agrato bhavita devo Hareḥ priya-chikṣtreḥ 
Vaisñava māyā bhagavati yaya sammohitāṁ jagat | adhiṣṭa prabhuma
‘māma kāryaṁhe sambhavāhīyati |

“Having, while in a state of contemplation, heard a voice uttered in
the sky, Vedhas (Brahmā) said to the gods: ‘Hear from me, immortals,
the voice of Purusaha, and then speedily act so [as it enjoins]. The
distress of the earth was already understood by Purusaha. Do you, in
portions of yourselves, be born among the Yadas, whilst he, the god
of gods, walks upon the earth, removing her burthen by his destruc-
tive power. The supreme divine Purusaha shall be born in his own person
(sākhā) in the house of Vasudeva. To please him, let the wives of
the gods be born. The infinite, thousand-faced, self-repleendent deity
shall first become a portion of Vīśudeva, in order to gratify Hari. The
divine Delusion of Vīṣṇu, by which the world is deceived, being com-
manded by the lord, shall be born in a portion of herself to effect the
desired objects.’”

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

Nripradānāṁ kathitaṁ vace ra hāvata vamśa-vistaraṁ | Vamśānucharitaṁ
choisya yathāvad anuvargitam | Aṁśāvatāro brahmārāhe yo yath Yaḍu-
kulodhavaḥ | Vīṣṇuos tam vistaraṁhāṁ āvonm iekohāmy aṁśhehaḥ |
Chakāra yani karmāṇi bhagavān Purushottamaḥ | Aṁśāṁsa-vāstra-yog-
evāṁ tatra tātī mune vuda | Puraśkarah uvāca | Maitreya brāyatam
etad yat prishṭa ‘ham tha tevyā | Vīṣṇor aṁśāṁśa-sambhāti-charitāṁ
jagato hitam |

“You have related to me the complete genealogy of the kings, and
also the entire history of the races. I now wish, divine sage, to hear in
full detail the particulars of the incarnation of a portion of Vīṣṇu
which took place in the tribe of the Yadas. Tell me, Muni, what acts
the divine Purushottama performed when he descended to the earth in a portion of a portion [of himself]. Parâśara 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 Purâna, pp. 498-497; 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 Kālanyāni 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. Elasmim omā kāle tu bhūrī-dhārā-vapātīda jāgāma dhaṛaṇi Merau samāyā tridivävakṣadām . . . . . .

25 | akhandaṅgā byahulāh diya-mūrti-dhāritāh evarāh | mahābalaṅgām ārṇī略krāyām mamopari tad-bhūrī-dhāra-pidārātā na satamoy amarāvarāḥ | vibhartum ātmanā "imānam śiśāvāyām vaḥ | kriyadātum tat mahābhāgā mama dhārāvātāram | yathā rasatālaṁ nahan gachāyam atihihīla"

Brahmā proposed that they should

260 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 Helen of Euripides, vv. 38 ff., it is said: Πάλαις γὰρ ἐν θυρήγαν έλλήνων χώρι Καὶ Φρυγίς δουστρούσιν, ὡς ἄκλην βροτῶν Πλέον τε καταφάτει μετέρα χώρα, Γαρμον τὸ θέλε τὸν κράτος τῆς Ελλάδος. "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: "Εκείν θεόν τῇ τιθέω καλλιτεχνῷ έλλήνων εἰς καὶ Φρυγίς συνάγων, δακτύλω τ' θηραμ, ὡς αὐτοτοίχων χώρῃ "Τριμερ θυτῶν άθροίσον πληρόμενοι. "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 Minor on the Iliad, i. 5 (quoted in Hayne's Homer, Oxford, 1821), we read: "Αλλ' οδ' έκεί ιστορία τούτη δικών ειρημένη τῆς ὁμοροφ ήφε πρὸ τῆς γῆς βευσμάς ταῦτα μεθράπτων υπολείποντας, μεθεμένη μεθράπτων βυθοκοκκίνους όμοροφοις, αἰνηθείς τῆς θεοπάθειας τοῦ ἄθροι. Τὴν τ' άθροι, πρότων μὲν ένθα υπήκοα τῆς θεοπάθειας τάδεμεν, ο' ε' πολλάς πάντων ἀναλέων. Ευφρεθεὶς τ' αύτίς συμβεβληκτικὸ τὸ δήμων ἐχρήσατο, ὥς ἀθροί οὕτωρ ομοροφ θερινός. εὐθείᾳ άδικα τοῦ ναυπον αὐτοῖς ἀκουσίωροι πάντως διώκονται, τοῦτο τοῦ δήμου καλλικτότερο, εὐμοφιτόν θαυμάζοντες αὐτήν τήν το λείον ἀκουσίωρας. ή δ' ιστορία ταῦτα θεοπάθεια τῆς θεοπάθεια τῆς θεοπάθεια πεποιηθέντι, εἰσηλθέ: οὕτως ἢν οὐκ οὖν φίλα κατὰ χάδα πλαξίμαται θαυματορίων
INCARNATION OF PARAMESVARA'S TWO HAIRS.

resort to Vishnu, “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 jagat-yartha sa sarvata maya jagamaya | svapaksamagacchhaya dharmaya kurute uhitim). The gods accordingly went to the milky sea, and lauded Vishnu in a long hymn. Vishnu was gratified by their praises, desired them to state their wishes, and assured them that these should be accomplished. Brahma renewed his praises; and we are then told what happened when they were concluded:

58. Bahu saṁstūyamānas tu bhagavān paramesvaro  | Ujjahāratmanāha  
hebavu sita-kṛishṇu mahāmuno  | Uvācha cha surān catu mat-kētān vacu-
ād-hā-ball | Avatīryai bhva bhāra-kleka-hānīk karishyatah  | Surāṣahe sakalā vamśāvart avatīryai māhitale
t | Kurvanu yuddham ummattaih  
purvottamair mahāwaraib | Tatha kehayam abhāsām te Divyāḍhā dharmag-
tala  | Pravāyanti na sandho mad-ārik-pāta-vichārgitāh  | Vasevdhavya yā pati Devakī devotopamā  
Tasyāyam aṣṭamō garbho māt-kēvō ḍhavita surāh  | Avatīryai cha tātrēyam  
Kāmam ghatayita bhūvi |  

πλάσιος αὐτ. Ζεὺς δὲ μὴν ἔλεγε, καὶ ἐν πυκνω ἐπιζήτησεν Ἀθηναῖον κονδύλου πηδάδων περίποτα γιαί, ἡμίξεια πολέμου μεγάλην ἔρις Λακεδαίμων. "Οφθαλμὸς χειρός ὑπειράζεται αὐτῷ, ἐὰν τελεσθῇ θυσία. 

"Others have declared that Homer used the expression (Δὲ δὲ τελεσθῳ θυσία) '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 pity, prayed to Zeus to be relieved of the burden; and that he had first caused the Theban war, whereby he destroyed very many. Afterwards he employed Momus as his counsellour, (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-bosomed 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. 216, note 212; and Drogap., 2061 f.

230 Another MS. reads māhitam.
231 Another MS. reads asa garbha 'aṣṭamō tasyāh.
232 Another MS. reads tātrēyam.
Kalanemiṃ samudbhatam ityuktatī ‘ntardadhā Hariḥ | Adrīkṣyāya tatas tasmai prajñapatya makāmune | Meru-priśtham svrāh jagmur avatārū cha bhūtate |

“Being thus landed, the divine Paramesvara plucked out two of his own hairs, a white and a black, and said to the deities, ‘These two hairs of mine, descending to the earth, shall remove her burden and sufferings. And let all the deities, descending in portions of themselves to the earth, fight against those mad Asuras who were formerly born. Then all these sons of Diti (the Asuras) shall no doubt perish, being annihilated by the glances of my eyes. This my hair, gods, shall become the eighth child of Devaki, the wife of Vasudeva who (Devaki) resembles the goddesses. And this [hair] descending there, shall destroy Kansa, the Kalanemi 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 Batnagarbha, one of the commentators on the Vīṣṇu Purāṇa, makes on the first of the preceding passages (p. 254), and which have reference to the sequel also:


VOL. IV.
"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 through 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;' and also agreeably to such texts as this, 'The supreme Brahma with the form, and with the characteristics, of a man, is a great mystery; but Krishna is the lord himself.' And the employment of the term 'hairs' in the words, 'My hairs shall descend to the earth,' and 'This hair shall slay Kansa,' etc., is intended to signify that the task of removing the earth's burthen was such as Brahma in all his plenitude could effect by a very slight instrumentality, and not to assert that the two hairs were identical with [Bala]raama and Krishna: for two insensible hairs, not being conscious spirits animating the bodies of those two persons, could not fulfil their task. If it be said that the lord occupying the bodies of Balarama and Krishna, which were produced by the magical operation of the hairs, will do so and so, we reply, 'Yes, for there is no difference in the result, and because he himself said, 'I [shall be born] on the

283 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. 1167 of Weber's edition, may also be consulted. The Atharva-veda has the following verse, x. 8, 29: Pūrṇat pūrṇam udachati pūrṇam pūrṇena sīchayate | uṣṇa tad adya sīvāṇa yataḥ tat pariśikhyate | "He takes a full from a full: the full is sprinkled with the full: and may we to-day know that from which that is sprinkled."
eighth night of the dark fortnight of the moon.' But there is no occasion for further prolixity." 284

The passage which follows is from another commentary on the same text: 285

Ujjahāra | utpāsitavān | ayam bhāvaḥ | mama duskharaḥ ched yuṣhmābhīḥ sāhayyaḥ kāryaṁ syāt | na tv etad asti bha-bhārāpaḥarasyādau mahāy api kārya mat-kat-mātrasyaiva samarthate iti | na tv kṣama-mātrāvataraḥ iti mantavyam | "mad-dṛk-pāta-viḥāryitaḥ" "śrīnāśṭamśyaṁ aham utpateyāmi" ityadishu sākhāt evaśārātavokteḥ | sila-krishṇa-kadādhārayaṁ cha kathāṁ prakham eva | "Ujjahāra means that he 'plucked out' the hairs. The sense is as follows: 'It would be a difficult matter if aid had to be rendered to me by you: but the same is not the case in regard to the task, though a great one, of removing the load of the earth, etc., since my hairs alone are equal to it.' But it is not to be supposed that there was nothing beyond an incarnation of the mere hairs; for his own incarnation is distinctly asserted in the words 'annihilated by the glance of my eye,' 'I shall be born on the eighth night of the dark fortnight of the moon,' etc., etc. The mention of his plucking out white and black hairs is for the purpose of ornament." 286

The same story about the production of Balarāma and Kṛishṇa from two hairs is also told in the Mahābhārata, Ādi-parvan, 7306 ff.:

Tait eva sārdhāṁ tu tataḥ sa devo jagāma Nārāyaṇam aprameyam | anantaṁ avyaktam ajam puraṇaṁ samālaṇaṁ vibhav ananta-rāpan | sa cāpi tad vyādhiḥ sarvam eva tataḥ sarve sambabhūvēr dharaṇyam | sa cāpi keśu Hārīr udevarha suklaṁ skam aparāṁ cāpi kṛishṇam | tau cāpi keśu nivīśetāṁ Yudānāṁ kule striyau Devakiṁ Rohiṁīn cha | tayor sko Baladevo babhāva yo 'rava āvatas tasya devasya keśah | Kṛishṇo dvityaḥ Keśavāḥ sambabhūva keśo yo 'rava varṇataḥ kṛishṇaḥ uktaḥ |

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

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

285 I am indebted to Professor Goldstücker for copying this passage for me.

286 See Professor Wilson's notes on these passages of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, viz. in p. 492, and in p. 497 (pp. 247 and 258, vol. v., of Dr. Hall's ed.).
in his forms; and he fulfilled all [that they desired]. Then they were all born on earth. Hari also plucked out two hairs, one white and the other black. These two hairs entered into two women of the tribe of the Yadus, Devaki and Rohini. One of them, the white hair of the god, became Baladeva; while the second hair (κέσα), which was called black (κριषνή) in colour, became Krishṇa, Kesāva.”

The following remarks are made on this passage by Nilakaṇṭha, one of the commentators on the Mahābhārata:

Atra keśā eva reta-rūpas Pāṇḍavānām iva Bāma-Kriṣṇayeṣvar api prakaraṇa-saṅgay-application iva yadavāḥ iva parāha-viṣṭaḥ vā purattier avaktavya-vātā 351 | atah eva Devakyāṁ Rohinyānca sakhāt keśa-praveṣaḥ ucyate na tu Vasudeva | tathā sati tu “devānāṁ rete varṣaḥ varṣasya retaḥ udbhāyaḥ” ityādi-srauta-pranidhyā ‘sūmad-ādi-vat tayor api vyasādhanena deva-prabhavatam syat | tathā cha “etan nānā-vatārāṇāṁ nīdhānaṁ vijayam avayam” iti bhagavataḥ sakhāḥ māyād-vātā-drāva-vijayam ucyāmaṁnaṁ virudhyata | apiśca keśa-retasor dāsa-jāte samāne ‘pi retaḥ-prabhavat ‘vākṣeratāste maṇunyakṣaṁ putrataḥ cha syāt| tathā cha “Krishṇas tu bhagavān avyayam” iti śrimad-bhāgavatotkāh saṅgachhate | na cha keśodhārayaḥ Krisńasyāpy aneṣatvam pratyate iti vācyam | keśaiva dāhāvayaavatābbhāvyat | tvamad Namuchi-badhe kartavya yathā aparā phone vajrasya praveṣaḥ evaṁ Devaki-Rohinyor jātharo praveṣa kartavya keśadevyena devāra-bhūtama bhagavataḥ ārthasye eva avirbhāvaḥ ektavyaḥ iti yuktam |

“Here the two hairs are of the nature of seed productive of Balarāma and Kṛishṇa, 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 ruin,’ etc., these two persons also (Balarāma and Kṛishṇa) 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,’ 352—it would be opposed to that

351 The MS. in the E. I. Office Library reads avalaya-vaktavyatāt |
352 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

I am indebted to Dr. Anrechte for pointing out to me the legend to which reference is here made, viz. that mentioned in B.V. viii. 14, 13: Apām phenema Namuchiḥ śīraḥ Indrodevatayasy | eśīvaḥ yad ajayaḥ apriddhāḥ | “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: Purāṇa kila Indro' surāṁ stīvā Namuchiṁ asuraṁ grahītuṁ na daśāka | sa cha yuddhyamānas tenēsvaro jagrihe | sa cha grahītam Indram evam asechit “teṣāṁ viśyāmi rātrēḥ ahū eka śuhaś-kārdeṛgaḥ śhīyaḥkhe na maṁ na hiṁsair” iti | sa Indras tena viśrīṣṭaḥ sam ahorātraṇaḥ sandhaṁ śuhaś-kārdeṛga-vilakṣaṇaṁ phenena tasya śīras chiekhēda | ayaṁ artho ‘ayeṁ pratipāyate | He Indra apām phenema vaśrīṣṭaṁ Namuchiḥ Aṣurasva śīraṁ udavartayat | “Formerly Indra having conquered the Aṣuras, was unable to seize the Aṣura Namuchi; and fighting, was seized by the Aṣura. 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 the day and night with foam, which is different both from dry and wet. This purport is set forth in this verse.” See also Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, xii 7, 3, 1 ff., quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 94; and also Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, i. 7, 1, 6 ff.: Indro Vṛtraṁ hatuṁ asuraṁ parābhāya Namuchiṁ asuraṁ na ahañāta | tarī Sāhaḥ śriḥgāt | teva samālahetam | so ‘emād abhiśuntarero bhavat | so ‘bhavat “saṁbāṁ saṁdākdvāhaḥ | atha te āhaḥ | eva čatraḥkṣayiṁ | na ma śuhaś-keṇa na ādṛtadv āha na dinā na naktam” iti | sa etam apām phenema aśeñchati | na vai āha śuhaḥ na ādṛtadv | vyuhaḥ uteś alamitāḥ sūryaḥ | na vai stād dinā na naktam | tasya etu ca lokāpām phenema śīraḥ udavartayat | “Indra, after having slain Vṛtra and defeated the Aṣuras, could not catch Namuchi, who was one of that race. He (Namuchi) captured him (Indra) with Sāchi [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 by dry nor wet, neither by day nor by night.’ He (Indra) anointed (the thunderbolt) with this foam of the waters, which was neither dry nor wet. It was twilight,—the sun not risen; neither day nor night. He smote off his head with the foam of the waters.” The story is also told in the Indra-vijaya (published by Holtsmann), vv. 185 ff.; Mahābhārata, Udyoga-parvan, vv. 320 ff.; Mahābhārata."
was to be made into the wombs of Devaki and Rohini, the manifestation of the deity in all his plenitude is to be understood as effected through the medium of the two hairs."

I add an interesting passage from the Vishnu Purâna, i. 22, 36 ff., where Vishnu is first of all placed on a level with Brahma and Siva; but afterwards declared to be the highest form of Brahma:


râtrou nāpi châhâni | badhîhâyamy asura-trêshâ sakhe satyena te sêpe” | evaṁ sa krîvâv samayam driaśsē vaihâmar têvraḥ | chichhâdaya śiro rûjann apâm phemena Vûsnavâ | tach chhiro Namuchêi chînmanâ prîśhthatah S’kram anuvatâ | hîk mitra-hana pûpeti bruvînma S’kram antikât | evaṁ sa iirasâ tetra chodyamānā mahat punâḥ | Pitâmaḥa ya santapâḥ etam arthaṁ nyuvâdayet | tam abrîvit loka-gûrur aruṇyân yothâvidhi | iśâpapajâyita devendra tirîka pûpa-bheyyapâh | “Namuchi being afraid of Indra, entered into a ray of the sun. Indra formed a friendship with him, and uttered this agreement: ‘I shall neither slay thee with water nor dry, neither in the night nor in the day; I swear in truth to thee, my friend, thou most eminent of Asuras.’ Having made this agreement, the lord Vûsava (Indra), being so darkened as to go in a fog, [when it was neither night nor day], cut off his head with the foam of the waters [which was neither wet nor dry]. That head of Namuchi, after being cut off, followed close after Indra, calling out, ‘O wicked slayer of thy friend.’ Being thus again and again pressed by the head, and being distressed, he [Indra] represented the matter to Pitâmaha (Brahma). The lord (or teacher) of the world (Brahma) said to him: ‘Having sacrificed, touch [the waters] in the Arûga, that sacred spot, which removes sin and fear,’ etc.
"Of that Brahma there are two conditions, one possessed of form, the other formless. These decaying and undecaying states exist in all creatures. The undecaying is the highest Brahma; the decaying is this entire universe. Just as light is diffused from a fire which is confined to one spot, so is this whole universe the [diffused] energy of the supreme Brahma. And as light shows a difference, greater or less, according to its nearness or distance from the fire, so is there a variation in the energy of Brahma. Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva are his chief energies. The deities are inferior to them; the Yaksahs, etc., to the deities; men, cattle, wild animals, birds and reptiles to the Yaksahs, 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 Puruṣa 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 Puruṣa 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 Rākṣahasas, are portions of Vishṇu.

VII. In several of the passages which have been already cited in the preceding pages, Vishṇu has been identified with the supreme spirit (see above, pp. 38, 50, 181). I shall now proceed to adduce some others of the same kind from the Mahābhārata. In the Śāntiparvan, vv. 1500 ff. Yudhishṭhīra says to Kṛishṇa:

Tava Kṛishṇa prasādena nayena cha bālena cha | buddhyā cha Yadu-
śārdala tathā vikramaṇena cha | punah prāplam idaṁ rājyam pitri-
PASSENGES IN WHICH KRISHNA IS

poitamaham maya | namas te Pundartakahe purah punar aridamah |
| teKam ekam duh Purushah teKam duh Sattvah gati | namabhah teKam
| bahuvadhi stuvah prayatih dvijah | visvakarmah namah te 'stu visvah-
| man visva-sambhava | Vishnu jishno Hare Krishna Vaikuntha Puru-
| shottama | Adeityah saptadhah teKam tu purahye garbhatah gatah | Prisnigahrah teKam ovaKah triyugah teKam vadanah api |
| Suchirawah Hrishti-
| keko ghritachhir hanahah uchyahe | trichakshuh Sambhur akah teKam visvah
| Dmodaro 'pi eha | Varaha 'gnir vrihadhanur vrihadhas Tarksha-
| lakshyah | . . . 1514. Yonis teKam anya pralayatchewan Krishna teKam
| evadah ojyasi visvam agro | visvanchodah tevad-vaha visvayone name 'stu
| te larnachchakatah-pagha |

"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 Sattvatas. 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, Vaikuntha, chief of spirits (or males). Of old thou didst become the sevenfold offspring of Aditi.\(^{300}\)

\(^{300}\) Thou alone art Prisnigahrah: they also call thee [him who exists in] the three ages (yugas). Thou art called Suchiśravas, Hrishtiçe, Ghritachhi, and Hansa. Thou alone art the three-eyed Sambhu (Mahâdeva) and Dâmodara, the pervading, the Boar, Agni, Vrihadhanun,\(^ {301}\) the Bull, he whose sign is Tarkshya (Guruḍa)." 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 Bhishma to Krishna is given, in which the following lines occur:

1609 | Yasmin visvani bhûtani tišṭhati eha visvani eha | gyrabhvùtani bhaté sute mani-gaṇah iva | yasmin nitye tate kante driçhe svag iva tišṭhati | sad-asad grathitam visvah visvanyo visvah-karnaś |

\(^{300}\) This, I suppose, refers to the Adityas being in the Veda spoken of as only seven in number. See above, pp. 114 ff.

\(^{301}\) A name of Agni.
In whom, the lord of being, 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 'upaniṣads,' 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 Devaki bore to Vasudeva, for the preservation of the terrestrial deity (i.e. the Veda, Brāhmans and sacrifices, Comm.) as Araṇi (the wood used for kindling fire), produced the flaming Agni. . . . 1622. In whom these worlds flutter, like birds in water,” etc.

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 Upaniṣads may have formed, in his idea, a secondary and supplemental class, as the Upapurāṇas do to the Purāṇas. Nilakaṇṭha, one of the commentators (whether conjecturally, or on good grounds, I cannot say), explains nishatā as meaning karmāṇḍya-avabaddha-devatādī-jnāna-vākyesu, “works treating of the knowledge of the deities, etc., connected with the ceremonial part of the Veda,” etc. The Upaniṣads “reveal the knowledge of soul alone” (kevalātma-jnāpaka-vākyesu). Vākas, according to the same authority, “make known ceremonies generally” (sāmānyataḥ karma-prakāśakeṣu); while anuvākas are “texts of the Brāhmaṇas, explanatory of the sense of the mantras, or Vedic hymns” (mantrārtha-vivarana-bhūteshva brahmaṇa-vākyesu).

See the 6th vol. of this work, pp. 208 ff.
In the following passage, also from the Śānti-parvan, Kṛishṇa identifies himself with the supreme Spirit, and represents Brahmā and Mahādeva as having proceeded from him. In it the writer likewise endeavours to explain away the effect of certain texts in other parts of the poem (see above, pp. 185–204), in which Kṛishṇa is related to have worshipped Mahādeva, and which were no doubt felt to be inconsistent with the supreme deity of the former. The difficulty is attempted to be overcome by the explanation that in worshipping Rudra, he was only worshipping himself. In the verses 13133 ff., Arjuna asks Kṛishṇa to interpret the different appellations which had been applied to him in the Vedas and Purāṇas; and this Kṛishṇa accordingly proceeds to do, remarking by the way that Arjuna had been of old declared to be his own half

Nārāyaṇa (i.e. Vīshṇu), he says, was the source of all things, and from him Brahmā and Śiva were produced; the one from his good pleasure, the other from his anger (13140). Yasya prasadāya Brahmā Rudraḥ krodha-sambhavaḥ. He then goes on (13144): Brahma rātri-kshaye prāpta tasya hy amita-tajscat | prasadāt prādwrabhavat padmam paḍma-nibhakṣaṇa | tato Brahmā samabhavat sa tasyāva prasadajñah | akhaḥ kahaya lalitāchcha suto devasya vai tathā | krodhāvihīṃṣasya sanjaya | Rudraḥ saṃhāra-kārakaḥ | etau deau vibudha-brāhmaḥ prasadā-krodha-jāv uḥau | tad-adeśita-pañthānau orishṭe saṃhāra-kārakaḥ | nimitta-mātram tāv aitra sarva-prāṇi-vara-pradau | kapardā jatoilo munaḥ śmaśāna-grīha-scakau | ugra-vrata-dhoro Rudro yogi parama-dārugaḥ |

Dakṣā-hrata-haracāvāja Bhaga-netra-haraḥ tathā | Nārāyaṇātmaka jneyaḥ Pāṇḍavaṣya yuge yuge | tasmin hi pujyamāne vai deva-dovo Mahēśare | sampujito bhavet Piṅgala devo Nārāyaṇaḥ prabhuv | ahau atmā hi lokānām viśvēkām Pāṇḍu-nandana | 13152. tasmāt atmānam evagr | Rudrām sampujāyaṁ aham | yady aham nārachayevam vai Iśānām varadaṁ Śivam | atmānam nārachay etat kābhid iti me bhāvidatmanah |

mayā premānaṁ hi kṛitam lokāḥ samanuvarataḥ | premāṇi hi pujyāni tatas tam pujāyam aham | yas tam vetti sa māṁ vetti yo 'nu tam sa hi māṁ anu | Rudro Nārāyaṇaḥ chaiva sattvam ekam deviḥkṛitam | lokas harati Kaunteya vyakti-śrāṁ sarva-karmavu | na hi me kenaṁ deyo varāḥ Pāṇḍava-nandana | iti sānchintya manasā purāṇam Rudram tāraṁ | pūrvāṁ rtham ārādhitavān aham atmānam atmānaḥ | na hi Vīshṇu

\[\text{See the other passages about their identity, or intimate union, above, pp. 228 ff.}\]
BRAHMA, VISHNU, RUDRA, AND THE THREE GUNAS.

praṇamati kasmaichiḥ vibuddhaya cha | rite ātmānam eveti tato Budram
bhājamy ahām | sabrakamakṣa sarudrāsoka sendraḥ devaḥ saharṣhiḥ |
arhayanti suva-kreshṭaṃ devaḥ Naṛayānaṃ Harim | bhavishyateś
vartaṇaḥka bhūtānandaṁchaiva Bhūraṭa | sarvasmma agraṇir Vishnuḥ
sevyaḥ pūjyaṁcha niyataḥ 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 (Vishnu's) good pleasure; and at the end of the day Rudra the destroyer was born from the forehead of the god when he was possessed with anger. These two eminent gods, produced [the one] from his good pleasure, [the other] from his anger, 288 have their

288 I quote the following from the Maitri Upanishad, 6th Prapāthaka: Tamo vai idam agre iva ekaṃ | tat pare svyaṃ | tat pariṃ śriyam vikaram inīkaram pragyāti |
etad rūpam vai rājaḥ | tat rājaḥ keva śriyam vikaram inīkaram pragyāti | etad vai saṃtvakṣa riṣam | tat sattvaṃ eva śriyam rasaḥ samprūravat | eva 'yaṃ yadi chetā-nītreyah pratijñuṣṭhaḥ khetrajñāḥ sankalpādyavatsāyābhāmāṇa-lingaḥ | Prājyā
patīr Viśvā ity aṣya prāg uktaḥ etām tanaḥ | atha yo ha khaḷo vo va aṣya tāmaś
'ñāo 'suva sa brahma-āgarīgo yo 'yaṃ Rudraḥ | atha yo ha khaḷo vo va aṣya rājaśo
'ñāo 'suva sa brahma-āgarīgo yo 'yaṃ Brahmā | atha yo ha khaḷo vo va aṣya sāttvika
'ñāo 'suva sa brahma-āgarīgo yo 'yaṃ Vishnuḥ | eva vai eva kha śrī tridāhā bhūtaḥ śrīdāhā
ekāśaśdāhā devāśdāhā aparimāśdāhā vā sūkshmaḥ vādūtāvād bhūtaṃ bhūtānu cha
ravata pravākṣaś ca bhūtānām adhipatī babhūva | ity asa ātmā antar bahi cha antar bahi 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 (rāja); this activity, being set in motion, passes into inequality. This becomes the condition of Goodness. This goodness alone was set in motion; and Flavour flowed forth. This is a portion (of the Soul) which is only measured by the Soul, reflected in each individual, cognizant of the body, and possessing as its signs volition, ascertainment, and consciousness. Prajapati, Viśvā—these and the like, before mentioned, are its forms. As for its darkness-characterized" [tāmāsaḥ] "portion, that, O ye students, is the same as Rudra; as for its activity-characterized" [rājan] "portion, that, O students, is the same as Brahman; and as for its goodness-characterized" [sāttvikaḥ] "portion, that, O students, is the same as Vishnu. He truly is one, existing as threefold, as eightfold, as elevenfold, as twelvefold, as infinite fold; he is manifested everywhere; and, from being thus manifested, he is the Being; he enters and pervades all beings, he is the lord of beings. Thus he, the Soul, is within and without, within and without."

In the Vāyu-purāṇa, sect. 66, as quoted by Professor Aufrecht in his "Catalogus Codicum Sanscriticorum," p. 586, it is declared by Śūta that there is but one God, who assumed three forms (rājaśi, sāttvika, tāmāsaś tānaḥ) for the creation, preservation, and destruction of the world. In the Devā-Bhāgavata Purāṇa, book i., sect. 4, v. 46, quoted in the same Catalogue, p. 90a, Nārada tells Vyāsa that Vishnu had once spoken to Brahmā as follows: Brashṭā tevam pālakā cāhāṃ Harāḥ samhāra-kūrukaḥ |
KRISHNA EXPLAINS WHY HE WORSHIPPED SIVA.

courses prescribed by him, [and are] the accomplisbers [respectively] of creation and destruction. In this, these bestowers of boons on all creatures are merely instrumental causes. Rudra, with braided hair and matted locks, shaven, the frequenter of cemeteries, the performer of awful rites, the devotee, the very terrible, he who swept away Daksha's sacrifice, and put out Bhaga's eyes, is to be understood by thee to possess in every age the nature of Nārāyaṇa. For when that god of gods Mahēśvara is worshipped, then, son of Pṛthū, 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.366 Authoritative examples are to be revered: hence I reverence him (Śiva). He who knows him knows me; he who loves him loves me.367 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 Vishnu 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. Vishnu 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

kṛitaḥ kesi sa tarkaḥ kriyate veda-puraṇaḥ | 47 | Jagat-sanjanana śaktis tvayi vartati rājasī | sāttvikī mayi Rudre cha tāmāśi parikīritā | 48 | tvayā virahitām tvayā tu na hit karaṇa guḍhūḥ | nāham pūlayitum śaktah saṁkertiḥ nāpi Sānkaraḥ | 49 | tad-adhitah vagasārvasa rātāmāḥ satataṁ viśho | 46. "The question by what thou art made the creator, I, the preserver, and Hara the destroyer, is proposed by those who have studied the Veda. 47. In thee there exists a passionate [or 'active,' as Professor Cowell translates rājasī] energy, [which operates] in the production of the world, in me there is declared to be a pure [sāttvikī], and in Rudra a dark [tāmāśi], energy. 48. If we were destitute of these several energies, thou wouldest be unable to create, or I to preserve, or Sānkara to destroy. 49. We are continually dependent upon these our [respective energies]."

366 See above, p. 63, the quotation from the Bhagavad-gītā, iii. 21 ff.
367 Compare a similar sentiment in p. 230.
DISPLAY OF KRISHNA'S GLORY.

parts of which may be later interpolations, Krishna is described as performing a ceremony to obtain a son, at the same time that he is represented as the supreme deity. Bhishma, at the request of Yudhishthira, tells him a story illustrative of the glory of Krishna. He states that Krishna had performed a ceremonial (yatra) of twelve years' duration (6397), which many rishis came to witness. In presence of these rishis flame issued from the mouth of Krishna, 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, Krishna 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 Mahadeva had declared that a son should be created for him out of the half of his power (tejas). Krishna 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 Krishna's praises, appoint Narada 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. Narada accordingly proceeds to give an account of a long conversation which had taken place between Mahadeva and his wife Umā or Parvati, the daughter of the Himalaya. Mahadeva, 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 (Apsarasas), 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-gaṇas), 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 vashatkaras, 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 Bhūshma tells us, she accordingly does (6780 ff.). Bhūshma 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 Bhūshma at v. 6804, and afterwards introduced again at v. 6870. Whatever may be the reason, we are first told by Bhūshma (v. 6804) that the rishis now requested Mahādeva to describe to them the greatness of Vāsudeva (Krīṣṇa). At the close of Mahādeva’s discourse, Nārada is again abruptly introduced (6870), and relates that a great sound of thunder accompanied with lightning was then heard, and the sky became covered with thick clouds and veiled in darkness. Mahādeva and his attendant demons were now no longer visible to the munis. (The departure of the demons and the other classes of beings had, however, been previously told in v. 6804.) The darkness then suddenly clears away. Nārada next observes to Krīṣṇa (6875) that he was the eternal being, one with Brahma, about whom they had been instructed on the mountain. At the close of Nārada’s discourse, the rishis express their devotion to Krīṣṇa (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, Kṛishṇa returned to Dvārakā, where a son was born to him (6899), and goes on to expati ate yet further on his divine character. Yudhishṭhīra, however, is still unsatisfied, and inquires as follows (6937 ff.):

*Kiṁ ekaṁ daivataṁ loka kiṁ vā py ekaṁ parāyaṇam | kaṁ stuvantaḥ
cam archantaḥ prāpnyur mānavāḥ subham | ko dharmāḥ sarvā-dharmā-
ṇam bhavataḥ paramo mataḥ | kiṁ japaṁ muchyate jantuṁ janma-rājaṁ-
bandhanāt | Bhīshmaḥ udācha | Jagat-prabhūṁ deva-devaṁ anantam
purushottamam | stuvan nāma-sahasraṇa purushaṁ satatotthitaḥ | tam eva
chārdayān nityam bhaktyā puruṣam avyayam | dhyāyam stuvan nama-
syaṁcāḥ yajamānaṁ tam eva cha | an-ādi-nidhanāṁ Vīṣṇuḥ sarva-loka-
mahēkavaram | lokādhyakṣaṁ stuvan nityaṁ sarva-duḥkhātigō bhavat |
brhaṁyaṁ sarva-dharmo jnaṁ lokānāṁ kirti-vardhanām | lokā-
nātham mahād bhūtāṁ sarva-bhūtāṁ-bhavōbhavam | ekaṁ sarva-dhā-
māgāṁ dharmo 'dhikato mataḥ | . . . 6946. Yataḥ sarvāṁ bhūtāṁ
bhavanty ādi-yugāgame | yasyāṁcāḥ pralayaṁ yānti punar eva yuga-
keśayo | tasya loka-pradhānaṁy agannāthasya bhūpate | Vīṣṇor nāma-
sahasraṁ me śīrṣu pāpa-bhayaṁpaham |

"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 Puruṣa, the lord of the world, the god of gods, worshipping perpetually with devotion this undecaying Puruṣa, contemplating, praising, reverencing, and adoring him, Vīṣṇu, 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 Vīṣṇu, chief of the world, lord of the world, from whom all creatures spring on the arrival of the commencing yuga, and in whom again they are absorbed at the end of the yuga."
These thousand names of Vishnu are then detailed, among which the following occur, all, or most of them, ordinarily appellations of Mahadeva, viz. Sarva, Sarva, Siva, Sthāṇu (v. 6958), Isana (v. 6957), Rudra (v. 6962).

Again, we are informed in the Anuśāsana-parvan, that the rishis requested Mahadeva to expound to them the greatness of Vāsudeva (Krishna), which he accordingly does in vv. 6806 ff.:  


208 Quere, Brāhmaṇa-sammite, “equal to Brahma”?"
devah pratāpavān | dṛiṣṭe tasmīn aham dṛiṣṭo na me 'traśi viśārangī |
piṭāmaha va devah iti viśta tapodhanah |

"Superior even to Pitāmaha (Brahmā) is Hari, the eternal Puruṣa, 
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 
ārīvatsa, Hṛiṣṭikeśa, adored by all the gods. Brahmā is sprung 
from his belly and I (Mahādeva) from his head, the luminaries from the hair 
of his head, the gods and Āsuras 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, Hṛiṣṭikeśa, 
all-pervading, the mighty lord. There is no being superior to him in 
the three worlds. The slayer of Madhu is eternal, renowned as Go-
vinda. 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, 
Brahmā 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 pro-
ducer 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 Śūra, the most emi-
nent of Kṣatriyas, heroic, renowned, conferring honour, shall beget 
a son Ānākāndūndubhi, the prolonger of his race, known as Vāsu-
deva. To him shall be born a four-armed son, Vāsudeva, liberal, a

\[\text{See Wilson's Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa, p. 436 = vol. iv., p. 101, of Dr. Hall's ed.}\]

\[\text{vol. iv.}\]
benefactor of Brāhmaṇa, one with Brahma, a lover of Brāhmaṇa. . . . 6842. You (the gods) should, as is fit, worship this deity, like the eternal Brahmā, approaching him with reverential and excellent garlands of praise. For the divine and glorious Vāsudeva should be beheld by him who desires to see me and Brahmā the Parent. In regard to this I have no hesitation, that when he is seen I am seen, or the Parent (Brahmā), the lord of the gods: know this ye whose wealth is austerity."

Further on in the same Anuśāsana-parvan (7356 ff.), it is related that Bhīṣma, when called on by Yudhishṭhira to inform him what are the benefits resulting from reverence rendered to Brāhmaṇa, refers him to Krishṇa, whose divine greatness he then proceeds to set forth as follows (vv. 7360 ff.):

Krishṇaḥ prīthiṁ aṣṭijat khaṁ divancha Krishṇasya dehād medini
sambalāye ca rākho 'yam bhīma-balaḥ purāṇaḥ sa paraśatān evaṣijato
dviśeṣaḥ ca asya chādho 'thāntarikshaṁ divancha dīśeṣe chatauro
vidiśeṣe chataurah | eṛiṣṭiṁ tathaiveyaṁ anuprasātā sa nirmam eviṣam idam
purāṇam | asya nābhyaṁ puṣkaraṁ samprasātāṁ yatropannaṁ svayam
svāmitaujaḥ | yena chhinnaṁ yat tamaḥ Pārtha ghoraṁ yat tat tisṭhāty
arṇavaṁ tarjayanām | . . . 7388. Vāyuḥ bhūtvā vikṛhipata sa viṣam
equnir bhūtvā dakaḥ viṣa-rūpaḥ | āpo bhūtvā mājyataṁ sa sarvaṁ
Brahmā bhūtvā aṣṭijate sarve-saṅghaṁ | vedyancha yaṁ vedyate cha
vedyāṁ viḍiśeṣaḥ yaḥ chāṭrayate vidhyeyam | dharme cha veda cha bale cha
sarvaṁ charācharaṁ Kesaṁvaṁ tvam prathī | jyoṭiṁ-bhūtaṁ paramo 'eau
purastat prakāśate yat prabhāya viṣa-rūpate | apaḥ sriṣṭva sarvaṁ-
bhūtātma-yoniḥ puraṁ karoṣ sarvaṁ evaṁha viṣaṁ 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."

Krishṇa 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, (bhauma kuryur jagad idāṁ krūddhāḥ prayaksha-darśinaḥ | anyān api śreyuṣ ca lokān lokānām tathā) and illustrates his opinion of their importance by the results of his own experience regarding Durvāsas (see above, p. 196). He afterwards goes on, in the passage which I have already cited in pp. 197 ff., to return the compliment paid to him by Mahādeva, by celebrating the greatness of that deity; and in the course of his description he makes nearly as explicit an avowal of the supreme divinity of the other god, as the latter has made in regard to him in the text (Anuśāsana-parvan, 6806 ff.) which has just been adduced in p. 273 f.

In the Āśvamedhika-parvan it is related, vv. 1536 ff., that when Krishṇa 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 Kurus and Pāṇḍus with one another. Krishṇa replied (1559) that he had made the attempt to do so, but without success, and that the Kurus had perished in consequence. On hearing this Uttanga becomes greatly incensed, and threatens to curse Krishṇa because he had not rescued the Kurus, although he was perfectly able to do so. To pacify the muni’s wrath, Krishṇa offers to explain the circumstances, and to unfold the mystery of his own nature; which he accordingly does in vv. 1564 ff.:

Vāstudevaḥ uvācha | tamo rajāḥ cha satināḥ cha viṣṇuḥ bhūvān mad- 
āśrayān | tathā Rudrān Vaiṣṇavādapi viṣṇuḥ mañjusū ṭhitaḥ ityādi | . . . . 1567. Sad asaḥchaiva yat prāhur āyaktam āyaktam ekaḥ ca | akṣharaṁ 
cha kharanācīva sarvam etad mad-ātmakam | ye chaśraṁ eva bharmū 
chaturdhī viditāḥ muno | vaidikani cha sarvāṁ viṣṇuḥ sarvam mad-ātmā-
KIRISHNA DECLARES HIS OWN NATURE.

In the midst of darkness (tamas), passion (rajas), and goodness (sattva) have their abode in me. Know that both the Rudras and Vasus are sprung from me. All beings reside in me, and I in all beings, etc. 1567 ff.: That which men call entity and non-entity, the unmanifested and the manifested, the undecaying and the decaying—all this consists of my essence. And know, O muni, that the fourfold duties which are recognized as belonging to the [four] conditions of life, as well as all the Vedic [ordinances], partake of my essence. As regards non-entity, and that which is both entity and non-entity, and that which transcends both entity and non-entity, —know that of all this there is nothing which transcends me, the eternal god of gods. Know, descendant of Bhrigu, that I am the Vedas which are introduced by the omkāra, [that I am], the sacrificial post,

270 See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, under apaya; and Udyoga-parvan, v. 2569.
the soma, the charu, the homa, which satiates the immortals, tridaśa-pyāyana in the sacrifice. Know that I am both the hotṛ (priest), and the havya (oblation). [I am] also the adhvaryu of the ceremony, and the highly purified butter. The udgāṭi celebrates me with sounds of hymns at the great sacrifice. And at the rites of atonement, the priests who utter propitiatory and auspicious texts continually, O excellent Brahman, praise me, the architect of all. Know that Dharma (Righteousness) is my beloved first-born mental son, whose nature is to have compassion on all creatures. There I exist among men, both present and past, passing through many varieties of mundane existence, in different disguises and forms, in the three worlds, for the preservation and establishment of righteousness. I am Viṣṇu, 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 unfailing, 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."\footnote{See Mahābhārata, Sānti-parvan, v. 3655 ff., where Indra says: Āhavo tu hataṁ īraṁ na iṣṭeṣa kathanehāna | atēṛyo hi hataḥ śūraḥ svarga-loke mahīyate | na hy annaṁ nodakaṁ tasya na mūnāṁ nāpy asūchakam | hataya karmā ichhanti tasya lokāṁ śriyashca ma | varāṣṭarāh-sahasrūṇī śūram āydhane hataṁ | tvaramūnā bhidhōvanti "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 (aparsāres) run quickly up to the hero who has been slain in combat, saying to him, 'be my husband.'" Professor Weber refers to this passage, Indische Studien, i. 398, note, and notices the parallel it forms to similar representa-
VIII. In the preceding pages, various passages have been adduced in which the supremacy of Mahâdeva and his identity with the soul of the universe have been asserted (pp. 185 ff., 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 Harvaṁśa, vv. 10660 ff. It had been related in the preceding section that Siva had come to the assistance of Bāņa and the Dānavas in visions about Hūriś in the Cūriṇa. So also in vv. 3591 ff., it is said: Abhibhāva ekeśaṁ kṣatrīyaḥ svarāśaṁ tathā | na tasmāt trīdāsaṁ śreyaḥ bhūvi pādānti kincthama | tasya kṣatrīyā yāvanti teṣvam bhinḍantir samyug, | śavatāt so 'dānate lokāṁ sarvāḥ kāma-duḥ āryehāṁ | yad asya vrukṣāvām ātṛād āhava sampravarte | saha teṣvam pāpeṇa sarvā-pāpeṇā pramahyate | "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 calm and repletion of timidity. In vv. 3826 ff. a battle is compared to a sacrifice, and their corresponding parts described. In vv. 3866 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 (abhitrīyaṁ śrī lokāṁ bhāvanat | hantā pādāya | pūrṇaṁ gandharvā-kanyābhīṁ sarvā-kāma-duḥ āryehāṁ |); and the hells prepared for such as fled from battle. In the same way Krīṣṇa says to Jārâsandha (Saṃh. p. 869): Ko hi jñānam abhijanam ātmavān kṣathriyayo yāpāḥ | niśvitaṁ sarvāṁ atulaṁ rṇinantarāṁ avayaṁ | sarvāṁ kṣatāvāṁ eva maṇīkhyān vṛttaḥ | javayantah kṣatriyāḥ lokāṁ tadbhāvāḥ manuṣyāḥ | sarvāṁ yonir mahābh brahma sarvāḥ yonir mahāḥ yadhā | sarvāṁ yonir ātap yuddhaṁ yatiḥ | so 'yaktivāhāvāṁ | "For what Kṣatriya 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 Kṣatriyas, 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. 810.

272 Compare Vāyu Purāṇa, as quoted in Aufrecht's Catalogue, p. 56, col. 2 (partly referred to above, p. 267, note); Varāha, ibid., p. 58, col. 2, note 2, and p. 59, col. 2; Devībhāg, ibid., p. 810; also Padmap., ibid., p. 16, note 1. The last text is as follows: Krīṣṇa speaks: S'ayavāḥ Saurāḥ cha Gāṇeṣāḥ Vaishnavāḥ S'akti-pūjakāḥ | mām eva pratiṣṭhāva sarvāḥ sarvāḥ yadāḥ | eko hi pan chandāḥ jātaḥ sarvāḥyair nāmaḥ kīla | Devadatto yadhā kulaḥ hitaṁ nāriśva-ābhāva-śrīmaṁ | "The worshippers of Siva, Sūrya (the Sun), Ganeṣa, 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."
their conflict with Kṛiṣṇa (v. 10587 f.), when a terrible combat ensues between the latter and Śiva, which causes the earth to tremble, and throws the whole universe into disorder (v. 10601 f.). Śiva is at length paralyzed by a weapon of his adversary called jyūmbhāna, which causes him to yawn incessantly (v. 10632 f.). The earth is distressed (v. 10641 f.) and appeals to Brahmā for assistance. Brahmā (v. 10647) remonstrates with Śiva against his conflict with Kṛiṣṇa, who, he says, is in reality one with himself. Śiva perceiving by yoga (mental union with the object contemplated) the truth of what Brahmā had stated, says to Brahmā that he will no longer fight against Kṛiṣṇa, and the two combatants embrace (v. 10648 ff.). Brahmā then says to the sage Mārkaṇḍeya (v. 10656 ff.) that he had formerly, in a dream, seen the two deities on the northern side of the mountain Mandara, each invested with the emblems of the other, Hara (Śiva) in the form of Hari (Vīṣṇu) with the shell, discus, and club, clothed in yellow vestments and mounted on Garuḍa, and Hari in the form of Hara, bearing the trident and axe, clad in a tiger’s skin, and mounted on a bull; and he asks the sage Mārkaṇḍeya to explain this phenomenon which had occasioned him great astonishment. Mārkaṇḍeya replies (v. 10660 ff.):

Mārkaṇḍeyāḥ uvāca | Śivāya Vīṣṇu-rūpāya Vīṣṇavo Śiva-rūpīnāḥ

273 See the same words above, p. 231.
274 The MS. in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society reads derūtaḥ.
parataram guhyam kathitam te Pitamaha | yat cha na mani pathate milayam
yat cha na mani trisuyd namah | prapnoti paramas sthane Rudra-Vishnu-
pasudha-jam | devau Hari-Haran sthaye Brahmanah sakha samgatau | etau
cha parama devau jagatah prabhavapyayau | Rudrasya paramo Vishnur
Vishnuscha parama Siva | eka esa avidha-bhuto loko charati nityaah |
na vinah Sankarana Vishnur na vinah KesaVam Siva | tasmad ekatam
ayatan Rudropendram tu tau pura | ityadi.

“When thou showest me this auspicious [vision], I perceive
thereby no difference between Siva who exists in the form of Vishnu,
and Vishnu who exists in the form of Siva. I shall declare to thee
that form composed of Hari and Hara (Vishnu and Mahadeva) com-
bined, which is without beginning, or middle, or end, imperishable,
undecaying. He who is Vishnu is Rudra; he who is Rudra is Pitamaha (Brahma); the substance (murti) is one, the gods are three,
Rudra, Vishnu, and Pitamaha. 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 Vishnu 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 Vishnu must
possess the nature of Vishnu. Let Rudra be understood to possess the
nature of Agni; Vishnu is declared to possess the nature of Soma
(the Moon); and the world, movable and immovable, possesses the
nature of Agni and Soma.226 The lords, Vishnu and Mahesvara, are
the makers and destroyers of things movable and immovable, and
the benefactors of the world. The gods Narayana and Mahesvara
are the [first] makers of the cause, and of [the secondary] maker,
the [first] causers of the cause, and of the [secondary] makers,
eexisting 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, Pitamaha, is the
highest mystery. The man who continually repeats it, and hears it,
obtains the highest abode, granted by the grace of Rudra and Vishnu.
I shall laud the gods Hari and Hara, associated with Brahma; and
these two are the supreme deities, the originators and destroyers of the

226 See above, pp. 204 and 225.
world. Vishṇu, the highest [manifestation] of Rudra, and Śiva, the highest [manifestation] of Vishṇu,—this [god] one only, though divided into twain, moves continually in the world. Vishṇu does not [exist] without Sākara, nor Śiva without Keśava; hence these two, Rudra and Upendra (Vishṇu), have formerly attained to oneness," etc.

Then follows a hymn to the double deity.

The various representations of Krishṇa 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 Mahābhārata there are some (see pp. 185 ff.) in which he is distinctly subordinated to Mahādeva, of whom he is exhibited as a worshipper, and from whom, as well as from his wife Umā, he is stated to have received a variety of boons. Even in these passages, however, a superhuman character is ascribed to Krishṇa.

A second class of texts has been brought forward in pp. 205 ff., in which his superiority is represented to have been denied by Śiśupāla, Duryodhana, Karṇa, and Saśya. 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 Vaishṇavas, though perhaps doubted or disputed by other sects. Such a resistance to the pretensions set up on Krishṇa'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 Krishṇa 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 Kṛiṣṇa himself is in various places described as being indebted to the gods for his weapons, or for other advantages (see the Drona-parvan, v. 402, and the Ádiparvan, v. 8196, quoted or referred to in pp. 244 ff., and the Udyogaparvan, quoted in p. 247).

The identification of Arjuna and Kṛiṣṇa with the saints Nara and Nārāyaṇa (pp. 228 ff.) is curious; but I am unable to conjecture whether it may have originated in a previously existing legend respecting two rishis of that name (the one of whom, as bearing the same name which was ultimately applied to Vishṇu and Kṛiṣṇa, was, in the fanciful spirit of Indian mythology, and in consonance with the tenet of metempsychosis, declared to have been an earlier manifestation of Kṛiṣṇa,—when Arjuna, the bosom friend of the latter, would naturally be regarded as the same with Nara, the inseparable companion of Nārāyaṇa); or whether the whole legend was originally invented for the glorification of Kṛiṣṇa and Arjuna.

In the passages above adverted to, where Kṛiṣṇa 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.), Kṛiṣṇa, as Vishṇu, is asserted to be one with the supreme God, while Mahādeva is represented as springing from, and dependent on, Vishṇu. But here and elsewhere, as we have already seen, an attempt is made to reconcile the claims of the two rival deities by affirming their identity (pp. 241, 268). How are we to explain this circumstance, that in one place Mahādeva is extolled at the expense of Kṛiṣṇa, and that in another place Kṛiṣṇa is exalted above Mahādeva? Must we assume the one set of passages to be older

577 In Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary the word Nārāyaṇa is explained as the 'son of man,' and as a patronymic of the personified Puruṣa, the rishi of the Purusha-sūkta (R.V., x. 90). Nara is in the same work interpreted as the 'primordial man.'

578 Even in the parts of the Vīṣṇu Purāṇa and Mahābhārata (see pp. 49 and 263 ff.), where Kṛiṣṇa 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.
WIDE DIFFUSION OF THE WORSHIP OF MAHÄDEVA. 283

than the other, or are we to suppose them to be contemporaneous, or nearly contemporaneous, and to have been inserted in the Mahâbhârata 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 Mahâdeva, with those which have reference to Krîşña, that the one class bears in its general complex ion 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 Saivas and Vaishñavas for the purpose of upholding the honour of their respective deities. But on the other hand the mere fact that a poem in which Krîşña 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 (Mahâdeva) was widely diffused, if indeed it was not the pre-dominant worship in India, at the period to which the action of the poem is referred. Various references to such a worship of Mahâdeva 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.778

Lassen remarks (i. 780; i. 922 in second ed.), that in the epic poems the worship of Vishńu is but seldom779 mentioned—a fact which he

779 Lassen (i. 679 = p. 826 in second ed.) refers to a passage of the Vana-parvan (15923 ff.), where Duryodhana, being prevented from offering a rajāsva sacrifice, is advised by his priest to offer a sacrifice to Vishńu. 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 Brahmanas 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 Tirtha-yātā, or section on visiting places of pilgrimage, in the Vana-parvan, 6054 ff., it is said of the Vaitaraṇī river, in the country of the Kalingas:

Tatas Tripishṭapam gachhhet trishu lokeshu viśrutam | tatra Vaitaraṇī punyā nadi pāpo-pranāśinī | tatra śātā ṛehayitvā cha Sūlopāyīm

Prishadvyaḥ | sarvā-pāpa-viśuddhātmā gachheta paramān gatim |

“Let him then go to Tripishaṭapa, renowned in the three worlds. There is the holy river Vaitaraṇī, 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 Budro rājendra paśum ādattavān makhe | paśum ādāya rājendra bhāgo ’yam iti chābravāt | hrite paśau tadā devas tam uchur

Bharatarshabha | mā para-vaam abhidroghāh mā dharmān sakalān

vaṭāḥ | tataḥ kalyāṇa-rūpakhir vāgbhīs to Budram astuvaṇ | ishyā chaivaṁ tarpayitvā māṇayānchakriś tadā | tataḥ sa paśam utṣiṣyā
deva-yānena jagmivān | tatrānuvaṁso Rudrasya tan nibodha Yudhisṭhirā |

ayātāyāmāṁ sarvebhya bhāgebhyo bhāgam uttamanam | devaṁ sankalpayā-

māṣyṛ bhavyād Rudrasya śākṣatam | imāṁ gāthāṁ atra gāyām apak

sprišati yo narāḥ | deva-yāno ’nya panthāḥ cha chakshuhāḥ ’bhirprakāṣate |

“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 ayātayāma (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:

_Atha Gokarnam āsādya trīshu lokās tuṣratal | samudra-madhya rājendrā sarva-loka-nāmakritam | yatra Brahmadayo devāh rishayaḥ cha tapodhanah | . . . . 8169: Saritaḥ sāgarah ūtāh upāsanta Uma-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, Yakhas, 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 Kāloparvatam ova oha | dadarśa makarāvasam gambhiradham mahodahim | tam atītyādha Gokarnam abhyagachhat Daśānanaḥ | dayitaṁ athān avyagraṁ Sūlapāner mahātmanaḥ|

"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:

Vana-parvan, v. 8349 f.—_Punyaḥ Dvāravatī tatra yatrāsa Madhusudanaḥ | sakhād devaḥ purāṇo ’sva hi dharmah sanātanaḥ | ye cha vedāvido vīpraḥ ye chādhyātma-vido janāḥ | to vadanī mahātmanaṁ Krishṇaṁ dharmam sanātanaṁ | pavitrānāṁ hi Govindaḥ pavitraṁ param uchyate | pūrṇānāṁ api pūrno ’sva manalānāṁ cha mangalam | trālokayo Puṣḍaritkāsah deva-devaḥ sanātanaḥ | aravāyāma vyayaśāma cha keśetrajaḥ paramesvaram | āste Hariṁ achintyātma tatraiva Madhusudanaḥ |

"There is the holy Dvāravati where that Madhusūdana [abides], that manifest, ancient god; for he is the eternal righteousness. Brahmans who know the Veda, and who know the supreme spirit, call the mighty Krishṇa the eternal righteousness. Govinda is called the supremely pure among the pure, the holy among the holy, the blessed among the blessed. In the three worlds the lotus-eyed is the eternal god of gods,
the undecaying in essence, and the decaying, the conscious occupant of the body, the supreme lord. There the inconceivable Hari, Madhusūdana, abides.”]

The following passages supply some further instances of the worship of Mahādeva by personages introduced in the poem:

Ādi-parvan, v. 7049.—Evam teshāṁ vilapatāṁ vīrānāṁ vividhāḥ girāḥ | Arjuno dhanuśāḥ bhayaśa tavasthau girīr ivāchalaḥ | sa taś dhanuḥ parikramya pradakshinaṁ athākaroḥ | prayāmyaṁ kuraśa devam Īśanam varadam prabhūm | Kṛishṇam cha manasa kṛśva jagrīho chārjuno dhanuḥ | yat pārthivāṁ Rukmī Sunthā Vaktraiḥ Rādhaya Duryodhanā- 

Sālyo Sālvoiḥ | tada dhanur-veda-parvīr nriśiṁsaiḥ kriṣṭam na sajyam mahato 'pi yaināt | tad Arjunāḥ ityādi | “While the Brāhmans thus uttered various speeches, Arjuna stood firm as a mountain, trying the bow. He then made a circuit round it, bowing down in reverence to the boon-bestowing lord Īśana (Mahādeva); and having meditated on Kṛishṇa,201 Arjuna seized the bow. And that bow which the lion-like kings Rukmin, Sunthā (Śīśupāla), Vaktra, Rādhaya, Duryodhana, Sālyo, and Sālvo, 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 Bhīshma and released at the request of Yudhishṭhira, went to worship Mahādeva (v. 15801):

Jagāma rājan duśkhaṁto Gangādevāyā Bhārata | sa devam taramaṁ 
gatea virāpākeham Umāpatim | tapāḥ chāchāra vipulaṁ tasya prito 

Vrīshadrajaṁ | balaṁ svayam pratyaṅgriṁ pāyavāya Trilochanaṁ | varaṁ chāmaḥ dadu devaṁ sa jagrāha cha tach chhrīṇu | “Samastāṁ sarathāṁ pradha pancha jayeyam yudhi Pāṇḍavāṁ” | iti rāyā 'braviṁ devaṁ neti 

devam tam abravit | ajayyāṁ chāpy abadyāṁ cha vārayishyas tāṁ 
yudhi | rite ’rjunam mahābāhuṁ Naraṁ nāma sreśṭhām | Vādāryāṁ tappa-tappaṁ Nārāyaṇa-sahāyākam | ajitaṁ sava-lokānaṁ devair api 

duraśadām | maya dattaṁ pāpiṣpaṁ divyaṁ apratimagṛhaṁ saram | avāpa 

lokāpalēhyā vajrādīṁ sa mahāśrāvaṁ | deva-devo hy anantāṁ Vīshnuḥ sūra-guruḥ prabhūḥ | pradhāna-puruṣha ’vyaktaṁ visvaṁ saiva mṛti-
mān | yugantakāle samprāpta kālāṅgir daḥate jagat | sa-parvatānava-
dvipaṁ sa-saila-vana-kānanam |

201 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. Here 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 Vishnu, the god of gods, the chief of the deities, the chief spirit (Purusha), the indiscernible, 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 Vishnu, 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 Vishnu, 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 f.), it is related how Parāṣūra ḍa worshipped Mahādeva on the mountain Gandhamadana, and obtained his celebrated axe, by which he became renowned in the world (tusya-yita Mahādevam parvate Gandhamadana | astrāṇī sarvāyamāsa paraśum chhati-tejasam | sa tena kuṣṭha-dhāreṇa jvalitānala-varchasā | kusñā-prameṇa lokāḥ apratimō 'dhavat). Then follows the story of Kārtavirya (see the first volume of this work, pp. 450, 478).

In the following passage, Jarāsandha is introduced as a zealous votary of Mahādeva. Yudhisṭhīra had been purposing to celebrate a Rājasūya 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 īkṣyaṁ Jarāsandhe jīvamāṁ mahābalo |
288 JARĀŚANDHA WISHES TO SACRIFICE CAPTIVES TO MAHĀDEVĀ.

rajasūyaṁ teyā 'vāptum esā rājān matir mama | tena ruddhāṁ hi rājānaṁ sarve jīte Girivrāja | kandara parvalendrasya simheneva mahā-
dvipaḥ | sa hi rājā Jarāśandha yiyakshur vasūhādhīhipaiḥ | Mahādevam
eṭahānmānaṁ Umāpatim arindama | ārādhya tapasgrena nirjītaṁ tena
pārthivāḥ | pratiṁṇaṁ ca pāraṁ sa gataḥ pārthiva-sattamaḥ | sa hi
nirjītya nirjītya pārthivāṁ prīpānagātān | puram āntya baddhva ca
chakrā purusha-vrajam | vayaṁ chaiva mahārāja Jarāśandha-bhayat
tada | Mathurāṁ samprātyajya gataḥ Dvāravatim purīm |

“But whilst the powerful Jarāśandha 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 Girivrāja, as elephants by a lion in a cave of a great mountain. For this monarch Jarāśandha 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 Jarāśandha, deserted Mathurā, and went to the city of
Dvāravatī.”

Kṛishṇa returns, a little farther on, to Jarāśandha’s cruelty to the kings:
Sabhā-parvan, v. 653.—Katna-bhājo hi rājāno Jarāśandham upāsate | na cha tushyati tenāpi bālyāṁ anayam āsthitaḥ | mūrdhābhāṣhīktam
niripatam pradāhāna-puruṣho balat | ādatt畏 na cha no śrīśto 'bhaṅgaḥ
purushataḥ kvačī | evaṁ savān vaśo chakro Jarāśandhaḥ katāvarān | taṁ
durbala-parā rājā kathām Pārtha upāśhyati | prokṣhitānām pramrīṣh-
ṭānāṁ 282 rājāṁ Pasupater grīha | pasūnāṁ ivā kā pritir jivite
Bharatarshaḥbha | “For jewelled kings wait upon Jarāśandha; 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: Pramrīṣhṭānāṁ | Rudra-devāntya ‘yum iti pratiyekam abhinrīṣhṭānāṁ |
283 These words are explained by the commentator in the above sense: Jarāśandhena
abhaṅgaḥ aspireṇaḥ | purushataḥ mūrdhābhāṣhīktasu purushesu | tena sarve vasiṁ-
ṛṣīlaṁ iti arthaḥ | “Abhaṅgaḥ means ‘unappropriated’ by Jarāśandha. Purushataḥ
means ‘among anointed kings.’ The sense is, that ‘all have been subdued by him.’”
KRISHṆA REBUKES JARĀŚANDHA.

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Jarāśandha has reduced to subjection all at least a hundred persons; how, then, can a feeble prince approach him? What pleasure can those princes have in existence, when they have been sprinkled for slaughter and devoted as victims like beasts in the temple of Paśupati (Mahādeva)?"

Kṛṣṇa afterwards proceeds to Jarāśandha'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, Kṛṣṇa says to Jarāśandha:

Sabhā-parvan, vv. 861 ff.—Tvayo chopakriyāḥ rājaṁ kṣatriyāṁ loka-vāsinaḥ | tad āgāḥ krāram utpādaṁ manyaśa kim anagasmā | rājaṁ rājanaṁ katham sādhōṁ hīnayeāṁ nṛjāpi-sattama | yad rājanaṁ sannigraṁyāṁ tvāṁ Bṛdarṣopajīt-hrhasi | asmāṁśa tad enopagacchhit kṛitaṁ Vārhradratha tvaya | vayaṁ hi baktāṁ dharmasya rakṣaṇe dharmahārīṁ | manushyāṁśaṁ samālambo na cha dṛśāṁ kādāchana | sa katham manuśhaṁ devam yashṭum ichhāsi Sankaram | savarṇo hi savarṇānam pāśu-sanjñāṁ

264. On this the commentator remarks: Nānu “Bṛhmaṇe bhūmaṇe ālabheta” ityādiṁ vṛttavyāśāṁ vṛttavyāśāṁ manuṣyaṁ ālabheta ādhyātmikāṁ bhaṛhāk ādhyātmikāṁ ity ādhyātmikāṁ āha savarṇo hi iti | “But is not the immolation,—the slaughter as an offering to a god,—of men of all classes, and all occupations, enjoined in such Vedic texts as this, ‘let him immolate a Brāhmaṇa to Brahman,’ etc.? Having raised this doubt, he says, ‘For thou, belonging to the same tribe,’ etc.”

Texts such as that here quoted by the commentator occur in the Taitt. Br., iii. 4, 1, 1 ff. (Bṛhmaṇe bhūmaṇe ālabheta ityādi | “He sacrifices a Brāhmaṇa to Brahman,” etc., etc.) and in the Vājasaneyi Sanshitā, xxx. 6 ff. (Bṛhmaṇe bhūmaṇe ālabheta ityādi). 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 Sūnaśeṣas, adduced in vol. i., pp. 355 ff.; Prof. Müller’s Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 419 ff.; Prof. Weber’s paper in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. xviii., pp. 262 ff. (reprinted in his Indische Streifen, i., pp. 64 ff.). The two last-named writers quote texts from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, i., 8, and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, i., 2, 3, 6, which I shall here cite. The former begins thus: Purushāṁ vair devāṁ paśum ālabhanah | tasmād ālabhād madhāṁ udakrāmat | so ‘tvam prāviṣat | tasmād aśeḥ medhāyō bhavat | atha enam utkṛṇa-madham atyūrjanta | sa kimputruṣo bhavat | te ‘tvam ālabhanah | so ‘tvād ālabhād udakrāmat | so gām prāviṣat | tasmād gaur medhāyō bhavat | atha enam utkṛṇa-madham atyūrjanta sa gauramṛgō bhavat | te gām ālabhanah | so gor ālabhād udakrāmat | so ‘tvam prāviṣat | “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 kimputruṣa,” (probably an ape, according to Böhltingk and Roth’s Lexicon, vol. ii., p. 228, and vol. v., p. 1296; with whom Weber agrees, Ind. Stud., ix., 246. “The author very
Karishyaśi | ko 'nyah vaññ yathā hi tvam Jarāśandha vyāthā-matiḥ | yasyāṁ yasyāṁ avasthāyāṁ yat yat karma karoti yaḥ | tasyāṁ tasyāṁ avasthāyāṁ tat-palaṁ samavāpyayat | te tvam īnātī-khasya-karaṁ vayam ārtāṇuṣṭhitāḥ | īnātī-vriddhi-nimittārtham vinihantum ihagatāḥ || || Jarāśandha urāca . . . . 882: Devatārtham upāhritya rājñaḥ Kuṣum katham bhāyat | ahām adya vinuhyayam kāthāṁ vratam anumaranam ||

“Thou, king, hast devoted [to Mahādeva] Kahatriyas 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 Budra, the guilt committed by thee, son of Vṛihadratha, 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 Sankara with human victims? For thou, belonging to the same tribe [as those

likely means a dwarf,” Haug’s transl. of the Ait. Br., p. 90, note; 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 Śrāpaṭaḥ Brāhmaṇa, i., 2, 3, 6, is as follows: Puruṣaḥ ha vai devāḥ api pañam ālabhito | tasya ālabhāya medho ‘pachakrāmaḥ | sa ‘śvam praviveda | te ‘śvam ālabhante | tasya ālabhāya medho ‘pachakrāmaḥ sa gām praviveda | te gām a—— | so ‘śivam praviveda | te ‘śivam a—— | so ‘śvam praviveda | te ‘śivam ālabhante | tasya ālabhāya medho ‘pachakrāmaḥ | 7 | sa imām prāthivīṁ praviveda | tāṁ khanantāṁ sa aṁśūkhaṁ | tam anuvindam śiśya śiśya ēvaḥ-sthāpayat || || sa ‘yavā-viśravat ha vai aṣṭa ā ca sarva pañcaḥ ālabhāḥ syuḥ ‘yavā-viśravat ha aṣṭa kavir bhavati yaḥ vaṁ 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." Krishna, then, after some further arguments, calls upon Jarāsandha either to liberate the kings, or to submit to be destroyed in combat. Jarāsandha (v. 880) says he has conquered the kings, and has a right to act as he is doing. He adds (v. 882): "How, Krishna, can I, who have devoted the kings to the god, remembering my duty as a Kshatriya, to-day release them through fear?" He then accepts the challenge, and is killed by Bhima Sena.

The birth of Jarāsandha is thus related in the Sābhā-parvan; and the narrative contains at the close a reference to his being a worshipper of Mahādeva. His father, Śrīhadratha, had two wives, who, after having been long barren, at length bore him two halves of a boy (v. 711), which, being regarded with horror, were thrown out (v. 714). A female demon (Rākshasī) named Jarā, an eater of flesh, takes them up (v. 715), and puts them together in order that they may be more easily carried away. A boy is thus formed who cries; and people in consequence come out of the inner apartments of the palace, and among them the two queens and the king. The Rākshasī assumes a human shape, and gives the child to the king, who then asks who she is. She replies (vv. 729 ff.):

Jarā-nāmā 'smi bhadrāṁ te Rākshasī kāma-rūpiṁ | tava vēmānaṁ rājendra pujitā nyavasaṁ sukham | grihe grihe manushyānāṁ nityāṁ tiṣṭhāmi rākshasī | griha-devitā nāmā eva purā śrīśta Seayambhūvā | dānavānāṁ vināśaya athapitā divya-rūpiṁ | yo mām bhaktyā likhet kudye soputraṁ yuvanānvilāṁ | grihe tasya bhaved vriddhir anyatha kehayam āpnyatā | tvad-grihe tiṣṭhamānā tu pujitā 'ham sadā viśho | likhitā chaiva kudye 'ham putair bahubhir āvīti | gandha-puşpais tatha āhūpairo bhakhyair bhojyaṁ supujitā | vā 'ham pratyupakārartham chintayāmy anīsāṁ tava | tavaṁ putra-bhākṣe śrīśvaty asmi dhārīkā | saṁśeṣitē maya daivat kumāraṁ samapadyata | tava bhagyaṁ mahārāja hetu-mātram abhāṁ to iha | Merun vā khādītuṁ saktā kim punas tava balakam | griha-sampa-janāṁ tiṣṭhyā mayā pratyaśpitā tava |

"I am, bless thee, a Rākshasī named Jarā, who can change my shape
at will. Worshipped in thy house, I have dwelt there in comfort. Named the house-goddess, I 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 Dānavaś. Prosperity will remain in the house of that man who devoutly paints me in a youthful form, together with my sons, upon his wall;—otherwise he shall decay. Abiding in thy house, O king, and continually reverenced, painted upon the wall, 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, O 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 Rākshasi 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 (sandhitaḥ) by the Rākshasi Jarā (v. 738. Ājnāpayach cha rākshasyaḥ Magadheshu mahotsavam | tasya nāmākaroč chaiva Pitāmaha-samaḥ pitaḥ | Jarayā sandhito yasmāj Jarāsandho bhavalo ayam). The rishi Chaṇḍākauśika arrives on a certain occasion in the country of the Magadhās, and prophecies the future greatness of Jarāsandha (vv. 745 ff.). He ends by saying that this mighty prince of Magadha should have a manifest vision of Rudra, Mahādeva, Hara, the destroyer of Tripura (v. 753. Eha Rudram Mahādevam tripuränta-karaḥ Haram | sarvalokesvāh atibalo rākshād drakshaḥyati Magadhāḥ).

The description here given by the Rākshasi 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 Kṛishṇa; and this legendary narrative may perhaps

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282 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 Vishṇu, and opposed to the worship of Mahādeva. In the story of Śiśupāla, 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, Krishṇa's claims to veneration were strongly maintained by the Pāṇḍavas, and others who took their side, while they were strenuously resisted by Śiśupāla, an adherent of the Kauravas, and, according to Lassen, a representative of the Saiva worship. The same opposition to the worship of Krishṇa was, as I have already noticed, manifested by Duryodhana, Kṛṣṇa, 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 Vishṇu; and as this legend exhibits some features of interest, I shall give some account of it here. In the Vana-parvan, 15274 ff., Kṛṣṇa, 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. Kṛṣṇa 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 Yudhisṭhira lives, and while his own father, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, survives (15285 ff.); but he suggests that there is another great sacrifice which Duryodhana may offer (15287 ff.):

Asti te anyād mahat satraṁ rājasūya-namam prabhō | tena eva yajas rajendrapriṣu chedaṁ vačo mama | ye ime prithivi-pālāḥ kara-dās tava pārthica | te karāṇ samprayaodāantu swarganecha kritākritam | tena te kriyatām adya lāgalaṁ nippa-sattama | yajna-rājasya te bhāmiḥ kriṣhyataṁ tena Bhārata | tatra yajna nippa-breṣṭha prabhutannah suvāṃskriteḥ | pravartataṁ yathānyāyam sarvato hy anivāritaḥ | esa te Vaishnavo nāma yajnaḥ satpuruśahochitaḥ | etena neṣṭavān kāścid rīte Vishṇum purātanam | rājasūyaṁ kratu-breseṣṭham uparāhadya esa mahākratuḥ | "But there is another great ceremonial equal to the Rājasūya, with which, O great king, do thou sacrifice: and hear this which I have to say. Let those princes who are your tributaries

See above, p. 211, note 216.
present to you their contributions, and gold both wrought and un-
rought. 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 Vaśīṇava sacrifice 
(the sacrifice of Vishṇu), a ceremony suitable for virtuous men. With 
it no one ever sacrificed except the ancient Vishṇu. 267 This great 
ceremonial vies with the Rājasāya, the most excellent of sacrifices. 19

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 Yudhisṭhira's Rājasāya sacrifice, while his friends said that this 
sacrifice surpassed all other ceremonies, and that Yayāti, Nahusha, 
Māṇḍhāṭri, and Bharata, had celebrated this rite, and had in con-
sequence gone to heaven (15327 ff.): 

Apare tu abruvam tatra vātikās 

tam mahātpatim | Yudhisṭhubāsyāya yajnena na samo hy ehe te kratuḥ |

naivā tasya kṛtore ehe kuśām arhati shoḍasim | evaṁ tatrābruvam 

kochid vātikās tam jānakevaram | suhṛdādev tu abruvam tatra ati sarvān 

ayaṁ kṛtur 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 Kṛṣṇa-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 
Vishṇu 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 Rākshasa 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 jānati Chārvakaḥ parierād vag-vibā-

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 Śānti-parvan, v. 1414, is as follows: 

Nīśāpaṇe cha sāhite tatra tata vipra-jane punāḥ | rājānam brāhmaṇa-chhadmā
Chārvāko rākhaṇa 'braviḥ | tatra Duryodhana-sakhā bhikṣu-rūpeṇa
saṃyaktaḥ | sākṣaḥ śākti tridāṅgā cha dhriṣṭaḥ vigata-sādhavaṇaḥ | vṛtiḥ
sarvasā tatha viprair āśravaṇa-viśvaḥkhubhiḥ | paraṁ sahasrāniḥ rājendra
tapo-niṣṭham-saṃkṛitaḥ | sa duṣṭaḥ pāpam āśaṅsuḥ Pāṇḍavaṇām ma-
ḥatmanam | anāntryaiva tāṁ vipraṁśa tam uvāca mahipatim |
Chārvāko uvāca | ime prāhur devījaḥ sarve samāropya vacho mayi | dhīgha bhave tanāṁ
tanāṁ kṛṣṇipatim jñāti-ghātinaṁ astu vai | kīm tena eyād hi Kaunteya
krītvedaṁ jñāti-sankaḥmany | ghatayitaṁ puruṣaṁ chaita mṛitaṁ kṛṣṇo
na ājīvanam | iti te vai deviṁ kṛtuṁ tavay duṣṭaṁ rākṣasah | eviyathūḥ
chakravṛti chaiva tasya vākya-pradharaḥkāh | tatas te brāhmaṇāḥ sarve sa
cha rājā Yudhiṣṭhirāḥ | vṛtādāḥ paramodvignaṁ tāṇhitam āsan viśaṁpati |
Yudhiṣṭhirāḥ uvāca | prastantu bhavaṁnte me pranātasyābhivyāchateḥ |
pratyaśeṇa-vyasanināṁ na māṁ dhiṣkārtum arthaha | Vaisaṁpāyaṇaḥ
uvāca | tato rājan brāhmaṇaṁ sarve eva viśaṁpati | uchār naitad
vacho 'smākaṁ śitr astu tava pārthiva | jajnuḥ chaiva mahātmānas tatas
nta jāna-chakshuraḥ | brāhmaṇaḥ veda-viśvāṁsa tapoḥhir viṇaḥkriyāḥ |
brāhmaṇāḥ ucyuḥ | esa Duryodhana-sakhā Chārvāko nama rākṣasah |
parivrājaka-rūpeṇa hitam tasya chikirṣhati | na vayam brāma dharmat-
man eyetu to bhayam īḍirām | upatishthatu karyanām bhavanāṃ brā-
triṇibhiḥ saha | Vaisaṁpāyaṇaḥ uvāca | tatas te brāhmaṇāḥ sarve hankā-
raḥ krodha-maṅgalaḥ | nīrghūtyayantāḥ śukayo niyajjhuḥ pāpā-
rākṣhasam | sa pāpāṁ vinirāgyaṁ tejasā brāhmaṇādīnam | māheṇdrā-
śani-niragdhaṁ pādayo 'nkuravan iva | pūjitaṁ cha yasya vipraṁ rājānām
ahinandya tam | rājā cha karhau āpede Pāṇḍavaḥ sa-suhṛty-jñaṁ | 
tatas tatra tu rājānam tīkṣhantam bhāṭrāhābhiḥ saha | uvāca Devakī-
putraḥ sarvadārśi Janārdanaḥ | Vāsudevaḥ uvāca | brāhmaṇās tāta loka
'temin arhantīyāḥ sada mama | ete bhūmicarāḥ devāh vāg-vishāḥ supra-
sādakāḥ | puraḥ Kṛtiegrave rājasī Chārvāko nama rākṣasah |
tapas tepe mahābahuḥ Vedicāram bahuvrīkham | vreṇaḥ chāndyamānāh cha
brahmaṇaḥ cha puraḥ punaḥ | abhayam sarva-bhūtebhya varayāmaṇa
Bhārata | deśavāmanad anyatra praďād varam anuttamam | abhayam
sarva-bhūtebhya dadau tasmai Prajāpatiḥ | sa tu labha-caraḥ pāpo devān
amaṇa-vikramaḥ | rākṣasaṁ tāpayāmaṇa tivrikarmā mahābalāḥ | 1414.
The following remarks of Prof. Weber on the preceding chapter (translated from a notice of this work in the "Literarisches Central-Blatt," reprinted in his "Indische Streifen," ii. 226 f.) may be introduced here, though they might perhaps have been more appropriately quoted in p. 97, or p. 163. "As regards the second part, the representation of the Vishnu legends, it is impossible to arrive at any certain conception of the proper nature of this god from the documents presented to us. According to our view it would have been perhaps more advantageous for the course of the representation in general to start, not from the later triad of gods, but from the Vedic triad, which so often appears in the Brāhmaṇa texts themselves, viz. that of Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya, the rulers of the earth, the air, and the heaven; as we have in fact actually to recognize this as the foundation of the later triad. The sun, as the generative, creative, principle, is throughout the ritual-texts regarded as the equivalent of Prajāpati, the father of the creation. The destructive power of fire in connexion with the raging of the driving storm lies clearly enough at the foundation of the epic form of Śiva. By the side of Vāyu, the wind, stands his companion Indra, the lord of the light, clear, heaven; and with him again Vishnu, the lord of the solar orb, stands in a fraternal relation (see my two Vedic texts on omens and portents, p. 338). This close relation of Vishnu to Indra is far from being estimated by the author in its full significance. Vishnu owes to Indra his blue colour, his names Vāsava and Vāsudeva, and his relations to the human heroes, as Arjuna, Rāma, and Kṛishṇa, which have become of such great importance for his entire history."

these (Puruṣottama and Vāsudeva) became in later times two of the most venerated names of Vishnu, it is clear from this passage, that among the Eastern tribes, and those too not of Aryan origin, a supreme god was worshipped, whose name was afterwards transferred to Vishnu."
CHAPTER III.

RUDRA AND MAHĀDEVA, AS REPRESENTED IN THE VEDIC HYMNS, AND THE BRAHMAŅAS.

In the preceding chapter I have quoted a variety of passages from the Mahābhārata, which, though primarily adduced to illustrate the ideas entertained of Kṛishṇa’s nature, afford at the same time a pretty full representation of the attributes of Mahādeva as he was conceived in the period of the epic poems and Purāṇas. I have thus anticipated much that would otherwise have found its place towards the close of the present chapter, of which it is the purpose to compare the earlier and the later accounts furnished to us by Indian literature of the deity or deities to whom the name of Rudra was applied. I shall now proceed to adduce the passages relating to this divinity which occur (1) in the Rig-veda, (2) in the Yajur-veda, (3) in the Atharva-veda, and (4) in the Brāhmaṇas, and to compare the representations which they contain with those which are found in the texts descriptive of Mahādeva which I have quoted in the preceding chapter.

SECT. I.—Rudra as represented in the Hymns of the Rig-veda.

In the present Section I purpose to quote all the texts of the Rig-veda in which the word Rudra occurs in the singular, whether as an epithet of Agni or as the name of a separate deity.

R.V. i. 27, 10 (S. V. i. 15; Nir. x. 8).—Jarabodha tad vividgī vīś viśe yajniyāya stomaṁ rudrāya dṛiṣṭham | “Thou who art skilled in praise, utter therefore for every house a beautiful hymn to the adorable, the terrible (Agni).”1 In connexion with this verse, Yāska remarks:

Nir. x. 7 and 8.—Agnir api rudraḥ ucyate | tasya eva bhavati . . . 
jarā stuṣiḥ | jarāśeṣu stuṣi-karmāṇaḥ | tām bodha tayā bodhayitor iti vā |
tad vividgī2 tat kuru manuṣhyaśya manuṣhyaśya yajnāyā stomaṁ Rudrāya darbāniyam | “Agni also is called Rudra, as in this verse

1 See Prof. Benfey’s version of this and following texts of the first maṇḍala of the R.V. in his “Orient und Occident.”
2 See Westergaard, Benfey’s Glossary to Sama-veda, and Böhltingk and Roth, s. v. vivh.
(the one before us). Jārā means ‘praise.’ One who perceives it, or awakens [another] by it, is jārābodha. Compose that for the worship of every man,—a slightly 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 Aśvinī, respectively. Roth also quotes from Jayātīrtha the following short itihāsa in reference to this verse, which, however, applies it to Rudra: Agniḥ stāyamānaḥ Sunāśēpham uvāca “Rudraḥ stuti raundrāḥ hi paśacaḥ” iti | Sa tam pratyuvācāḥ “nāmaṁ jānami Rudraḥ stotuṁ tvam eva etam stūhi” iti taṁ ādam ucyate “Ho jārābodha Rudra-stuti-vettas tat” kuru” ityādi | “Agni, when he was being praised, said to Sunāśēpha, ‘Praise Rudra, for cattle (or victims) belong to him.’ He (Sunāśēpha) 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.—Kād Rudrāya prachetāsa miśhukāṇamṛtyoṣ | vocema santamāṁ hridē | 2. Yathā no Aditiḥ karaṭ puṣve nyāḥyo yathā gavo | yathā tokāya rudriyam | 3. Yathā no Mitro Varuṇo yathā Rudrā chikitati | yathā viśe sajonahāḥ | 4. Gāthā-patim medha-patiṁ Rudrāṁ jālāṣa-bheṣajam | tat kāmyoh sumnam tmao | 5. Yah sukrāḥ Īva sūryo hiṃsqam īva rochate | kṛṣṇo devanāṁ caevaḥ | 6. Saḥ naḥ karaṭy avrato saktam meṣhaya messyo | nyāḥyo nārīḥyo gavo | “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.—To jāmīre divāḥ riṣhvedāḥ udhaḥsu Rudrasya marylāḥ aṣurāḥ apasāḥ | pāvakāsaḥ sukhayaḥ sūryāḥ īva sateṇa na drupsino

* See also R. V. viii. 22, 14, which will be quoted further on.
4 “Rudra’s favour” (Benfey). Compare mārutasya bheṣaḥjasya in R. V. viii. 20, 23,
RELATING TO RUDRA.

3. Yuvāno Rudrāḥ ajāraḥ abhogyāno vaṅkaḥur adhī-
gavaḥ parvatāḥ iva | śrīkā chid vīcā bhuvanāni pārthīva prachyāyaṇantī
divyāni mahāma | . . . 12. Ghrīṣhum pāvakāṁ vanināṁ viharasa-
ṇiṁ Rudrasya sunāṁ havaś grīṁiṇi | rajastūram tvasam mārataṁ
ganam piṭaṁṇaṁ viṣṇuṇaṁ saṅkhaṁ brijya | "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, undying, destroyers of the niggardly, resistless,
[firm as] mountains, have increased [in vigour]. By their power
they cast down all terrestrial and celestial creatures, however firm . .
12. We praise with invocations the fierce, purifying, rain-dispensing
energetic offshoot 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 sūbhantacro janayo na saptayō
yāmam Rudrasya
sunāvān sūdāmaśaśaḥ | rodas hi marutaḥ chakriro vṛdha madanti vīrāḥ
vidadhakah ghrīṣhavah | "The swift Maruts, energetic sons of Rudra,
who, in their course, are bright like wives, have made the two worlds
to prosper, and, impetuous heroes, rejoice in sacrifices."

R.V. i. 114, 1 ff. (Vāj. S. 16, 48; Taitt. S. iv. 5, 10, 1).—Imāh
Rudrāya tvasas kapardinaḥ keapad-yārāyaḥ prabhāraṁaha matiḥ | yathā

8 See Prof. Max Müller’s version of this hymn, and of that next quoted, in his
Translation of the B.V., vol. i.
9 See Prof. Max Müller’s note on this word, Translation of B.V. i. 110 ff. The
word also occurs in R.V. x. 142, 2, as well as in the other enumerates by
Müller, p. 112
10 Kapardin is also an epithet of Pūshana R.V. vi. 55, 2: Rāthitaram kap-
ardinam śānaṁ rūdhasa mahaḥ | rūṣaḥ sakāyam īmahe | "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: Asitā no ajīveṇā Pūṣkā
yāmami yāmāni | abhākṣate kanyāṇa naḥ | 11. Ayam somaḥ kapardine ghrītaṁ na
pavate mahu | ā bhakṣate kanyāṇa naḥ | "Pūshan, who has goats for steeds, is
our protector on every journey. May he make us possessors of damsel. 11. This
soma is purified for the god with spirally-braided hair, like sweet butter. May he
make us possessors of damsel."
The word is also applied to the Tritus in R.V.
vi. 83, 8. . . . . . . . . Sūṣīyānyczh yatra nāmaśa kapardina dhiyā dhiivaṁ aapanta
Trisvesaḥ | . . . . . "Where the white-robed Tritus with braided hair have
worshipped you with obeisances and prayers." With this compare daksinatā-
kapardinā in R.V. vii. 33, 1. The word Kapardin also occurs in R.V. x. 102, 8.
11 This word is rendered "governing men" by Böhtlingk and Roth, vol. ii.
(published 1856-1858), who first cite, as determining the sense of the word, R.V.
302 MEANING OF THE EPITHET KSHAYADVĪRA.

śaṁ acēd daśipade chaṭuhpade viśavam puṣṭaṁ grāme smeśaṁ anāśutam |
2. (=T. S. iv. 5, 10, 2) Mrīṣa no Rudra uta no mayas kriḍhī kshayadvīrya namaścā vidhema te | yat śaṁ cha yosha Maṇur ā yeja pitā tad ahyāma tava Rudra pranīṭihē | 3. Ahyāma te sumatin deva-yajyayā kshayadvīrya tava Rudra mādaṁ | sumaṇyān ēd viśa asamaṁ uccaṁ ariṣṭa-virāṁ juhavāma te haviḥ | 4. Tveḥaṁ vayaṁ Rudraṁ

viii. 19, 10: Yasya tvam úrduvo adheṣarīya tisṭhāṣi kshayadvrēṣaḥ sa sūdhaṭo | so arùddhiḥ sanīṣa sa vipaṇyubhiḥ sa āurṣā nimitā krīṭan | “The man to whom thou hovert 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 165) renders the word “governing heroes”; and adds in a note on the latter page: “Are the heroes, the single stormy winds, the maruta (comp. v. 6) over whom Rudra rules; or is Rudra generally designated as the lord of all heroes, inasmuch as he makes them swift, and destructive as storm-winds, in battle? ‘Destroyer of heroes,’ as Whitney proposes, ‘slayer of men,’ Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. iii., p. 319, published in (1853), is not 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 ṛṣaṁ aṣya bhuvanasya bhūreḥ, “lord over this manifold creation,” in R.V. ii. 33, 9; and compares sain vā yā kasyanti charṣaṇam in i. 32, 15, and the similar phrases in i. 112, 3, and x. 9, 6. Kshayadvīra is, he believes, nothing more than the usual nṛṣaṁ. 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 nṛśaṁ; 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 nṛśaṁ may be based on a false interpretation of kshayadvīra. Śāyaṇa renders the word variously. On the passage above referred to, viii. 19, 10, he interprets it: mīvasādhir itevar añā viśvāḥ putraśādhir upeśaḥ 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-balinam | yasmin sāre viṁūḥ kṣāyanti, 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: Kṣayanta vināyanto viṁūḥ yasmin tādṛṣṭa | yadu kṣayanta aśvāyākarmaḥ | kṣhayantaḥ prāptāśvāyāḥ viṁūḥ Maṇuganaghaḥ putraḥ yasvaḥ | “He in whom heroes perish; or, as the root keśi 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 Mahādhara interprets the phrase: Kṣayanta nivesanta viṁūḥ śīrāḥ yatra sa kṣhayadeśaṁ taśmaī śūra-yuṭāya ity arthaḥ | kṣayanta naśaṁ viṁūḥ ripavo yasmin iti vā | “He in whom heroes dwell is kṣhayadeśaṁ; to him who is possessed of heroes. Or, he through whom heroes perish.” On the second and third verses of i. 114, Śāyaṇa repeats in different words the explanations he had given on the first verse (Kṣayita-sāra-śīrāḥ prāptāśvāyāḥ Maṇuganaghaḥ yuktāḥ | kṣayita-pratipakṣaḥ yasvaḥ Maṇuganaghaḥ yuktāsa vā). On verse 10, he confines himself to the one explanation, Kṣayita-sāra-śīrāya-janaḥ. In R.V. i. 126, 3, the same epithet is applied to Indra; where Śāyaṇa expounds it thus: Kṣayanta nivesanta viṁūḥ putra-śhāya yasvaṁ taṁ tādṛṣṭam teva-teṣṭa-rudhama-khadaḥ-dhama-pradāśīram | “He in whom heroes, sons, servants, etc., abide—the giver of much wealth, which is the instrument of obtaining thy wishes.”
SAYANÀ'S ETYMOLOGIES OF THE WORD RUDRA.

We present these prayers to Rudra, the strong, with spirally-

*SAYANÀ, in his note on this verse, gives no less than six explanations of the word Rudra, which I subjoin, as a specimen of commentarial ingenuity:

Rodayati sarvam anikàkle iti Rudraḥ | yadāvā rut samārākhyam duḥkham | tad drīvāvati apagamayati vināśayati iti Rudraḥ | yadāvā rutāḥ labda-rūpah upanishad-dek | tiḥāhir drīvāte gamayate pratipādyate iti Rudraḥ | yadāvā rut sahāṃkāmakā viṣyati tad-pratipādyatam-viṣyati vā | tam upāsakehyo rāti dadati iti Rudraḥ | yadāvā runa-dhūtyo āpītītī iti rudāhakārāmi | tad drīvāte vidūrayati iti Rudraḥ | yadāvā kañ̄chīr dhvāsa-sangārām īṃy-ūtmauko Rudro devacir nikhṣiptam dhanaṃ apahṛtya mīravatī | asurān jīvaḥ devaḥ aham anvishya drīṣṭatīrānaṃ apaharman tadānīm arudat | tadām Rudraḥ ity ākhīyate | “He is called Rudra (1) because he makes one weep (rodacyati), removes, destroys, that: therefore he is named Rudra. Or (2) rut means the suffering called the world. He drives away (drīvāvati), removes, destroys, that: therefore he is named Rudra. Or (3) rut in the plural means the Upajāthas, which are composed of words: by them he is attained, expounded (drīvāte): therefore he is termed Rudra. Or (4) rut signifies language composed of words, or the science of soul which is to be explained by it: this he gives (rāśi) to his worshippers: hence he is denominated Rudra. Or (5) the root rudh means to shut, cover; and therefore rut means darkness, etc.: he tears (drīṣṭi), rends, it: therefore he is designated as Rudra. Or (6) when on one occasion there was a battle between the gods and Asuras, Rudra having the nature of Agni carried off the treasures which had been thrown down by the gods and went away. But the gods, after conquering the Asuras, sought him, saw him, and took the treasures from him: then he wept (arudat), and from that he is called Rudra.”
TRANSLATION OF HYMN CXIV., BOOK I. OF THE R.V.

braided hair, ruling over heroes, that there may be prosperity to our two-footed and four-footed creatures, that everything in this village may be well fed and free from disease. 2. Be gracious to us, Rudra, and cause us happiness; let us with obeisance worship thee, the ruler over heroes. Whatever prosperity and blessing our father Manu acquired by worship, may we attain it all under thy guidance, Rudra. 3. May we by our divine worship obtain the goodwill of thee, Rudra, who art the ruler of heroes, and beneficent; act favourably towards our people: may we, with our men unharmed, offer thee our oblation. 4. We invoke to our succour the impetuous Rudra, the fullener of sacrifice, the swift, the wise. May he drive far away from us the anger of the gods, for we desire his favour. 5. We invoke with obeisance the ruddy boar of the sky, with spirally-braided hair, a brilliant form. Carrying in his hand most choice remedies, may he give us protection, defence, shelter. 6. This exhilarating hymn, sweeter than the sweetest, is uttered to Rudra, the father of the Maruts. Bestow on us, O immortal, the food of mortals; be gracious to ourselves, our children, and descendants. 7. Slay neither our great, nor our small, neither our growing nor our grown, neither our father nor our mother; injure not, Rudra, our dear selves. 8. Injure us not in our children and descendants, nor in our men (life, V.S.), nor in our cattle, nor in our horses. Slay not our men in thine anger (angry men, V.S.): we continually worship thee with offerings. 9. As a keeper of cattle (brings victims), so have we brought praises near to thee: 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

Compare R.V. x. 127, 8, quoted by Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v. kar-upa-ś: 
upā te gūh ieva ēkaram erīṣsou duhīta divaṅ | Rūtri stomaṅ na jīgyuṣa | “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.” Śāyaṇa (on R.V. i. 114, 9) explains the comparison as follows: Yathā paṣūnām pūlayitū goaḥ prātaḥkāle evam prasthitān paśūn śauṣṭrīkāle svāmibhyat evam tvat sahāṣdū labhāṁ uttirūpaṁ maṁmṛaṁ stuti-tūṭhānatayū ṛtuḥ yam pratyarpayati | “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.”
HOW THE MARUTS BECAME RUDRA'S SONS.

Rudra, attended by the Maruts, listen to our invocation. Then may Mitra, Varuna, 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 pitṛītven evam ākhyāyat | purā kādāhiḥ Indro 'swrān jīgāya | tadāṁ Dītir Asūra-mātā Indra-hanana-samartham
putrāṁ kāmayamānā tapasā bhartuḥ sakāśād garbham lobho | imaṁ vṛti-
tānīṁ avagachhann Indro vajra-hastaḥ san sūkhma-rāgo bhūtā
tasyāḥ udaram praviṣya tam garbham saptadā bhūheda | punar apy ekākam
saptakañdām akarot | te sarve garbhāika-devāḥ yonor nirgatyārūdān
| etasmīn avasara lilārthām gachchantau Pārvati-paramesvāraṁ imaṁ da-
drīṣatāḥ | Mahesam prati Pārvaty evam avocat | "īme māṁsa-khandāḥ
yathā pratyaekam putrāḥ sampadyantāṁ evam tvayaṁ kāryam mayi chet
pritiṁ asti" iti | sa cha Mahēśvaras tāṁ samāna-rūpāṁ samāna-vayasaḥ
samāndalakāraṁ putrāṁ kriyā Gauryai pradādau "tave mas putrāṁ
santu" iti | ataḥ sarveshu Maruteshu sūkṭeshu Maruta Rudra-putrāḥ iti
stīyante Rudreshu cha Marutām pitā Rudraḥ iti |

"The story of Rudra being the father of the Maruts is thus recounted. Formerly, once on a time, Indra overcame the Asuras. Then Dītī, 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 fetus into seven parts, and again made each of these parts into seven. All these being in one part of the fetus, issued from the womb and wept. At this conjuncture, Paramēśvara (Mahādeva) and Pārvati were passing by for amusement, and saw them. Pārvati spoke thus to Paramēśvara, ‘If you love me, effect that all these bits of flesh may become several sons.’ Mahēśvara made them all of the same form and age, and with the same ornaments, and gave them to Gaure (Pārvati), 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: \textit{Atra purāṇi kathā} | Indra-samānaṁ putram iñcchantaṁ Aditer garbhasya kramiṁ kāraṇo Indraṁ saptadā bhūmatēt sa garbhaṁ saptा-gañāmakore bhavev | tato Marutas sampannāṁ}
B.V. i. 122, 1.—Prá caḥ pāntāṁ raghu-mangavo 'rdoḥ yajnaṁ Rudrāya mātīsahḥ bharadvam | dīvo aṣṭoshi aṣurasya virāṁ iṣṭuddhyā ieva Maruto rodayoḥ | *“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.”*

B.V. i. 129, 3.—Dasmō hi shriya vyishayam pinavān tvachāṁ kaṁ chid yaśīr araurāṁ śūra martyam pariśiṣṭakāḥ martyam | Indrota tubhyam taṁ Divo taṁ Rudrāya eva-yādase | Mitrāya vocaḥ Varuṇāya sapatrahaḥ sumṛitiṁkāya sapatrahaḥ | *“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 Varuna abundantly, to the very gracious, abundantly.”*

B.V. ii. 1, 6.—Tvam Agno Rudro aṣurāḥ maho dīvas tvam kāρdo mārum am prikhaḥ śāṣjaḥ | tvam vātāṁ aruṇaṁ yāṁ bāṅgaṁ tvam Puska viśhataḥ pāśi nu tmanā | *“Thou, Agni, art Rudra, the great spirit (āṣurā) of the sky. Thou art the host of the Maruta. Thou art lord of nourishment. Thou, who hast a pleasant abode, movest onward with the ruddy winds. Thou [being] Pūshan, by thyself protectest those who worship thee.”*

“saptgaṇaḥ vai Marutaḥ” iti śrutaḥ | *“Regarding this there is an ancient story. The focus 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 Priśī; and the sons of the Sky and Ocean. See the fifth volume of this work, p. 147 f.*

13 Compare with dīvo aṣurasya, B.V. i. 131, 1, and iii. 53, 7, where the phrases Dyaur aṣurāḥ, “the divine Sky,” and Divas priśīno aṣurasya, “the sons of the divine Sky,” occur. I am indebted to Prof. Anfroet for an explanation of the sense of this half verse. He holds iṣṭuddhyā as put for iṣṭuddhyāni, the 1st pers. sing. of the imperative of the root iṣṭudhy. See Dr. Bollens’s article in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. xxii., “Die Lieder des Parāśara,” p. 577, where other instances of the suffix ni being omitted in this part of the verb are given.
REGARDING AGNI AND RUDRA.

See above (p. 76 f.) the third verse of this hymn, where Agni is identified with Indra, and Vishṇu, in the same way as he is identified with Rudra and Puṣan in the verse before us.—See also verses 4, 5, and 7. Sāyana, in his commentary on this verse, gives two derivations of the word Rudra:

Rud duḥkham duḥkha-hetur vā pāpādiḥ | tasya drāvyayita stan-nāmaḥ dero' viḥ | "Rudro vai eva yad Agnir" ity adiśevo Agnēḥ Rudra-badbma uṣṇahārāt | yadā vaś ca Rudrāḥ | rauṭi | mām anusīṣvā narāḥ duḥkha pātishyaṃti | Rudrās tāḍrito 'viḥ | "Rut means suffering, or sin, etc., which causes suffering. Thou (Agni) art the god so called, who drives this away (rud-drāvyayita); 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.

TRANSLATION OF THE THIRTY-THIRD HYMN

11 (A. V. 18, 1, 40; T. S. iv. 5, 10, 3, 4). Siṣṭah brataṁ garta-radaṁ yuṣṭāṇam mṛgāṇaṁ na bhūmam utpahānam ugaṁ | mṛṣaṁ jarīto Rudra stavaṁ anayaṁ te asmaṁ ni vasantu senāḥ | 12. Kumāras chit pitoram vandamānam prati nanama Rudra upayantam | bhūr darāram satpatim grīṁṣhe stutāṁ teśam bheṣhajā rāṣi asme | 13. Yā vo bheṣhajā Marutaḥ tuchāni yā tamānaṁ vṛshago ya mayobhu | yāṁ Manuṣv avrīṣṭaṁ pitā nas tā hams cha yosha Rudrasya vaṁśi | 14 (V. S. 16, 50; T. S. iv. 5, 10, 4). Pari no hatiḥ Rudrasya vṛīṣyāḥ (vṛiṣaku, V. S., T. S.) pari teṣāṁya durmatir mahī gat | ava sthirā magha-vadāhāya tanuścava mīrhas tokāya tanayāya mṛṣa | 15. Eko babhrav vṛñabha cha khitāṁ yathā deva na ṛṣisthaṁ na hamsi | havana-brud no Rudra iha bodhi bṛhad vadaṁ vidateḥ evamāḥ | 11. 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.

13 Compare similar modes of speaking about Viṣṇu, 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). 10. Divine power can never be removed from Rudra, the lord of this vast world. Thou, fitly, holdest arrows and a bow; fitly, thou [wastest] a glorious necklace of every form (of beauty). Fitly, thou possessest all this vast [world]. There is nothing, Rudra, more powerful than thou. 11. Celebrate the renowned and youthful god, mounted on his chariot, terrible as a wild beast, destructive, and fierce. Be gracious to thy worshipper, Rudra, when praised: may thy hosts prostrate some one else than us. 12. Even a boy, when his father approaches and salutes him, makes obeisance to him in return; [so] O Rudra, I praise [thee], the giver of much [good], the lord of heroes. Thou, when lauded, grantest to us remedies. 13. Those pure remedies of yours, Maruts, those which are salutary, ye strong [gods], those which are beneficent, those which our father Manu desired—those, as well as the blessing and favour of Rudra, I desire. 14. May the bolt of Rudra avoid us; may the great malevolence of the impetuous [deity] depart far from us. Unbend thy strong [bows so as not to strike] thy wealthy worshippers. Dispenser of good, be gracious to our children and descendants. 15. O tawny and vigorous god, so taking heed of us, as neither to be incensed against us, nor to injure us—think of us now, Rudra, hearing our invocations; let us with our vigorous men utter a great hymn at the sacrifice.

R. V. ii. 34, 2.—Dyāvo na stribhiḥ chitayanta khādino vi abhriyāḥ na dyutayanta virñātyaḥ | Rudro yaḥ vo Maruto rukma-vakshāsa virñaḥ 'jani priyāyāḥ sukro udhāni | “Adorned with armlets, [the Maruts] have shone like the skies with their stars, they have glittered like showers from the clouds, at the time when the prolific Rudra generated you, O Maruts, with jewels on your breasts, from the shining udder of Priáni.”

R. V. ii. 38, 9.—Na yasya Indro Varuṇa na Mitro vratam Aryamā na minanti Rudrāḥ | na arātayas tam idāṁ vaśiḥ huvva devaṁ Savi-

17 See Sūkra-pīṭ, Nir. viii. 11 = R.V. x. 110, 6; and Roth, Erl. See the fifth vol. of this work, p. 453 ff., where some remarks of Dr. Bollensen (Journ. Germ. Or. Society, xxii. 557 ff.) are quoted, in which this passage, with others, is adduced to show that images of the gods were common in the Vedic age.

18 Compare i. 114, 2, above, pp. 302 and 304.
tārām namobhiḥ | “With prostrations I invoke this blessing from the god Savitṛi, 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.—Agnīṁ sumnaṁ dadhīva puro janah vāja-trovasam 19
iha vrikṣa-barhiṣaḥ | yata-trucaḥ sruvaḥ vāc-sayanḥ rudrāṁ yajñān
nām adhād-isthām apastām | “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 rājams adhvarasya rudrāṁ hotaram satya-
yajñam rodasyoh | Agnim puraṁ tanayitum achittād hiraṇya-rūpam avase
kṛigudhōm | 6. Kad dhīshayā eva rvidhasana Agnim kad vātaya pratiwase subhadhye | parijmane nāsatyāya kaś brahah kad Agnim Rudrāya
mi-ghne20 | (verse 7 is quoted above, p. 78). “Before the thunderbolt [falls] unawares, call to your succour Agni, the terrible (rudra) king of the sacrifice, the invoker in both worlds, offering genuine worship, the golden-formed... 6. Wilt thou, Agni, who delightest in the altars, wilt thou declare [our sin]21 to Vātā, the energetic, the bestower

19 This word is explained by Śāyaṇa in this place as = manusahybhyah pravritīmnam,
“who has sent food to men,” and on R. V. vi. 35, 4, as = vājajir balajir praussiddaṁ, “famed for force.” In the Nighantus (ii. 7, 17) two senses are assigned to vāja, “food,” and “battle,” and to trova 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.” Bühling and Roth assign to vāja the senses (1) “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-trova, “contending in a race,” comparing it with vāja-rit, to which they ascribe the same meaning, and which is explained by Śāyaṇa in R. V. ix. 43, 6, as = sangrūma-sarayam, “moving in battle.”

Prof. Aulnecht sees no reason why vāja-trova should be interpreted differently from vāja-strova, and translates it “renowned for power or wealth,” comparing gomad vāja-strova, R. V. i. 9, 7; vāja, strova teha cha, vi. 17, 4 (vi. 1, 11); ix. 67, 6; iv. 36, 9; mahi strova vājam, vi. 70, 5; sa vājam dvarah sa is trova dhāḥ, x. 69, 3; vājam uktham, x. 140, 1; ahi vājam uta strovaḥ, ix. 1, 4; ix. 6, 3; vājaṁ jeshi strova bhrīketa, ix. 44, 6; ix. 63, 12; ix. 87, 5.

20 Comp. pūrva-ghnam 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, 8, quoted and translated above, p. 80.

R.V. v. 41, 2.—Te no Mitra Varuṇa Aryaṁ yur Indraḥ Ribhukshāṁ
Maruto jusanta | namobhir vā ye dañcito saṃśritaṁ stomaṁ Rudraṁ
mihusha sajñessāḥ | “May Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Āyu, Indra,
Ribhukshan, the Maruta, be favourable to us, [and to those] who,
united together, offer with oblations hymns and praises to the bounti-
ful Rudra.”

R.V. v. 42, 11.—Tاص u sktulī yaḥ vishuḥ sudhavaḥ yo viśasya
khayaṁ bheṣajaṁya | yaksavah mahā sammanastiya Rudraṁ namobhir
devam asuraṁ dwasya | . . . . 15. Esha stoma māructāṁ bārāhā
cināna ṣvastiṁ ṣvastiṁ uci abhāḥ | 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
Maruta, to the sons of Rudra, who comport themselves as youths,” etc.

R.V. v. 46, 2 (V.S. 33, 49), quoted and translated above, p. 80.

R.V. v. 51, 13.—Vive devaḥ no adya svastaye svivaṃsaro vasu
Agniḥ svastaye | devaḥ avantu Ribhukshat svastaye aśasti no Rudraḥ pāt
aṁhaṁ | “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 bandhavah gāṁ vohchanta vāraṇaḥ Prāśīṁ
vohchanta mātaram | adha pitaram ihaṁ Prāṇaḥ vohchanta ikvacaḥ |
“These wise and powerful [Maruta], who, when I was inquiring after
their kindred, declared to me that the Earth, Prāśī, was their mother,
and that the rapid Rudra was their father” (see above, p. 306, note 11).

R.V. v. 59, 8.—Māmātṛ Dyaus Aditiḥ vityau naḥ saḥ dāna-śkritrāṁ
uḥsaka yāgantāṁ | dāhūryavār dvayāṁ kāsam etc pūṣe Rudraṁ Maru-
tāṁ | “May Dyaus and Aditi provide for our enjoyment: may the
dawns, glittering with moisture, strive [in our behalf]. These
Maruta, [the sons] of Rudra, when landed, O rishi, have caused the
celestial treasure to drop down.”

R.V. v. 60, 5.—Ajiṣṭhaṁ ca akarniḥ caṁ saṁ dhārato vaidhisūḥ
sambhagyā | yuva pitā uṣpaḥ Rudraḥ caḥāṁ sudugha Prāśīṁ sudīna
Marudāḥ | “These brothers (the Maruta), 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 Pṛśni, [have created] fortunate days for the Maruta.”

R. V. vi. 16, 39.—Ya ugraḥ iva baryā-ḥa tigma-bringo na vaṁsaṇaḥ | Agna puro rurojitha | “Thou, Agni, who art fierce (ugra), like an archer, like a sharp-horned bull, hast broken down castles.”

On this the commentator remarks: “Rudro vai eṣaḥ yad Agnir” iti bruteḥ | Rudra-kṛtam api Tripura-dahanam Agni-kṛtam esa iti Agnīḥ stavyate | “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).—Prjāvasthāḥ sivacarasam riṣāntiḥ buddhāḥ apaḥ uprapāya pibantuḥ | mā vaḥ streṣaḥ itaḥ mā ’gahaṁsaḥ pari vo hetiḥ Rudrasya vṛjjyaḥ | “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 pitaroḥ girbhir abhiḥ Rudraṁ divis vardhayas Rudram aktau | brihantam riśheṇa ajaraṁ suhummam riḍhay hveṇa kavineshidāsaḥ | “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 sūnvo namaṁ taṁ adya hātavo Vasavo adhrishtāḥ | ityādi | (verse 12 is quoted above, p. 82). “May the sons of Rudra, the irresistible Vasu (or gods), invoked to-day, stoop down to us,” etc. . . . . v. 12 (translated above, p. 82).

R. V. vi. 66, 3.—Rudrasya ye milhushaḥ santi putrāḥ yāḥ oho nu dādhiṁvīr bharadhyai | vide hi māta maho mahī să sā it Pṛśniḥ subhe garbhām adḥhaḥ | . . . . 11. Tum vridhantam mārutam bhrad-riśṭinm Rudrasya sūnvo havast a vedaḥ | 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 Pṛśni was
pregnant for an illustrious birth. . . . 11. I worship with invocation this growing race of the Maruts, with shining weapons, the offspring of Rudra,” etc.

R.V. vi. 74, 1 ff.—Somā-Rudra dhārayetham asuryam pra vām iṣṭāya ‘ram aṁśuvantu | dame dame sapta ratnā dadhānā sam no bhūtaṁ devade bāṁ chatushpade | 2 (A. V. 7, 42, 1). Somā-Rudrā vi eṣihataṁ vishūchim amitevā ya no gayam āviveśa āre bādhethāṁ Nirṛitiṁ parāchaṁ aṁśo bhadrā sauśrvasaṁi santu | 3 (A. V. 7, 42, 2). Somā-Rudrā yuvaṁ stāni aṁśe viṣeṇa tanuśhu bhesājāṇi dhattam | ava syatam mun- chataṁ yad no astī tanuśhu baddhāṁ kṛitaṁ ati aṁśat | 4. Tāmāyudhau tegma-heti svacau Somā Rudravo ēṣa u mṛṣṭaṁ naḥ | pra no munchataṁ Varuṇasya pāśād gopāyataṁ naḥ sūmanasyaṁānā | “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 Nirṛiti 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 Vasubhīṣṇu sajoshah Rudram Rudre-bhir ā caka bṛihantam | Ādityebhir Ādiṁ vīśva-janyāṁ Brihaspatim pītvabhir viśvā hṛam | “Agni, united with the Vasus, bring bither to us Indra; with the Rudras [bring] the powerful Rudra, with the Ādityas [bring] Aditi, who is acceptable to all, and with the bards [bring] the Brihaspati who grants all boons.”

R.V. vii. 36, 6.— . . . Saṁ no Rudro Rudrebhir jalānaha . . .

“May the healing Rudras, with the Rudras, be favourable to us,” etc.

R.V. vii. 36, 5.—Yajante asya sakhyam vayak ca namsadvinaḥ ve pitaṣya dhaman | vi prīḥsā bābdhoh niṣīdhīṣ tvaedānaḥ idāṁ namo Rudraya preshṭham | “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).—Prātār Agnim
prātār Indrasaḥ havāmahe prātār Mitrā-Varunā prātār Aśvinā | prātār Bhagam Puṣṭham Brahmaṇaḥpatim prātāh Somam uta Rudram hwema |
“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, Puṣan, Brahmaṇaḥpati, Soma, and Rudra.”

R.V. vii. 46, 1 (Nirukta x. 6).—Imāḥ Rudraya sthira-dharmāvyā kaśiṃ habe devīya svadāne | asaḥśāya sehamānyya vedhase tīgaṇa- | yuḍāḥya bhurata bṛṇotu naḥ | 2. Sa hi kṣayena kṣhavyasa jannamaḥ | sāṃṛṭyena dīvasyasya chetai | avam avasati upa no duraḥ chara anamite | Rudra jātu no bhava | 3 (Nirukta x. 7).—Ya te dāyud āvaspīrṣṭā | divas pari kṣhmayaḥ charadī pari ad vṛīṇakta naḥ | sahastraṃ te svapīvāta

22 Prof. Both (Illust. of Nir., p. 185) considers the word svadāne to signify “independent,” “whose glory is inherent,” etc., and refers to R.V. vii. 20, 1; vii. 87, 2; vii. 88, 4. At p. 40 f. of his Illustrations Both assigns to svadāne avam, 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 viii. 20, 7. On svadāne see also Prof. Müller’s Transl. of the R.V., pp. 19–25.

23 This word is not explained in the printed text of Sāyana; although in the “Varīetas Lectionis,” appended to his preface, Prof. Müller notes that in one MS., B. 4, svapīvaṭa is rendered by jītayṛṇa, “he by whom life (or breath) is conquered.” In the Nirukta, x. 7, it is explained by svūpta-svachana, “thou whose words are very suitable or authoritative.” In his Illustrations of the Nirukta, pp. 135 f., Prof. Both has some remarks on the word, which I translate: “Svapīvāta in the Pada text is divided into sv–apīvāta, and is consequently to be derived from api–vāt, a compound, which is often found in the R.V., vis. in vii. 3, 10, api kramāḥ svetāsmin vaṭena; vii. 60, 6, api kramāḥ svetāsam vaṭantah; i. 128, 2, tām yeṣa–svaddhā api vātyāmin; i. 165, 13, manṣāni deṣṭīḥ api vātyāntoh; x. 25, 1, bhadrām no api vātiya mano daksinam uta kramām; x. 13, 5, piśu putrāno api avināttena 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 (svapīvāta) thus means ‘readily understanding, hearing, accessible, gracious.’ Yāska’s explanation appears right, and Durga has misunderstood it, when he explains the word by anātikramyamlṛṇa (‘thou whose command cannot be transgressed’). I have to remark, however, that if Yāska’s phrase svūpta-svachana 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. Both, however, must have taken it to mean “thou by whom words (prayers) are readily received, or apprehended.” Otherwise it could not harmonize with the sense he regards as the right one. In his Lexicon, s.v. vāt–api, Prof. Both 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 vātiya manoḥ in x. 20, 1 and x. 25, 1, the sense of “awaken in us a good sense.” Prof. Aufrecht assigns to
texts regarding rudra and the rudras. 315

bheshjad mat nas tokeshu tanayeshu virishah | 4. Mā no vadhiḥ Rudra mā
patā dāh mā te bhāma prasītan hitayasya | ā no bhaja barhishija-śūnaṃ
yāyam pata svastihīś vadā 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,
haast a thousand remedies. Injure us not in our children and descen-
dants. 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 tām vyaktah narah santah Rudrasya
māryah adha svakāh | 2. Nakir hi esāh janānāhi veda to anga vidre
mito janitram | “Who are these brilliant heroes, the sons of Rudra,
occupying the same abode, riding on excellent horses? No one knows
their births. They [themselves] know the place of their common
production.”

R.V. vii. 58, 5.—Tan a Rudrasya mtiḥuho vividāh ityādi | “I wor-
ship these [sons] of the bountiful Rudra,” etc.

svapīvita the sense “possessed of great knowledge,” from sv- apīvita, “intelligence,
knowledge,” which again comes from api- sat, to which he considers that the proper
meaning has been assigned by Prof. Roth. Sāyaṇa explains as follows the texts quoted
above, viz. R.V. vii. 3, 10: Āpi api cha kratam karmā yajnānāṁ kārtāreṇa uṣh-
teśam ोohāna-prajñāna-yuktān suprajñānam putrām v e t e ma s a m b h o j a m a h i
vanataḥ sambhojanārthasya vargarūragaṁ sati īśvaram | “And further may we gain
a rite, or a performer of sacrifices possessed of good intelligence, or a very intelligent
son. Var, which means ‘to divide’ (or gain), becomes īśvaram by the alteration of a
letter.” He interprets vii. 60, 6, thus: Āpi uṣhṭasann prakṣaṇāh-jñānaveṇantam
purusāham kratām kārtāreṇa karmāṇām-śānavantaṁ v e t e ma s a m b h o j a m a h i
“going to a man, a performer of rites possessed of eminent intelligence.” The verb in R.V.
i. 128, 2, is thus expounded: a parisṭaḥam svāmaka “we serve till we are satisfied”;
and in i. 165, 13, thus: sampūrṇam prāpyoṣantah, “completely bringing to us”; in
x. 20, 1, by  āgamaya, “cause to come”; in x. 26, 1, by gamaya, “cause to go”; in
x. 13, 5, by sāgamayanti, “cause to go together.”

24 This word appears from Böhltingk 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, signi-
fying “rule over the living.” Benfey, in his translation of i. 104, 6, renders the
word “to be praised among men.” Sāyaṇa has there kāmayitaṁ, “to be desired”;
and here udāmānti, which means the same.
R.V. viii. 13, 20.—Tad iḍa Rudrasya chetati yaheam praineshu dhā-
manu | mano yatra vi tat dadhur vicetasāḥ | “That great (manifesta-
tion) of Rudra [or the terrible (Indra)] is perceived in the ancient
abodes, and on it the wise have therefore fixed their minds.”

R.V. viii. 20, 17.—Yathā Rudrasya sūneno dīvo vaśanti asurasya
vedhasāḥ | yuvānas takthā it caeṣat | “As the youthful sons of Rudra, the
wise deity of the sky, desire, so shall it be.”

tāv ukhasi subhas patti tā yāman rudra-vartanī | md no mortāya ripave
vājini-vāstu paro rudrāv ati khyatam | “We invoke them (the Aśvins),
with adoration, (14) at evening and at dawn, and on their path, the two
lords of splendour, proceeding on terrible roads. Do not, O terrible
(rudrāv) lords of swift horses, abandon us to our mortal enemy.”

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

R.V. viii. 61, 3.—Antar ichhantī sam jaye rudrām para manihaṇyā |
grīhbhānti jīhyāyā saсаam | “They entreat the god (Agni), who is
terrible (rudra) beyond all thought,” (to enter) among the people.
With their tongue they take food (or seize him sleeping).”

R.V. x. 64, 8.—Triṃ sapta saśrāh nadyo mahir apo vaṃsaptin pari-
tān Aṃnim utoṣye | Kṛiśānum astřin Tīhyām sadhasthe ā Rudrām
Rudrāṇaḥ rudriyaḥ havāmahāḥ | “We invoke to our aid in the assembly
of sacrifice, the three times seven swift rivers, the great waters, the
trees, the mountains, Agni, Kṛiśānu, the archers, Tīhya, and Rudra,
among the Rudras, and possessing their character.”

28 Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v. rudra, hold the word to be here an epithet of Indra.
The rest of the hymn is addressed to him.
29 This word rudra-vartani is also applied to the Aśvins in the first verse of this
hymn, and in R.V. x. 39, 11. Compare kriṣṇaṃ vartani and kriṣṇādheu as applied to
Agni. See the fifth vol. of this work, p. 212.
30 This is the sense assigned by Böhtlingk and Roth to vājiniω. Sāyaṇa renders
it by annaωasa (R.V. v. 74, 6), annadhana (x. 40, 12) “rich in food.” Elsewhere
he also takes vājini for food or oblation.
31 This word is given in the Nīgīraṇas, 2, 7, as signifying food. Sāyaṇa takes it
to mean “sleeping,” and renders the last clause “men through praise sprung from
their tongue, catch Agni with their fingers” (jīheρ-prakhyāyā stutiω grīhbhānti
grīhvantaω angulibhiδ). See Roth’s Illustrations of Nirukta, pp. 55 and 85 f.; also
R.V. i. 61, 3 (where Benfey renders saśrāωa “in sleep”); iii. 6, 6; iv. 5, 7; iv. 7,
7; v. 21, 4; x. 79, 3.
32 This interpretation is confirmed by Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v. moniho, 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 paripatā no gayam Ādityair no Āditiḥ śarmā yathāhatu | Rudro Rudabhīr dero mṛilayati nas Tvashṭā no gnabhīḥ suvitāya jinevatu | “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 Tvashṭrī with the wives (of the gods) advance us to prosperity.”

R.V. x. 92, 5.—Pra Rudrēṇa yaśinā yanti sindharvas tīrō mahīn aramatīṁ
dadhanice | yeṭhīḥ pariṃā pariṃām ura jrayo vi roravaj
jaṭhāre viśvat mukhat | . . . . . 9. Stomaṁ vo adya Rudrāya bikvao
kayavat-virāya namāc didiśēcāna | yeṭhīḥ śivāḥ svavān evayacchāhīr
divāḥ sīhakīṁ | “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 Maruta] 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 rájāno amritasya mantrāḥ Aryamā Mitro
Varuśaḥ pariṃā | kad Rudro mṛināṁ stuto Marutāḥ Pūshaḥ Bhagāḥ |
. . . . . 7. Ula no rudrā chīṁ mṛīlām Aśvinā ityādi | “These are the

30 This word occurs in different parts of the R.V., where it is variously interpreted by Śāṅkara. On ii. 36, 4, he explains it by anuparati, “never resting,” as an epithet of Saviṣṭrī; on v. 43, 6, as an epithet of yūnī (a goddess), 5 samajkhās ramamīnāṁ sarvatra ganirīṁ vā, “sporting all round, or, going everywhere”; on vii. 36, 8, similarly, uparati-rahitām, “having no rest,” as an epithet of māhī, the earth; on vii. 42, 3, as meaning the earth (bhūmim); on vii. 1, 6, as signifying brilliancy (dīptiḥ); on v. 64, 6, as ārameyaṁ dhanādikam, “object of enjoyment, wealth,” etc.; on vii. 34, 21, as denoting a being “of perfect intelligence, or whose intelligence reaches to all objects,” (paryāpta-buddhiḥ sarva-vikāya-oṣyā-buddhiḥ vā) spoken of Tvashṭrī; and on viii. 31, 12, as equivalent to alammatiḥ paryāpta-stutiiḥ, a god “who obtains full, or complete, worship,” said of Pūshan. I have not access to his commentary on x. 64, 16, and x. 92, 4, 6. Böhtlingk and Roth regard Aramati in all these passages but one as designating either “readiness for service, obedience, devotion,” or “as a personification of religious worship, or active piety.” In viii. 31, 12, they regard it as signifying “obedient, pious.” I cannot see that any of those senses except that of earth is applicable to the passage before us. Or Aramati may here be an epithet of the earth.

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

22 Compare amṛitasya gopām, R.V. viii. 42, 2; and amṛitasya patniḥ, iv. 6, 13.
kings of immortality who gladden us: Aryaman, Mitra, Varuna the circumambient, what (shall we say) of Rudra celebrated by men, the Maruta, the Pishahas, and Bhaga? . . . . 7. May the terrible (rudra) Aevins be favourable to us,” etc.

R.V. x. 125, 6 (A. V. 4, 30, 5).—Aham Rudraya dhemur a tanevi brahma-devahe taravo hantavai u ityadi | (V欺骗es? speaks): “I bend the bow for Rudra, for an arrow to slay the hater of the priest,” etc.

R.V. x. 126, 5.— . . . Ugraya Marudhhi Budram huvama ityadi | “Let us invoke the terrible Budra with the Maruta,” etc.

R.V. x. 136, 1 (Nir. xii. 26).—Kesi agnin kesi visaham kesi bhaharti rodasi | kesi visaham eva drise kesi idam jyotir ushyato | 2 | munayo vataaranah pishang vasate mala | vatsyayu dhrajuh yanti yad deva evikahtah | 3 | unmaditah mauneyamo vataan a tashimavayam | kartird (i.e. kartir id) asmakam yayam mortaso ahhi pasyatha | 4 | antarikshahapatati visah rupah vacchakat | munir devasya devasya sakrityyathah sakdh hitaq | 5 | Vatsyayvem Vayoh sakha atha deveshto muniq | uhhau samudrau a ksheti yah cha purvak utaparah | 6 | apsaraasam gandharvacanam mriganam charana charana | kesi ketasa visvan sakha svadur madantamaq | 7. Vayur asmai upamantat pinahiti sma kunannama | kesi visahaye patrena yad Rudrapipat saha | “The long-haired [being] sustains fire, wind, and the two worlds; he is to the view the entire sky; he is called this light. 2. The wind-clad (i.e. naked) munis wear brown and soiled (garments); they follow the course of the wind, when ye, O gods, have entered (into them). 3. Transported by (our) impulses as munis, we have pursued the winds. You, O mortals, behold our bodies. 4. The muni, a friend fitted to gain the beneficent aid of every god, flies through the air, perceiving all forms. 5. The muni, impelled by the gods, the steed of the wind, the friend of Vayu, 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. Vayu agitated for him; the long-haired [being] breaks down the things which are unbending, by means of the vessel of water (visha) which he drank along with Rudra.”

Although but little of this hymn has reference to Rudra, I have

32 See note 27 in p. 258 of the third vol. of this work.
34 Kesi idam sarvam idam ebbhivipathyati | —Nir. xii. 26.
REMARKS ON THE KESIN OR MUNI.

quoted it entire on account of the interest it possesses in another respect. The first verse is explained in the Nirukta x. 26; and Prof. Roth, in his Illustrations of that work, p. 164, has the following note on the subject of the hymn: "The hymn," he says, "shows the conception that by a life of sanctity (mauneyona, verse 3) the muni can attain to the fellowship of the deities of the air, the Vāyus, the Rudras, the Apsarases, and the Gandharvas; and, furnished like them with wonderful powers, can travel along with them on their course. Transcending even this, the verse before us says that the beautiful-haired, the long-haired, that is to say, the Muni, who during the time of his austerities, does not shave his hair, upholds fire, moisture, heaven, and earth, and resembles the world of light, ideas which the later literature so largely contains. Similarly in an older hymn, R. V. vii. 56, 8, an unusual power of the Muni is celebrated, when it is said of the winds: Subhro vaś śuacmaḥ krudhmi manāmi dhunir munir iva sardhasya dhrishto, where Sāyaṇa explains the word mananād muniḥ stotā ('the muni, from the root "man," is one who praises'); and where the representation above given is in any case to be found in its germ."

Although, in his Lexicon (see s.v. muni), Prof. Roth no longer adheres to Sāyaṇa's explanation of the word muni, as applicable to the last-mentioned passage, where he thinks it may mean "pressure, crowd, impulse," he takes the same view as formerly of the hymn before us (x. 136), and defines the word muni as signifying "(one who is driven by an inward impulse), a person inspired, or in a state of ecstasy; with this conception of the word," he proceeds, "agrees what is said of the ecstasy and deification of the muni in R. V. x. 136, 2, 4, dvoshto muniḥ ('the god-impelled muni'), v. 5, and what is related in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa vi. 33, of the Muni Aitasa, whom his son regards as mad. Indro munināṁ sakha, ‘Indra is the friend of munis,’ R. V. viii. 17, 14." I subjoin the passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa vi. 33, here referred to:

Aitasa-pralāpam śaṁsati | Aitasa ha vai munir ‘Agner āyur’|22 dadarśa yajnasya ayatayamam iti ha eka āhuḥ | so brahī putrān ‘putrakaḥ ‘Agner āyur’ adharam | tad abhilapiśhāmi | yatkinca vadāmi tad me mā parigata iti | sa pratyapadyata ‘stāḥ abhā śāplavante pratiṣpam

22 The words Agner āyur asi tasya te occur in the Kāthaka, according to the list of initial words of passages given by Weber, Ind. Stud., iii. 239.
pratisutvanam" (A. V. xx. 129, 1) iti | tasya Abhyagnir Aitāsāya anītya akālo 'bhikṣaya mukham apyagṛhītā adhipat naḥ pita" iti | tam ha urācha "apday alaso bhūr yo me vācham avadhīḥ | satāyūm gām akrishyam saahasāyam purusham | pāpiḥṣṭhām te Prajāpīram karomi yo mā ittham asaktthāḥ" iti | tasmād āhur "Abhyagnayāḥ Aitāsāyanāḥ Aurvānām pāpiḥṣṭhāḥ" iti | "He repeats the Aitāsā-pralāpa. The Muni Aitāsa beheld (i.e. received a revelation of) the ‘Agnir āyuḥ’ (‘Agni’s life,’ etc.), which, some say, renders the sacrifice efficacious.\footnote{Prof. Haug renders āyāstayānam, “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.} He said to his sons, ‘Sons, I have seen “Agni’s life;” and will speak of it. Do not fail to attend to\footnote{Weber here differs from Haug’s rendering of parigāta by “do not scorn me,” and translates übergehet (überkörnt mir dies nicht) was ich auch sagen mag, which is also the sense assigned in Böhltingk and Roth’s Lexicon; and has been given by me.} what I say.’ He then obtained (by revelation) the verse beginning elāh āvāḥ, etc. Abhyagni, of the family of Aitāsa, came unseasonably, and stopped his mouth, saying ‘our father is mad.’ His father said, ‘Go, become destitute of energy,\footnote{Haug translates, “Become infected with leprosy”; Weber, “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 Aitāsa are the most degraded of all the Aurvās.’\footnote{Pavād avasaṁ gāvaḥ | —Nir. i. 17.}

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 (vīśha) may possibly have given rise to the legend of his drinking posion (vīśha).—See above, p. 50.

R. V. x. 169, 1.—Mayoḥhār vāto abhisvau uṣrah arjasyatr arhaditr āriṣtāṃ | pivasvātr jīva-dhanyāḥ pibantu avasaṁ padvāt\footnote{Pavād avasaṁ gāvaḥ | —Nir. i. 17.} 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).
Sect. II.—Passages relating to Rudra in the Vājasaneyi recension of the white Yajur-Veda.

I now proceed to quote from the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā the principal texts which it contains relative to Rudra.

Vaj. S. 3, 57 ff.—Esha te Rudra bhāgau saha svarā Ambikayā tāṁ jukhaeva svāhā | esha te Rudra bhāgau ākhus te paśuḥ\(^{40}\) | 58. Ava Rudram adīmahi ava devam tryambakam | yathā no vasyasas karad yathā naḥ kṛyāsas karad yathā no vyavasāyayāt | 59. Bhesajam aśi bhesajāṁ gavo 'svāyā puruṣāhaya bhesajām | sukham moshāya moshayai | 60 (=R. V. vii. 59, 12; Taitt. S. i. 8, 6, 2). Tryambakaṁ yajāmah sugandhīṁ pukhi-vardhanam | urvārukam ieva bandhanād mṛityor muktiyā mā 'mṛitāt | tryambakam yajāmah sugandhīṁ paitivedanām\(^{41}\) | urvārukam ieva bandhanād iito muktiyā mā 'mūtaḥ | 61 (T. S. i. 8, 6, 2).

Etat te Rudra avasāṁ tena paro Majavāto atiḥi | avatata-dhānaṁ pīnakā-vasāḥ kṛitī-vasāḥ ahiṃsan naḥ śivo 'tithi | 62. Tryāyushāṁ Jamadagnēḥ Kaḥyapasya tryāyushām | yad deveshu tryāyushaṁ tad na astu tryāyushaṁ | 63. S'ivo nāmā 'si svadhitis te pitā namaṁ te astu mā ma hiṁstih | nivarta-yāmy āyusī annādyāya praṇaṇādyāya rāyaṃpunādya suprajāstvāya swīr- yāya |

“This is thy portion, Rudra, with thy sister Ambikā; accept it with favour, may it be fortunate (svāhā). This is thy portion; thy victim is a mouse. 58. We have satisfied Rudra; we have satisfied the god Tryambaka,\(^{42}\) that he may make us most opulent, most happy, that he may prosper us. 59. Thou art a medicine, a medicine for kine and horses, a medicine for men, a [source of] ease to rams and ewes. 60. We worship Tryambaka, the sweet-scented, the increaser of prosperity. May I, like a cucumber [severed] from its stem, be freed from

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\(^{40}\) The Taittiriya Br. i. 6, 10, 4, has only the first part of this verse: Esha te Rudra bhāgaṁ saha svarā Ambikayā: then follow the words: tīy śaṁ | Śarad eci asya Ambikā evau | tayā eci esha kimastī | “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. (Śarad-rūpam prāpya jar- [qu. t jvar-] ādikam utpāda tāṁ nirodhināṁ hanti)."

\(^{41}\) Compare pativedya, “the acquisition of a wife,” in Taitt. Br. ii. 4, 2, 7.

\(^{42}\) S. Š. ii. 6, 2, 9.—Ambikā ha eci nāma asya evau | tayā eci esha saha bhāgas | tad eci asya eci stigā saha bhāgas tasmāi Tryambaka nāma | “He has a sister called Ambikā, with whom he has this share: and since he has this share along with a female (stṛ), he is called Tryambaka” (i.e. Stryambaka).
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 Mųjavat, 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, 198, 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.


44 This, the Commentator says, is spoken by virgins walking round the fire.
45 See the second volume of this work, pp. 351 f., and note 138, where the comments of the Śatapatha Brahmaṇa (ii. 6, 2, 17) on the passage before us are quoted.
46 Such is the sense assigned to svadhistāt in the Nighaṇṭus, 2, 20.
47 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 niśvīteyūmi āpsyāḥ, etc., by “I shave thee that thou mayest live,” etc.
48 The Taitt. S. inserts here nāmas te astu daṇānaḥ, “reverence be to thy bow.”
49 Sumanāḥ-śādha puñāṭām ārāhama | Comm.
50 These last two words are omitted in the Taitt. S.
pati nīlagrīco viśohitaḥ | utānaṁ goṇāḥ adhīrann adhīrann udahāryaḥ
dhāraṇaḥ | dhiṣṭo mṛīḍayati naḥ | 8. Namo 'etu nila-grīvāya sakṣarākṣāya
miḍhuhaḥ | ato yo asya saṭvāno ahaṁ te bhīyo 'karaṁ namaḥ | 9. Pramuncho
dhanvamas team udbhayor ārīnyor jyāṃ | yāsṛaḥ te haste isḥanaḥ parā tā
bhagavo vapaḥ | 10. Viṣyaṁ dhanaṁ kaparādino viśākyo bāgaṇam uṣa
andaṁ asya yāḥ isḥanaḥ abhur asya nishangaddhit[[-thīḥ, T. S.] | 11.
Yā te hetir mīlauṣṭāma haste bhāhuva te dhanaḥ | taya 'ṣeṣu viśākyo
tvam ayakṣhmayā pari bhṛya" | 12. Pari te dhanvamo hetir asmāṇ viṣākyo
tvam ahaṁ | ato yāḥ iṣudbild tava āre āshādhit te aśrām tā |
13. Avatāya
dhanuṁ tvam sakṣarākṣaṁ tataḥbhūte | niṣṭārya sāyānām mukkā bīva naḥ
samanāḥ bhava | 14. Namaṁ te āyudhāya anātātāya dhīriṣhkarāva | udbhā-
bhūyām uṣa te nāmo bāhuḥbhūṁ tava dhanvam | 15 and 16 (= B.V. i.
114, 7, 8, see above p. 303). 17. Namo hiranyabhaṁva seṣānno
dīśoḥāṁ pataye nāmo nāmaṁ viṣākyoḥ harikeshābhyaḥ paśānāṁ pataye nāmo
namāḥ saṣṭhiparātya tvāśhatte patānāṁ pataye nāmo nāmaṁ harikesāya
uppātino paṭṭānāṁ pataye nāmaḥ | 18. Namo bābhūranāya evādhiṁ
'ṇānāṁ pataye nāmo nāmo Bhoṣyena hēṣeyi jagataṁ pataye nāmo nāmo
Buddhāya atāśine (atāśine, T. S.) kṣetraṁ paṭaye nāmo nāmaṁ
rūḍhaya akṣhaṁ (akṣhaṁ, T. S.) vaṁśānāṁ pataye nāmaḥ | 19. Namo
rohitaṁ svapataye evākṣhayām pataye nāmo nāmo dhavantaye vārīvak-
krīḍāya oṣadhyānām pataye nāmo nāmo mantriṣe vānijāya kakshānām
pataye nāmo nāmo uciṣaṁpaḥbhāya aṁbraṇayate paṭṭānām pataye nāmaḥ | 20.
Namaḥ kriśṇāyataya (kriśṇāvāya, T. S.) dhāvate svatvānām pataye
nāmo nāmaṁ śakaṁnāṁ nīvaḥdhīṁ āvyāḍhīṁnām pataye nāmo nāmo
nishāṅgīnakukūbhāya senanāṁ pataye nāmo nāmo nīcaṁo paṅkarāyā
arṣaṇāṁ pataye nāmaḥ | 21. Namo vananchate purāvaneçate stāyānāṁ
pataye nāmo nāmo nishāṅgīṅe iṣudhīmtte taskaraṇāṁ pataye nāmo
nāmaḥ evrīkāyābhya (evrīkāiḥbhya, T. S.) jīgaṁsadbhyo mūṣhatte pataye
nāmo nāmo 'ṣimadbhyo nakttaṁ charadbhyo viṣkṛtānāṁ (prakṛtānāṁ,
T. S.) pataye nāmaḥ | 22. Namaṁ uṣājīna paṁkarāyā kulunahānāṁ
pataye nāmo nāmaṁ iṣumādadbhyo dhanaṁyābhyaṁcha va nāmo nāmaṁ utar-
vānēbhya pratidadhānebhyaṁcha vo nāmo nāmaṁ āyachāhābhyaṁ 'evadbhyāṁ-
cha vo nāmaḥ | 23. Namo visrījādadbhyo vishāyadbhaya cha va nāmo nāmaṁ

40 The Taitt. S. adds here utānaṁ viśā dhūtāni, “and all beings have seen him.”
40 The T. S. introduces here verse 13 of the Vāj. S.
41 The T. S. inserts the 14th verse here, and there are similar transpositions elsewhere.

**The T. S. adds here nemo dūtya cha prabhitāya cha.**
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53 The T. S. here adds, namaḥ ātāryāya cha ātātyāya cha.
54 The T. S. here adds, namaḥ āmīvaśatkebhyaḥ.
55 Instead of māhi gāt, the concluding words of the first half of the verse, as it stands in the R., the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā has aṣhyaḥ, "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

saahasāto, T. S.) ye Rudrāḥ adhi bhāmyām | teshām saahasā-yojane iva
dhanamām ivaam | 55. Asmin mahatya aryaśe antariksho Bhavaḥ adhi |
teshām ityādi | 56. Nilagrevedā śitikaṇṭhāh divam Rudrāḥ upāśritāḥ |
teshām ityādi | 57. Nilagrivedā śitikaṇṭhāh Sarvaḥ adhaḥ kshamācharāḥ |
teshām ityādi | 58. Ye śrikaḥseno hahpinjaraḥ nilagrevedā vihośitaḥ |
teshām ityādi | 59. Ye bhātanām adhipatayo viśaṅkāḥ kapatindāḥ |
teshām ityādi | 60. Ye pathām pathirakshasaḥ (pathirakshayo, T. S.)
aśabρidāḥ aśuṣyataḥ (aṣuṣyāt, T. S.) | teshām ityādi | 61. Ye
tirthāni pracharantī śrīkaṇṭhāḥ (śrikaṇṭho, T. S.) niḥṣaṅgīṇāḥ | teshām
ityādi | 62. Ye annēsu viśādyaṃ pātṛshu pibato jānān | teshām ityādi |
63. Ye stāvantaścāḥ bhāyāmāḥ ca δīśe Rudrāḥ vitasthīre | teshām
ityādi | 64. Namo 'stu Rudrebhaya ye dīvi yesaṃ ॥
varaham ishavāḥ |
tebhyo dasa práchitr dasa daksināḥ dasa pratikhir dasa udāchir dasa
urdhvaḥ | tebhyo mamo astu te no avantu te no mṛddhayantu te yam ċechma
yaḥ ca no devaśī tam eshaṃ (vo, T. S.) jambha dadhmaḥ (dadhāmī, T. S.)
65. Namo 'stu Rudrebhaya ye antariksho yehaṁ vātāḥ ishavāḥ | tebhyo
dasa ityādi | 66. Namo 'stu Rudrebhaya ye prākhyaṁ yehaṁ annam
ishavaḥ | tebhyo dasa ityādi |

"Reverence, Rudra, to thy wrath, and to thy arrow. Reverence to
both thy arms. 2. Shine upon us, dweller in the mountains, with that
blessed body of thine which is auspicious, not terrible, and which does
not betoken harm. 3. The arrow, O dweller in the mountains, which
thou bearest in thy hand to discharge, make it, O lord of the mountains,
auspicious; do not alay 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 Yātudhāṅs (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

54 The T. S. inserts here the words annam oṁaḥ.
55 Compare the passage quoted from the Mahābhārata, above, p. 204, near the foot.
56 "Persons who are destined of initiation in Vedic rites" (Vedokta-saṁśākara-
Śiṅgāḥ).—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 innocuous charioteer, to the lord of the forests, (19) to the red architect, to the lord of trees, to the being who stretches out the worlds, who affords deliverance, to the lord of plants, to the observant merchant, to the lord of bushes, to the loud-shouting lord of foot-soldiers who causes his foes to shriek, (20) to him who runs in full stretch, to the lord of spirits, to the conqueror, to the piercer, to the lord of armies which wound, to the towering wielder of a sword, to the lord of thieves, to the robber,

This, Weber thinks, must originally have meant "the lord of sacrificial victims."

On this the Commentator has the following apologetic remarks: Rudro illayā chorūdi-rūpaṁ dhatte | yadev Rudraya jagad-ātmakateśō choruḍaye Rudrāḥ eva dhayāḥ | yadev stūmā-śarīrā jīvētvara-rūpeṇa Rudrō devīdāṁ tiṣṭhati | tatra jīva-rūpaṁ stūmā-śabda-vachyāḥ | tad īśvara-rudra-rūpaṁ lakṣhayati | yathā tākhā-gram chaṁḍrayaṁ lakṣahakam | kim bhunā | lakṣyaṁ-rūtra-vivakṣhayā mantreṣu laukikāḥ śabdaḥ prayuktāḥ | "Rudra in sport assumes the forms of thieves and such like persons. Or, since Rudra is the soul of the world, thieves, etc., are to be thought of as being Rudras. Or, Rudra abides in two ways, as life and as lord, in the bodies of thieves, etc. Then his character as life is denoted by the words thieves, etc.; and that points to his character as Rudra the lord, just as the end of a branch points to the moon. But why enlarge further? Common words are employed in the sacred texts to intimate the sense which is pointed to."
to the prowler, to the lord of woods, (21) to the cheater, to the deceiver, to the lord of pilferers, to the bearer of the sword and quiver, to the lord of robbers, to those armed with thunderbolts, 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 Punjiṣṭhhas, 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 Sarva, to Paśupati, to Nilagrīva, and to

61 Prof. Weber has the following note on verse 28 of his translation of the Sātra-rudriya in his Indische Studien, ii. 37: “Bhava is variously explained, sometimes as the ‘existent,’ ‘eternal’ (bhavatya eva na kadācid api na bhavat), sometimes as the producer of everything (bhavatya āmin sarvam), so that according to the latter explanation he is the exact opposite of ‘S’arva,’ the destroyer: and possibly the term (Bhava) has been formed with the view of propitiating the terrible god by a favourable name. When both words appear in verses 55 and 57 as additional names of the Rudras, they are no doubt transferred to them from their master, since the name Bhava in particular will not apply well to them. According to the S’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 Bāḥikas, and S’arva the one prevailing among the Prāchyas (and so among the Kośāla-vidēhas, for example). As we meet with the word S’arva in the well-known passage of the Vendidad, Pargard x., p. 342;” (S’arva in the Zend, see Spiegel’s translation, p. 176, and his Commentary, i., p. 285, and Justi’s Handbuch s.v.) “we should rather have expected that S’arva would have
Sitikantha, (29) to him with the braided hair, and to him with the shaven hair, to him with a thousand eyes, to him with a hundred bows, to the dweller in the mountains, to Sipivishta, to the most bountiful, to him who has arrows, (30) to the short, and to the dwarf, to the great, and to him who has arrived at a mature age, to the old, to the coetaneous, to the chief, and to the first, (31) to the swift (or pervader), and to the moving, to him who abides in the swift, and in the flowing waters, and to him who dwells in billows, and in tranquil waters, and in rivers, and on islands, (32) to the eldest, and to the youngest, to the first-born, and to the last-born, to the middlemost, to him who is not full-grown, to the lowest, to him who exists at the roots of trees, (33) to him who lives in the magical city Sobha (?), to him who exists in incantations, to him who exists in punishment, and in prosperity, to the renowned, to the endmost, to him who exists in the soil, and in the threshing floor, (34) in the woods and in the bushes, in the form of sound, and in echo, to him who has fleet armies and swift chariote, to the hero, and to the splitter, (35) to the helmeted, to him with cotton-quilted cuirass, with iron mail, and with armour, to him who is renowned and has a renowned army, to him who exists in drums, and in resounding blows, (36) to the impetuous, to the assailant, to the bearer of a sword and a quiver, who carries swift arrows, who wields weapons, and has excellent weapons and a good bow, (37) to him who dwells in pathways, and roads, and rough (or desert) places, and the skirts of mountains, and watercourses, and lakes, and rivers, and ponds, (38) and in wells, and pits, and in bright clouds, and in sunshine, in clouds, in lightning, in rain, in fair weather, (39) in wind, in storm, to the dweller in houses, to the protector of houses, to Soma, and to Rudra, to the copper-coloured, to the ruddy, (40) to the bringer of prosperity, to Pasupati, to the fierce (ugra) and the terrible, to him who kills in

been the name current among the 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 credible, 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. Bhūvāravau asyatām pāpakrīte devahati." This text is quoted a few pages further on.

23 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 pro-
sperity, to the source of happiness, to the causer of prosperity (śakra-
vṛya), to the causer of happiness, to the suspicious (śiva) and the very
suspicious, (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 63 places, to the god with spirally-
braided hair, to him with smooth hair, 64 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 afflieter, to you who make arrows and who make bows, to you the
sprinklers, to the hearts of the gods, 65 to the discerners, to the destroy-
ers, and to the indestructible. 47. O thou who chasest away, who art
lord of the soma-juice, who art poor, 66 who art blue and red, do not
crush, do not destroy 67 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, 68

63 Or, "in a place with still water."—Comm.
64 This is the rendering of Bühlingk and Roth. See Weber's Ind. Stud., ii. 41,
note. The Commentator on the Vāj. S. gives the following alternative explanation:
"Pulastaye agre tīchṭhaṁ pulastik . . . yadeū pūrṣhu sarvanukṣaṁ satīṁ satā yasya
sa pulaśtiḥ sarvaṁtyuṁī."
65 Agni, Vāyu, and Āditya are meant, according to the Commentator, and the
Ś'atap. Br. ix. 1, 1, 23.
66 Daridra. The Commentator explains this as meaning "without any connexion
with others, from being without a second" (mishparigrahe devīyataeśa). Prof. Roth
(Lexicon) proposes to render the word by "roving about," and Prof. Weber by
"splitter."
67 Mē bher mā rok. See Bühlingk and Roth, s.v. ruś, where dheś is said to come
from dhid, not dhā.
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,20 of whom rain is the arrows. To them [I hold out] ten [fingers] to the east,21 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.

20 The T. S. inserts here, "whose food is the wind."
21 Prāgabhīmukhāḥ anyulaḥ kurve iti śeṣaḥ | . . . anjalim baddhau sarva-dikṣau namaskaromi | Comm.
SECT. III.—Passages relating to Rudra, Bhava, Sarva, etc., from the Atharvaveda.

A. V. ii. 27, 6.—Rudra jalāsha-bhasaja nīla-tikhaṇḍa karma-krita | praśaṁ pratipraśa jahi arasaṁ kriṇu 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-Sarveu manvo vām asya vittam yah vām idam prādiṣi yah virodhate | yah asyaśtha dvipada yau chatushpadas tau no munchatam aṁharaḥ | 2. yahor abhyadhv uṣa yah bāro chīdh yau viśītav ishubhrītam asisīθau | yāv— | 3. sahasrākehaḥ evārahaḥ hvaḥ āham dāreṇavāyūtī stuvam om yugrah | yāv— | 4. yāv āreḥbāt bahu sākam agra pra ched aṣṭham abhiḥāṁ janeshu | yāv— | 5. yahor vahād nāpaṇāya caṣānaḥ antar deveḥāṁ māṇunahaḥ | yāv— | 6. yah kṛityā-kriḍa mūla-kriḍa yātudhāno ni taṁmin dhattam vajrama yugrah | yāv— | 7. aḍhi no bratam pṛitānāṁ yugrah saṁ vajrama evaḥatam yah kimāstāḥ? | 8. staṇmi Bhava-Sarveu nāthito johavimī tau no munchatam aṁharaḥ |

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 Sarva; distressed I again and again invoke you; deliver us from calamity.”

71 Yāska explains this word thus, Nirukta, vi. 11: Kim idāṁṁ iti charate kim idāṁ kim idam iti vā pūrūṇya charate |
A. V. v. 21, 11.—Yaśam ugrāḥ Marutaḥ Priśni-mātaraḥ Indreṇa
yuvā pra mṛgaṁ katuṁ | Some rāja Varuṇa rāja mahādevaṁ uṣa mṛityur
Indraḥ | “Do ye, fierce Maruta, 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 mṛgaṁ saṁvijnante a放弃了 puṣhād adhi | . . . 5. Yathā vṛṣkād ajāvoyo dhāvanti bahu bibhyastīḥ | . . . 6.
Yathā śyenāt patatirñah saṁvijnante akar divi. . . .]
A. V. vi. 93, 1.—Yamo Mṛtyur aghamātō nirṛtho bahruḥ Sarva
śeta nila-sīkhanḍaḥ | dva-jaṇah senayā uttasthivāṁsas te apiśācam pari
vijanantū virān | 2. Manasaḥ homair harasā ghṛtasya Sarvāyastra uṣa
rajas Bhavāya | namsayebhyo namaḥ abhyāḥ kṛṣnym anyatra aṃsa
aghacīśaḥ nayantū | “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 re-
verence; let them carry their deadly poisons to others than us.”
In A. V. vii. 141, 1, Rudrā is mentioned along with Vāyu, Tvāṣṭrī,
and Indra (Rudro bhūmā chikṣaṁ).  
A. V. vii. 87, 1.—Yo Aṅgau Budro yo apez antar yath oṣadhit vīru-
dhāḥ āviveśa | yath imā vīvā bhuvanāni chākṣipes tasmai Budrāya nama
auste Aṅgau | “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. vii. 2, 7.— . . . Bhavā-sarvau mṛgaṁ kharma yaḥkhatam
apasiḥya duritam dhətīn ayuḥ | . . . . “Bhava and Sarva, be
gracious, give protection; removing calamity, give life.”
A. V. viii. 5, 10.—Aṃsi maṃsi varma badhantu devaḥ Indro Viś-
guḥ Savitṛ Rudro Agniḥ | ityādi | “May the gods, Indra, Viṣñu,
Savitṛ, Rudra, Agni, bind on him the jewel as a protection,” etc.

72 See the translation of the entire hymn, in which this half verse occurs, in the
fifth volume of this work, p. 446 ff.
A. V. ix. 7, 7.—Mitra cha Varuṇaḥ cha ātmavu Tvasṭāḥ cha Aryama cha dushṣṭaḥ Mahādeva bāḥu | "Mitra and Varuṇa are the shoulders, Tvasṭā and Aryaman the fore-arms, and Mahādeva the two arms."

A. V. x. 1, 23.—Bhava-sarvān asyatām pāśa-krito krīyā-krito dvi-krito viṇyataṁ deva-hatim | "Let Bhava and Sarva launch the lightning, the bolt of the gods, against the doer of wickedness, against him who employs sorcery, against the evil doer." (See Weber’s Ind. Studien, ii. 37, note, quoted above in p. 328 f.)


78 In Böhltingk 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.
17. Saharakaḥ sam apahyam purastād Rudram aṣṭam bahuḥ viptā 
thītam | mā upāraṁ jiḥayā tyāmānam | 18. Sīyakāvān kṛshaṇam aṣṭam 
marṣaṁ ratam kṣiṁaṁ pādayantam | pāruḥ prattmo 
aṇo astu aṣṭai | 19. Mā no śuḥ erāḥ mahāṁ deva-ketim mā naḥ kru-
dhaḥ Paśupate namas te | anyatra aṣṭam diyaṁ kākhaṁ vi dhānu | 
20. Mā no hiṁsārd adhi no brāhi pari no vṛindām mā kruḍhaḥ | mā tvayā 
samaṁaṁahi | 21. Mā no goṣṭi purushospel mā gṛīhno no ajāvishu | 
anyatraḥ vi varṣaya piyāraṁ prajāṁ jahi | 22. Yasya taksā 
āśikā heti kacem ākṣaya eva vṛiṣṭhaḥ kṛśnaṁ eti | abhipūraṁ nirṇayate 
namo astu aṣṭai | 23. Yo antariksha tiṣṭhāti visṭaṁbhitro aṣṭacaraṇāḥ 
purviṇaṁ deiva-piyaṁ | tasmai nāma daśaṁ śaṅkaraṁ kṛīdhi | 24. Tukhyam 
āruṣaḥ paśavo prīgaṁ vane hiṣṭaḥ kanāśaḥ suvārṇaṁ takunāṁ voyāmēi 
īsā yākṣaṁ Paśupate aṣṭaṁ antas tukhyam kṣaraṁti diyaṁ apā vṛiḍho | 
25. Śiśaṁmāraḥ ajagaroḥ purikṣaṁ jākaṁ mahāyāḥ rajasāḥ yevaḥ 
asyai | na te dāraṁ na pariṣṭhā 'eti te Bhava sadyaḥ sarvaṁ pari 
palaya bhāmim pūreṣaṁ mā saccaḥ uttarasmin samudre | 26. Mā no 
Rudra takṣanā mā viśeṣa mā naḥ saṁ erāḥ diyaṁagninā | anya-
trāśadām vidyutaṁ pādayaitam | 27. Bhava dvo Bhavaḥ te prāhīyaḥ 
Bhavaḥ a papaḥ uru antarikśaṁ | tasya nāma yatamasyāṁ dīṣṭaḥ | 
28. Bhava rajaṁ yajamāṇaṁ mṛga paśuṁ hi paśupatir badhū 
the | yaḥ śraddhāḥ santi devāḥ etsi chatvāhade devaṁ aṣṭa mṛga | 
29 (—R.V. i. 114, 7). Mā no mahāṃta māna pāvaḥ kām mā 
naḥ vahamā uṭa mā no vākhyātaḥ mā no hiṁsā pītaṁ mātrasaṁ 
cha evāṁ tangaḥ Rudra mā rīrīko naḥ | 30. Rudrasyaśaśa-kārebhya 
aṃekaṭa-gulēbhyaḥ | idam mahāyebhyaḥ kṛśnaḥ akaraṁ nāmaḥ | 
31. Namāś te ghoshīṣṭhyo namāś te keśinībhyaḥ | nāmo namaskṛitaṁbhya 
namāḥ sambhunjatībhyaḥ | namāś te deva senābhyaḥ evasi no abhayaṁ 
cha naḥ | 32.

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, 
to thy greedy black flies, lord of beasts; let not thy birds get us to 
devour. 3. We offer reverence to thy shout, to thy breath, and to 
thy arrows, Bhava, and, O immortal Rudra, 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 pursueth after the adversary who lurks and seeks to overcome thee, Rudra, as a man tracking the steps of a wounded [animal]. 14. Bhava and Rudra, who are always united and concordant, both fierce, ye advance to [deeds of] heroism. Reverence be to them twain in whatever direction they are from hence. 15. Reverence to thee coming, and to thee departing; reverence to thee, Rudra, standing, and to thee sitting. 16. Reverence in the evening, in the morning, by night and by day: I have offered reverence to Bhava, and to Sarva, both of them. 17. Let us not with our tongue offend Rudra, who rushes on, thousand-eyed, viewing all the world, who hurls his shafts in our presence, and who is manifoldly 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 Ardhaka or Antaka. See Rāmāyana, Aranyaka Kanda 30, 27, which is quoted in the Appendix.
75 Meissner, Böhtlingk and Roth assign to pada-ni the sense of “guide.”
76 Böhtlingk and Roth make Keśin an epithet of Rudra: see s.c.
not hurl at us thy club,  thy celestial bolt: be not incensed at us, Paśupati; reverence be to thee. Brandish thy celestial weapon  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 śakvar 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  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, puri-kayas, sea-monsters, fishes, rajassas,  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 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. 29 ( = R.V. i. 114, 7). Slay neither our great nor our small, neither who is growing nor those who are to grow,  

77 A. V. viii. 8, 11.—Trīṣeṭhū evaṁ maṁayam Bhavasya | “May the club of Bhava crush them.”

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

79 In the original, suparnāḥ lakunāḥ evāṁśi.

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 vah, when conjugated in the ātmane pada with a nasal, vahhate. He says, however, that in this sense the root is more properly bah, bahāhate. If the verb be so understood in this passage, the meaning will be the same as that which, on the authority of Messrs. Böhtlingk 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·tarvāo idam brāmo Rudram Paśupatiḥ cha yah | iṣṭār yah osahm saṁvi|mām tāh nāḥ santu sādā śivah | “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 enāḥ avasām āha devanāṁ nihitaṁ nīdhīṁ | udbhau tasmāi Bhava·tarvau 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, 26.—So’ryamā sa Varuṇaḥ sa Rudrāḥ sa Mahādevaḥ | 26. Sa Rudro vasuvaṇaṁ vasudevaṁ naṃvāka vasaḥkāraḥ ‘nu saṁhitāḥ | 27. Tasyaṁ sarva yātaḥ uṣpa prashīmaṁ āsate | 28. Tasyāmū sarva rukṣaḥ hāraḥ veko chandramasā 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 ‘vasaḥkāra’ 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 prāchyāḥ diśo antar·deśād Bhavam iśvāsan anuṣṭhātaḥ āraṁ akurvan | Bhavaḥ enām iśvāsam prāchyāḥ diśo antar·deśād anuṣṭhātaḥ ‘nutishthati | naināṁ Sarvo na Bhavo na Īsáno na asya paśun na samanān hinaşi yaḥ evam veda | 2. Tasmai dakeṣṭiṇyāḥ diśo antardeṣāḥ oḥharvaṃ iśvāsaṃ iṣṭyādi | 3. Tasmai pratishyāḥ diśo antar·deśād Paśupatim iṣṭyādi | 4. Tasmai udihyāḥ diśo antar·deśād ugraṁ devam iṣṭyādi | 5. Tasmai dhruvāyāḥ diśo antar·deśād Rudram iṣṭyādi | 6. Tasmai ur·dheyaḥ diśo antar·deśād Mahādevam iṣṭyādi | 7. Tasmai sarvebhyo antar·deśāh yām iṣṭyādi | “[The gods] made Bhava the archer [to be] to him (the Vṛtya) 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 Īsāna slays either him who knows this, or his cattle, or his kindred.
2. [The gods] made Sarva the archer [to be] his deliverer from the intermediate space of the southern region, etc. 3. [The gods] made Paśupati the archer [to be] his deliverer from the intermediate space of the western region, etc. 4. [The gods] made the god Ugra, etc. (as above), of the northern region, etc. 5. [The gods] made Rudra, etc. (as above), of the lower region, etc. 6. [The gods] made Mahādeva, etc. (as above), of the upper region, etc. 7. [The gods] made Iśāna the archer [to be] his deliverer from all the intermediate regions,” etc.

Skt. IV.—Passages relating to Rudra from the Sātapatra and Sānkhyayana Brāhmaṇa.

In the following text (which has been already quoted in the second volume of this work, p. 202) Rudra is identified with Agni:

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 7, 3, 8.—Agnir vai sa devaḥ tasya etāṁ nāmāṁ Sarvaḥ iti yathā prāchayāḥ acahaṅkayo Bhavaḥ iti yathā Bāḥkāḥ Paśuṁ patiḥ Rudrā 'gnir iti | tāṁ asya aśāntasya eva itāṁ nāmāṁ | Agnir ity eva kāntatamāṁ | “Agni is a god. These are his names: Sarva, as the eastern people call him,86 Bhava, as the Bāhikas, Paśu-nāmpati (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.”87

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

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, 6, 1, 3, 7 ff.—Abhūd vai iyam pratiśthā iti | tad bhūmira bhavit | tāṁ aprathayat sa prithivy abhavit | tasyaḥ asyaṃ pratiśthāyaṃ bhūtāni bhūtanācha patiḥ saṁvatsaraya adākṣhanta | bhūtanām patiḥ griha-patiḥ astā Ushāḥ patiḥ | 8. Vud yāni tāṁ bhūtani pitavas te | atha yaḥ sa bhūtanām patiḥ saṁvatsaraḥ saḥ | atha yaḥ sa Ushāḥ patny aushasi sā | tāṁ imāni bhūtāni cha bhūtanācha patiḥ saṁvatsaraḥ Ushāhi reto 'vinchan | sa saṁvatsaraḥ kumāra 'jāyata | so 'rodit | 9. Tam Prapātari 'bravat “kumāra kim rodishi yath ohramat

86 On this the commentator remarks (p. 124 of Weber's edition): Prāchayāḥ-dētaḥ-bhedena Sarvādī-śūma-bhedo 'pi devaḥ ekā eva | “Though, owing to the difference of countries, there is a difference of names, as Sarva, etc., still the god is but one.”
87 See the note translated from Weber's Indische Studien above in p. 328.
tapaso 'dhi jāto 'si" iti | so 'bravij "anapahata-pāṃmā vai asmy ahita- nāmā nāma me dāheī" iti | tamāt putrasya jātasya nāma kuryāt pāṃmā- mam eva asya tad aparanty api dvityam api śrītyam abhipūrvan eva asya tat pāṃmānam aparanti | 10. Tam abravit Rudrā 'si iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod Agnis tad-rūpam abhavat | Agnir vai Rudrāḥ | yad arodit tamād Rudrāḥ | so 'bravij "jāyān vai asato 'smi dāheī eva me nāma" iti | 11. Tam abravit "Sarvo 'si" iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod āpas tad-rūpam abhavan | āpo vai Sarvāḥ | addhīyō hi idaṁ sarvaṁ jāyate | so 'bravij "jāyān vai asato 'smi dāheī eva me nāma" iti | 12. Tam abravit Paśupatir asī iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod oshadhayas tad-rūpam abhavan | oshadhayo vai Paśupatir tamād yadā paśavaḥ oshadhir labhante 'tha patiyanti | so 'bravij "jāyān vai asato 'smi dāheī eva me nāma" iti | 13. Tam abravit Ugro 'si iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod Vāyus tad-rūpam abhavat | Vāyur vai Ugras tamād yadā balavad vāty "Ugro vāti" ity dhuḥ | so 'bravij "jāyān vai asato 'smi dāheī eva me nāma" iti | 14. Tam abravit "Āsanir asī" iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarat vidyut tad-rūpam abhavat | vidyut vai Āsanis tasmād yaṁ vidyud hanyt "Āsanir abadhiḥ" ity dhuḥ | so 'bravij "jāyān vai asato 'smi dāheī eva me nāma" iti | 15. Tam abravit "Bhavo 'si" iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarat Par- janyas tad-rūpam abhavat | Purjanyo vai Bhavah | Purjanyād hi idaṁ sar- vam bhavati | so 'bravij "jāyān vai asato 'smi dāheī eva me nāma" iti | 16. Tam abravit "Mahān devo 'si" iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akaroch chandramās tad-rūpam abhavat | Prajāpatir vai chandramāḥ Prajāpatir vai mahān devaḥ | so 'bravij "jāyān vai asato 'smi dāheī eva me nāma" iti | 17. Tam abravit "Īśano 'si" iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod Ādityas tad-rūpam abhavat | Ādityo vai Īśanaḥ Ādityo hy asya sarvasya īṣṭaḥ | so 'bravij "stāvān vai asmi mā mā itāḥ paro nāma dāheḥ" iti | 18. Tāty ēty āty āṁśāv Agni-rūpāṇi Kumāro navamaḥ | sa eva Agnem ēri- cīrtāḥ | 19. Yd vai iva āśťāvo Agni-rūpāṇy ashtākharī gāyatrī tasmād āhur "gāyatro 'gir" iti | so 'yaṁ kumāro rūpāṇy anuprāviśat | na vai Agniṁ kumāram iva paśyanty ētyān eva asya rūpāṇi paśyanty ētyān hi rūpāṇi prāviśat |

"This foundation existed. It became the earth (bhūmi). He extended it (aprathyar). It became the broad one (prthikṣet). On this foundation beings, and the lord of beings, consecrated themselves for the year (samvatara). 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 Aushaśi (the
dughter 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.' Therefore 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 suc-
cession: that takes away his evil. 10. Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou
art Rudra.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Agni became his
form, for Rudra is Agni. He was Rudra because he wept (arodit
from rud, 'to weep'). The boy said, 'I am greater than one who
does not exist: give me a name.' 11. Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art
Sarva.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, the waters became
his form, for Sarva (All) is the waters, because all this is produced
from the waters (see above, p. 24 f.). The boy said, 'I am greater
than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 12. Prajāpati replied,
'Thou art 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,

66 I am unable to explain how Ushas, the dawn, is identified with her own off-
spring, Aushaśi; or how the 'lord of beings'—the Year, consecrated himself for
the year.
68 The name Kumāra, Weber remarks (Indische Studien, ii. 302, 396), is applied
to Agni in Rig-veda, v. 2, 1.
67 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:—Devasurāh saṁyatiḥ āhān | te devāh viṣyām upa-
yanto 'gnaum viśmaṁ vaisa samnyadadhata “idam u no bhāishyati yadi no jeshyanī”
iti | tad Agnir nyakāmayata | tena apiṇkramat | tad devāh viṣyām avarūtāmānāṁ
āveśya | tad asya sahasā ṛtisantā | sa rodiṁ | yad ardit tad Rudraya Rudratvam |
"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."
68 The origin of this name may perhaps be found in Rig-veda, x. 61, 19, where
these words occur: Iyam me nāhīṁ tha me sadasthām ime me devāh ayaṁ aṁi
Sarvaḥ | devāḥ aha prasthamaṁ jīṁ riteva idaṁ dhemur adharm jīyamāṁ | "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. Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Ugra.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Vāyu (the Wind) became his form. For Ugra (or the 'Fierce') is Vāyu. Wherefore when it blows strongly, men say, 'Ugra blows.' The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 14. Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Āśani.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Vidyut (Lightning) became his form. For Āśani is Lightning. Hence they say that Āśani has struck a man whom lightning strikes. The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 15. Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Bhava.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Parjanya (the god of rain) became his form. For Bhava (Being) is Parjanya; because all this [universe] springs (bhaeati) from Parjanya. The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 16. Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Mahāndevaḥ (the 'Great god').' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Chandramas (the Moon) became his form. For the Moon is Prajāpati: the 'Great god' is Prajāpati. The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 17. Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Īśāna (the ruler).' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Āditya (the Sun) became his form. For Īśāna is the Sun, because he rules (śākte) 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 (trūrīta) of Agni. 19. Since there are, as it were, eight forms of Agni, [and] the gāyatrī metre has eight syllables, men say, 'Agni pertains to the gāyatrī.' This boy (Kumāra) entered into the forms. Men do not see Agni as a boy; it is these forms of his that they see; for he entered into these forms.'

This passage appears to be the original from which the story of the birth of Rudra in the Purāṇas is borrowed. That legend, as given in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (in nearly the same words as in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa), is as follows:

The same words occur in the Taît. S. ii. 2, 5, 5; and the Taît. Br. i. 1, 5, 3. The Commentator on the latter passage says: Agner mukha-jate nma gāyatrī-sambandha-ktaam | "Agni's connexion with the Gāyatrī arises from his having sprung from the mouth."
TEXTS FROM THE MĀRK. PUR. AND SĀŃKH. BR. 343

Mārk. Pur. Sect. 52, 2 ff.—Kalpayā vātmanas tulyāṁ sutam prādhīyāyaḥ prabhuḥ | 3. Prādūr-āśīdh athāṅke 'yā kumāro nila-lohitah | ruroda suṣūracām so 'tha dravaśāḥ cha doṣa-sattama | kiṁ roṣedhitī tam Brahmā rudantam pratyvaccha ha | nāma dehitī taṁ so 'tha pratyvāccha jāgat-patim | Rudras tvam āvaśa nāma 'si mā roṣī dhairyaṁ āvaśa | evam uktas tataḥ so 'tha sampūrṇaṁ ruroda ha | tato 'nyāni dadau tas- mai sampā nāmaṁ vai prabhuḥ | sthanāni chaishāṁ ashītāṁ patniṁ putrāṁ cha vai doṣa | Bhavaṁ Sarvasm ātmaṁ tathā Pāsupatim prabhuḥ | Bhīmam Ugram Mahādevam uvāca sa Pīṭamahāḥ |

"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, (8) 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.' [Brahmā rejoined], 'Thou, O deity, art called Rudra; do not weep; be patient.' Being thus addressed, [the boy] wept again seven times. Then the lord gave him seven other names, and the places of these eight, and wives and sons. The Progenitor (Brahmā) called him [besides Rudra] Bhava, Sarva, Īśāna, Pāsupati, Bhīma, Ugra, Mahādeva."

These names (except Bhīma, which is substituted for Āśani) are the same as those in the Brāhmaṇa. The same legend is given in a somewhat different form in the Sāṁkhāyana or Kaushitaki 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 Sāṁkhāyana in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Sāṁkhāyana Brāhmaṇa, vi. i. etc.—Prayāpateḥ prayāti-kāmas tapo 'tupaya | tasmā taptāḥ pancha ajāyanta Agnir Vāyuḥ Ādityaḥ Chandra- māḥ Ushāḥ panchamāḥ | tāṁ abrasid "yuyam api tayyadhvaṁ" | te 'dikṣhanta | tāṁ dikṣhitaṁ tepānām Ushāḥ prayāpatyā 'ṛṣeṇaṁ-rūṣaṁ kṛitā purastāḥ pratyādait | tasyāṁ evāṁ manaḥ samapatāt | te raī "eṇchanta" | To prayāpateḥ pīlām etyā abruva "retō vai asichāmahai idam no mā amyā bhūd" iti | sa prayāpatir hiṃmayāṁ chomasam akarod ishu-mātraḥ ardhaṁ evam tiryācham | tāṁ mūt saṁsārinhataḥ | tataḥ udāsiḥhat sahaśrākṣaḥ sahaśrāpāt sahaśrenga prātiṣhāṭhīḥ | 2. Sa prayāpateḥ pīlām abhyāyadhvaḥ | tāṁ abraśvid "kathā mā 'bhya-
yadhasi’ iti | “nāma me kuru” ity abravā “na vai idam avikṣitena
nāmaś annam ateyāmi” iti | “sa vai tvam” ity abravā “Bhavaḥ eva”
iti yaḥ Bhavaḥ āpas | tena na ha vai evam Bhavaḥ hinaṭi na asya
prajām na asya paśuḥ na asya brvānaḥ chana | atha yaḥ enaṁ dveṣṭi
sa eva pāpiyāṁ bhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | tasya vratam aṁ tm eva
vāsaḥ paridadhita iti | 3. Taṁ devīyam abhāyāyachhat tam abravīt |
“kathā ma abhāyāyachasi” iti | “devīyam me nāma kuru” ity abravīn
“na vai idam ekena nāmaḥ annam ateyāmi” iti | “sa vai tvam” iti
abravīh “Chharaḥ eva” iti yacḥ Chharaḥ ‘gniḥ | tena na ha vai enaṁ
Sarva hinaṭi na asya prajām na asya paśuḥ na asya brvānaḥ chana | 
atha yaḥ enaṁ dveṣṭi sa eva pāpiyāṁ bhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | 
tasya vratam sarcat eva na abhyād iti | 4. Taṁ tīrīyam abhāyāyachhat |
tam abravīt “kathā ma abhāyāyachasi” iti | “tīrīyam me nāma kuru”
ity abravīn “na vai idam dvabhyām nāmaḥbhyan annam ateyāmi” iti | 
“sa vai tvam” ity abravīt “Pāsupatir eva” iti yat Pāsupatir Vāyuḥ | tena
na ha vai enaṁ Pāsupatir hinaṭi na asya prajām na asya paśuḥ na asya
brvānaḥ chana | atha yaḥ enaṁ dveṣṭi sa eva pāpiyāṁ bhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | 
tasya vratam brahmaṁ eva na parivadeti iti | 5. Taṁ chaturtham abhāyāyachhat | tam abravīt “kathā ma bhāyāyachasi” iti | 
“chaturtham me nāma kuru” ity abravīt | “na vai idāṁ triḥbhir nāma-
bhir annam ateyāmi” iti | “sa vai tvam” ity abravīt “Ugrāḥ eva devaḥ”
iti yaḥ Ugrā devaḥ oṣhadhaya vanaspatayaḥ | tena na ha vai enaṁ Ugrā
devō hinaṭi na asya prajām na asya paśuḥ na asya brvānaḥ chana | 
atha yaḥ enaṁ dveṣṭi sa eva pāpiyāṁ bhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | 
tasya vratam striyāḥ eva vicaraṁ na tkeṣṭa iti | 6. Taṁ panchamam
abhāyāyachhat | tam abravīt “kathā ma bhāyāyachasi” iti | panchamam
me nāma kuru” ity abravīt | “na vai idāṁ caḥturthbhir nāmaḥbhir annam
ateyāmi” iti | “sa vai tvam” ity abravīn “Mahāṁ eva devaḥ” iti | yan
Mahāṁ devaḥ Adivyāḥ | Tena na ha vai enaṁ Mahāṁ devo hinaṭi na
asya prajām na asya paśuḥ na asya brvānaḥ chana | atha yaḥ enaṁ
dveṣṭi sa eva pāpiyāṁ bhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | tasya vratam
udyanam eva enaṁ na tkeṣṭa ataṁ yantaṁ cha iti | 7. Taṁ.sha-
śtham abhāyāyachhat tam abravīt “kathā ma abhāyāyachasi” iti | 
“shaśtham me nāma kuru” ity abravīt | “na vai idam panchabhir
nāmaṁbhir annam ateyāmi” iti | “sa vai tvam” ity abravīt “Rudraḥ eva”
iti yaḥ Rudraḥ Chandramāḥ | Tena na ha vai enaṁ Rudrō hinaṭi na
asya prajām na asya paśuḥ na asya brvānaḥ chana | atha yaḥ enaṁ
ACCORDING TO THE SÁNHAYANA BRÁHMAṆA.

дови sa eva pápiyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | tasya vratāṁ vimūrtam eva nāśīyām majjānāṁ cha iti

7. Tam saptamam abhyāyachhat | tam abravit "kathā mā 'bhīyāyakhasi" iti | "saptamam mē nāma kuru" ity abravit | "na vai idāṁ shaḍbhir nāmaḥ bhīr annam ateyāmi" iti | "sa vai teem" ity abravit "Īśānaḥ eva" iti yaḥ Īśāna ṃnaṁ | tena na ha vai enam Īśāna hiniṣṭa na asya praǰām na asya paśūn na asya brvāṇāṁ chana | atha yaḥ evaṁ doṣhī sa eva pápiyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | tasya vratāṁ annam eva ichhamānaṁ na pratyāhakṣita iti | 9. Tam ashtamam abhyāyachhat | tam abravit "kathā mā 'bhīyāyakhasi" iti | "ashtamam mē nāma kuru" ity abravin "na vai idāṁ saptabhir nāmaḥ bhīr annam ateyāmi" iti | "sa vai teem" ity abravit "Āśanir eva" iti yaḥ Āśanir Indraḥ | tena na ha vai enam Āśanir hiniṣṭa na asya praǰām na asya paśūn na asya brvāṇāṁ chana | atha yaḥ evaṁ doṣhī sa eva pápiyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | tasya vratāṁ satyam eva vadeḥ hiranyāṁ cha bibhṛiyād iti | sa uco 'shtanāmā 'shtadhā vihito Mahān devaḥ | a ha vai asya ashtamāt puruṣhāt praǰā 'ṇnāṁ ati vastyān vastyān ha eva asya praǰāyāṁ 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, Chandrāmas (Moon), and Uṣahas (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, Uṣahas, 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 Sarva 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 Brāhmaṇ. 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 artĪsāna,’ Prajāpati answered; for Īsāna is food. Wherefore Īsāna 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-
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 Asani,’ Prajapati answered; for Asani is Indra. Wherefore Asani 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 Satatudiya:

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, ix. 1, 1, 1—”Atha atāḥ satatudiyaṁ jukoti | atra esoh sarvo ’gnih samśkritaḥ | sa esho ’tṛa rudro devatāḥ | tasmaī devāḥ etad amṛitaṁ rūpam uttamam addhūḥ | sa esho ’tṛa dipyamāno ’tishṭhad annam ichhamānaḥ | tasmād devāḥ abibhayur “yad vac no ’yam na hiṁ- syād” iti | 2. Te ’brwann “annam asmāi sambharāma tena enam sāma- yāma” iti | tasmai etad annam samāharaṇāṁ sānta-devatyaṁ | tena enam akamayan | tad yad etāḥ devam etena asamayaṁ̄stasāṁh chhānta- devatyam | “sānta-devataṁ ha vai tach chhatarudiyaṁ” ity acaḥkṣate parokṣham | parokṣha-kāmaḥ hi devāḥ |

“He now offers an oblation with the Satatudiya. 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 ‘Śaṁta-devatya’ (‘that with which a god is appeased’). They call this ‘Śaṁta-devatya’ esoterically ‘Satat-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 Āsuras were fighting, when the former said to Agni, “We shall conquer with thee as our champion.” He said, “I shall transform myself into three parts.” He did so, Agni being one part, Rudra a second, and Varuṇa a third, etc (te devāḥ Āgniṁ abhrwam “tvayā viṛṇa Āsurān abhibhāvam” iti) sa ’bhrvam “trdhaḥ ātmānam evkarisyati” iti | sa trdhaḥ ātmānam evakuruta Āginiṁ tritiyaṁ Rudraṁ tritiyaṁ Varuṇaṁ tritiyaṁ iyādā).

92 Śaṁta-devatyaṁ śaṁta-devārtham devatā-śaṁty-artham | Comm.
On this the commentator remarks: *Vishnu* 'yaṁ homo Rudra-rāpatā-pannasya Agnora upāśamanāraham | “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:

Satarudra Brāhmaṇa, ix. 1, 1, 6 ff.—*Prayāpati* vierstād devataḥ udakrāmāṁ tam ekaḥ eva devo na ajahād Manyur eva | so 'śminn antar vilato 'tīṣṭhat | so 'rodit | tasya yāṇy abhrāṇi prāśkandehaṃ tāṇy asmin Manyuṇa pratyaisthan | sa eva bataśtrahā Rudrah samabhavaḥ sahasrākshah saḥsudhiḥ | aha yāḥ anyāḥ vipruha 'patam āa aumkhyaṅāḥ sahasrāṇi” imān lokān anuprāśeṣaḥ | tad yad ruditāt samabhavaṁ tasmād Rudrah | so 'yaṁ bataśtrahā Rudrah sahasrākshah saḥsudhī” adhiṣṭaya-danavā pratihāṭyā bhūṣhayamāṇo 'tīṣṭhat annam iktamānah | tasmād devaḥ abihayauḥ | 7. To Prayāpatim abruvaṇ | “asmad vai bhiḥīmo yad vai no 'yaṁ na hiṃsauḥ” iti | so 'bravaṇ “annam asmai sambharata tena enam samayata” iti | tasmai etad annam saṃbharaṃ Satarudriyaṁ tena enam asaṃayaṇ | tad yad etam bataśtrahānam Rudram etena asamaṇe tasmāḥ cāḥ bataśtrahā-sudhā-samayat | Satarudriyāṁ ha vai tat Satarudriyam ity acahaṅkate parokshaḥ | paroksha-kāmāḥ hi devaḥ iṣṭādi | . . . 14. “Namās te Rudra manyave” iti | yāḥ eva asmin so 'ntar Manyur vilato 'tīṣṭhat tasmāi etam namaskarote uta || te iṣṭave namā bāhubhyām uta te namāḥ” iti iṣṭav ā ha bāhubhyām cha bhūṣhayamāṇo 'tīṣṭhat |

6. “From Prayāpiti, when he had become enfeebled, the deities

33 In the Taitt. S. v. 4, 3, 1. it is said: Rudra vai eka yad Agniḥ | so stabhī viṣṭe yathā eva vato jāthā stanam prepastī caeśm vai eka stabhī bhāgadheyaṃ prepastī | tasmai yad 'ahātmā na jukyād adhvaryum cha yaṃjānaḥ cha adhyāyaḥ | Satarudriyāṁ jukoti bhāgadheyaṃ eva enaṃ samayati | na ćārta ni arcaha adhvaryum na yaṃjānaḥ | “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 adhvaryuṣ and the sacrificer. The Satarudriya is celebrated; and the priest quiets him with a share. So both adhvaryuṣ and sacrificer avoid injury.” The same work, v. 5, 7, 4, says similarly: Rudra vai eka yad Agniḥ | so yathā vyāghraḥ kruḍḍhās tīṣṭhāt evaṃ vai eka stabhī samāt advaitāḥ nasmākāraṇa eva enaṃ samayati | “This Agni is Rudra (or terrible). As a tiger stands raging, so does he now. The priest approaches with these [oblations] [the fire] that has been prepared [and kindled]; and quiets him with prostrations.

34 Compare Nir. i. 16, and Vāj. Sanh. 16, 64, above, 325.

35 Compare Vāj. Sanh. xvi. 13, above, p. 323.
departed. Only one god, Manyu, did not leave him, but continued extended within him. He (Prajñapati) 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 Prajñapati, 'We are afraid of this being, lest he destroy us.' Prajñapati said to them, 'Collect for him food, and with it appease him.' They collected for him this food, the ṣatarudriya, 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' (Sataśrava-rudra-kamantyam). This they esoterically call ṣatarudriya; 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, Yāṁ samāṁ Mahādevaḥ paśūṁ hanyāt ityādi | "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 paśūṁ vaśabhajante te Rudram antarāyāṇ | "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 Kārttikeya, however, which is narrated in the Vana-parvan of that poem, we find some trace of the early connexion of Rudra with Agni. We are there told that, after Skanda had been installed in his office of general of the gods (v. 14424), Mahādeva and Pārvatī arrived:

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Lassen (Ind. Ant. i. 588, note, 1st ed.=p. 701, 2nd ed.) observes that this legend differs from the one on the same subject in the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 38, and regards the former as a later interpolation in the Mahābhārata.
14427 ff.—Āgamyā manuṣya-vyāghra saha devaḥ paramapā | orhaya- yāmāsa suprīto bhagavān gopīrīśa-dhavāḥ | Rudram Agniḥ devāḥ prā-huḥ Rudra-sūnus tatas tu saḥ | Rudrasya tukrum uterishṭām tat śvetaḥ parvato 'bhavoḥ | Pāvakaayendriyāṁ svato kṛttikābhīṁ kṛitaṁ nage | pā- jyamānaṁ tu Rudrasya drīṣṭvā svavo āvaukasaḥ | Rudra-sūnus tataḥ prāhur Guhaṁ guṇacatāṁ varam | anupraviśya Rudrasya vahṁiṁ jāto hy ayaṁ śīthuḥ | tatra jātāṁ tataḥ Skando Rudra-sūnus tato 'bhavoḥ | Rudrasya Vahneḥ Śvāhāyaḥ śaṅgamāṁ strīṇāṁ cha Bhārata | jātāḥ Skandaḥ sura-bres̄ṭhāḥ Rudra-sūnus tato 'bhavoḥ |

"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 Kṛttikās on the white mountain. Having seen Guha (Kārttikeya) thus honoured by Rudra, all the deities consequently call him, who is the most excellent of the gifted, the son of Rudra. For this child was produced by Rudra when he had entered into Fire. Being there born, Skanda was the son of Rudra. Skanda, that most eminent deity, being born from Agni, [who was] Rudra, and from Śvāhā [and] the six wives [of the Rishis], was the son of Rudra."

The allusions in this passage will become more intelligible if I give an outline of the preceding part of the allegorical story, which commences with v. 14241. Indra being distressed at the defeat of the armies of the gods (deva-senā) by the Dānavas (v. 14245 ff.) is meditating on this subject, when he hears the cry of a female calling for help, and asking for a husband to protect her. Indra sees that she has been seized by the demon Keśin, with whom he remonstrates; but the demon hurls his club at Indra, who, however, splits it with his thunderbolt. Keśin is disabled in the next stage of their combat, and goes off. Indra then finds out from the female that her name is Devasenā (army of the gods), and that she has a sister called Daityasenā (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 Devasenā with him to Brāhmā and desires him to provide her with a martial husband; and Brāhmā promises that a helpmate of that description shall be born (14279 f.).
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. 1428):

_Nishkrāmāṁ cha ṣa apāyati sa patni teṣahā mahātmanām | svesāvāśramahāpaciṣṭāh svapantāḥ cha tatha sukham | suktma-sedii-mīḥaṁ "tāṁ tu chandra-lokahāṁ āvamāṅaḥ | hutāsanārchiṁ-pratimāṁ sarvāṁ tārāṁ ivād-bhuṭāḥ | sa tatra tena manasaś bahūva kshubhitendrīyaḥ | patnir drishtvā devendrāṇāṁ Vahniṁ kāma-vaśāṁ yavas | bhāyaḥ sa chintayāmāsa na nyāyaṁ kshubhito hy aham | sādhayaḥ patnyo devindrāṇāṁ akāmaṁ kāmayāmy aham | naitaṁ bakyāṁ mayā drasṭaṁ pradēṣṭaṁ vā 'py ani-mittataḥ | gārhapatyayā samāviṣya tasmāt pasyāmy abhiśkhaṇaś | saḥ-erpriśām eva sarvāṁ tāṁ śīkhabhīṁ kāṇchana-prabhāḥ | pāsyāmaṇā ca mamudre gārhapatyayā samāśritaḥ | nīrūṣhya tatra suchiram evaṁ Vahniṁ vaśāṁ gataḥ | manasā tāṁ viṁśhitah kāmayaṁ varāṅanāḥ | kāma- 

According to the Mahābhārata.

In Ṛāmāyana iii, 32, 5, Ṛāvana is described as _Rukma-sedii-gataṁ_, which the Commentator explains as _rukma-sedii prāptam Hiranvyaśṭaka-chitāṁ sedim prāptam_ "mounted on a platform of golden bricks."
pratikshante gamisyāmi Hulāsana | Mārkandeyaḥ uvācaḥ | tato īgnir
upayome tāṁ Sīrām prit ām mudda yutaḥ | prītya devī samāyuktā sukram
jagṛāha pāṇinā | achintayād māmātmāṃ ye rūpaṁ drakṣhyanti kānane | te
brāhmaṇāṁ an NUnitād doṣaṁ vakṛṣhyanti Pāvaka | tasmād etad raksā-
manā śrutiḥ sambhayāṃ aham | vanamā nirgamanāṁ chaiva sukham māma
bhavisyati | Suparnā sā tadā bhātte nīrjāgama mahāvanāt | opasya
parvataṁ śvetaṁ śaśa-śambhaśa śuṣeṣeṣeṣī | dreṣṭāsveṣī saptā-śrīrāṁ
guptam bhogidhir ad bhūtāḥ | rākṣobhīśa cha piśāchāḥ cha raudraṁ bhāta-
janais tathā | rākṣasāṁ bhaṣaṁ samāyam anekaśeṣaṁ mṛga-dveṣaṁ | sā
tatra sahasā gateva śaśa-śrīrāṁ saṁduṣyam | prākṣipataṁ kāṁcana
kundu śukram sā tvarītaṁ śubhā | saptānām api sā devī saptasrīnāṁ
mahātmāṁ | patni-satāpataṁ kriyā kāmavāmāsa Pāvakaṁ | dveṣa-
rūpam Arundhatyāḥ kartuṁ na bākitāṁ tayā | tasyāṁ tapaḥ-prabhāvena
bhārthuḥ suṣrūḥkānyāna ca | saṁkṣirītva tat tu niḥkshiptam Agnaṁ rataḥ
Kurāṭama | tasmin kundu pratipadī kāṁcana Svāhayaḥ tadā | tat skan-
naṁ tejasā tatra samvritiṁ jnanayā sutam | rishihīṁ pujītaṁ skannam
anayat Skandataṁ tataḥ | saṁ-gaṁbhrāṁ dvigna-kroto deḍaṁkṣeṣe-bhujā-
kramāḥ | aka-grivaśka-jātharaḥ kumāraḥ samapadyata | . . . . . .
v. 14514: Yadā Skandena māṭriṇāṁ evam etat priyāṁ kriyāṁ | ta-
thāinam abravit Svāhā “mama putras tvam aurasāḥ | iḥhāmy aham
tvayā dattāṁ pritīm parama-durlabhāṁ” | tāṁ abravit tataḥ Skandaḥ
pritīm iḥhāmi kāṁcita | Svāhā uvācha | Dakshāyām priyā kanyā
Svāhā nāma mahābhūjaḥ | bālāṁ prabhṛiti nityaṁ jata-kāmā Hulā-
sane | na sa mām kāminīṁ putra samag jānāti Pāvakaḥ | iḥhāmi
śāsvataṁ vāsaṁ vāstum puraṁ sahāgānaṁ | Skandaḥ uvācha | Havyaṁ
kavyaṁ yat kincidōvayāṁ manastra-saṁbutam | kṣananty Agyau
sada devī svāketu ukteva samuddhīlaṁ | adya prabhṛiti dasyanti svurītītāḥ
sat-pathe sthitāṁ | evam Agnī tvayā sārdaṁ sadā vatsayati sābhaṁ | Mārkandeyaḥ uvācha | evam uktā tataḥ Svāhā tustāt Skandena pujītaḥ
Pāvakaṁ samāyuktā bhartra Skandāṁ opūjayat | tato Brahma Mahā-
śeṣam Prajāpatir athābhravit | abhigachha Mahādevam pilarṣaṁ tripurār-
danam | Rudrāagnīṁ samāviṣya svāhāṁ āviṣya chanoyā | hitārtham
sarva-lokānaṁ jātāṁ tvame parājītaḥ |

“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 Sivā, 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, Sivā, 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?' Sivā 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, Hutaśana (Agni).’ Agni then with joy embraced the delighted Sivā. 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 Garuḍi; and thus my egress from the wood will
BIRTH OF KĀRTTIKEYA.

become easy. She then, becoming Suparnā, 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 Rākshasas, Piśāchās, and by hosts of Rudra's demons, filled with Rakshasa, 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 Vasishṭha), 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 rishī' 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 (swarga). 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 vexter of
Quotation from the Svetâsvatara Upanishad.

Tripura. Thou unconquered hast been produced for the good of all worlds by Rudra who had entered into Agni, and Umâ who had entered into Svâhâ."

Sect. V.—Passages relating to Rudra in the Upanishads.

To the preceding passages, descriptive of Rudra, from the Brâhmaṇas, I shall now subjoin a few of a different character from the Upanishads.

The first is from the Svetâsvatara Upanishad (Bibliotheca Indica, vol. vii., pp. 323 ff.):

Svetâsvatara Upanishad, iii. 1 ff.—"Yaḥ eko jñâvān tâta tiṁbhiḥ sarvān lokān tâta tiṁbhiḥ | yaḥ eva ekaḥ udâhave sambhavaḥ cha yo etad vidur anrîṣṭa te bhavanti 2. Eko hi Rudro na devîtîya yaḥ tâsthuḥ" yaḥ imán lokān tâta tiṁbhiḥ | pratyañ janāmān tiśṭhiti sanchukopânta-kâle 3. saṁârjîya viśvâ bhuvaṇānî goptaḥ | 3. (B.V. x. 81, 3, above, p. 5.) Viśvata-sâkhâh uta viśvato-mukho viśvato-bâhur uta viśvatas-pat | sam bâhubhyâm dharmat eva patatrair dyâvâbhâmâm (sic) janayan devâh ekaḥ| 4. Yo devâvân prabhavaḥ chodâvavaḥ cha viśvâhîpio Rudro mahârshiḥ | Hiranyagarbhaṁ janayâmâsa pûrvam 100 na no buddhyâ subhâyâ sam-yunaktu | 5 and 6—Vâj. S. xvi. 2, 3 (see above, p. 322) . . . iv. 21. Ajâtaḥ ity evâm kaśchid bhîruḥ pratipadâya ṭ | Rudra yat te daksînhâm mukham tena mām pâhi nityam | 22—R.V. i. 114, 8, and Vâj. S. xvi. 16 with various readings (see above, pp. 303 and 323). "He who alone, the enchanter, rules by his powers, rules all worlds by his

99 These words na devîtîya yaḥ tâsthuḥ 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-dîras. The commencement of the verse is, however, also found in the Nirukta, i. 16, where the reading is different and preferable, ekaḥ eva Rudro 'vatastha na devîtîyaḥ;' and Sâyana, in his commentary on the Rig-veda (quoted in vol. iii. of this work, p. 60), gives the words thus, ekaḥ eva Rudro na deviyo 'vatastho. 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 'vatastha na deviyo râpe vighnam pritanâsu tatrân | saṁârjîya viśvâ bhuvaṇânî goptaḥ pratyañ janâm sanchukopânta-kâle | "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."

100 The proper reading is probably sanchukotha. See the last note; and Bühling and Roth, s.v. kuch-īsam; where sanchukotha is given as the proper reading, instead of sanchukota, which is found in Roth's Illust. of Nirukta, p. 12, note 4.

100 These two words are varied below, 4, 12, thus: pâyata jayamânâm, i.e. "behold Hiranyakagarbha 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-
rally; he displays his wrath (absorbs them?) at the time of the
end. 3. This one god, who has on every side eyes, on every side a
face, on every side arms, on every side feet, when producing the
heaven and earth, fashions them with his arms and with his wings.
4. May Rudra, the lord of all, the great rishi, the cause of production
and the source of the gods, who first generated Hirañyagarbha,—may
he put us in possession of an excellent understanding. . . . Ibid. iv.
21. Some fearful man concludes thus—'[Thou art] unborn.' Rudra,
protect me with thy southern face.'

The next passage is from the commencement of the Atharva-śiras 101
Upanishad. The MSS. which I have consulted vary much in their
readings:

Devāḥ ha vai evargase lokam agaman | te devāḥ Rudram aprichchham

"ko bhavaṁ" iti | so 'bravīd "aham ekaḥ prathamam āsamaṁ vartāmi cha
bhavishyami cha na anyā kaścid matto vyatiriktaḥ" iti | so 'nītarād anta-
rām praviśad diviśe cha antaraṁ sampraviśat | "so 'ham nityānītyo vyakta-
vyaaktoc 'ham Bhṛmahābrahma āham prānakaḥ pratyānco 'ham dakshināca
[dakshinās cha?] udancho 'ham adhāsakaḥ ārddhvañccha diviśe cha pratidivyā-
cha āham punmān apumānāṁ stīr cha āham sāvityo āham gāyaty āham
tristubh jagaty anuśūtup cha āham chhoḍo 'ham gārhapatyo dakshināgnir
āhavançō 'ham satyo 'ham gaur āham Gaury āham jyotistho 'ham śresñiño
'haṁ varisīhō 'ham āpo 'haṁ tejo 'ham rīg-yajñāḥ-sāmāthavāṅvaraso
'ham akṣharam āham kṣharam āham guhyo 'ham gopyo 'ham aranyo 'ham
pūṣharam āham pavaṁram āham agrançha madhyança vahischa vahischa
purastā jyotiṁ ity āham ekaḥ | sarvanca mām eva mām yo veda sa sarvan ārvaṁ
veda | gām gobhir brāhmaṇo brāhmaṇyo haṁśeḥ haṁśaḥ āyur āyushā
satyaṁ satyaṁ dharmaṁ dharmeṇa tarpayiṁ evaṁ tejasā ' | tato devāḥ
Rudram na apaṣyams te devāḥ Rudram dhīyanti tato devāḥ ārddha-
bhāravaḥ ścāntaṁ yo vay āham bhagavan vāḥ cha Bhrama tasmaṁ
vai namo nāmaḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavan yaṁ cha Bhrama tasmaṁ
vai namo nāmaḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavan yaṁ cha Maheśvaras tasmaṁ

101 A work called Atharva-śiras is mentioned in the passage of the Rāmāyaṇa, i.
14, 2, quoted above, p. 165 f. See Weber's Indische Studien, i. 382 ff.; and ii. 53 ff.
vai namo namaḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yā cha Uṁā tasmāi . . . |
yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yaścha Vīṇāyakas tasmāi . . . | yo vai
Rudraḥ . . . | yaścha Skandaḥ . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . | yaścha
Indraḥ . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . | yaścha Agniḥ . . . | yo vai
Rudraḥ . . . | ya cha Bhūḥ . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . | yaścha
Bhūvaḥ . . . | om äduv maṇḍyaḥ bhūr bhūvaḥ suvar ante śrīkam
janadom 103 viśva-rūpa 'si | Brahma esas teṣām deviśrākṣā urdhvam adhaś
ta teṣām kāntiścā teṣām puṣkhiścā teṣām tushkhiścā teṣām hūtam ahūtam
viśaṃ avīṣaṃ daśantam adattam kriṣtam akritaṃ param aparām para-
yacanaḥ iti | “āpāna somam 102 amṛitāḥ abhiṁa aganma jyotir aśića
devā | kiṁ nāma amśān kriṣṇavad arātiḥ kim u dhātir amṛta mārt
yasya” | (R.V. viii. 48, 3) | sarva-jagaddhitam vai etad aksaraṃ prajā-
patyaṃ sūkṣmaḥ saumyaṃ puruṣhām agraḥyam agraḥyena Vāyum
vāyaṃ vanaṃ saumyaṃ graṣati svama tejasā | tasmāi upasarṣiḥtra
da kaṃṭhāyaṇaḥ tāṃ sam namāḥ | kriṣṭa-kṣatuḥ devataḥ sarvaḥ kriṣṇaḥ prajñā
pratishṭhitaḥ | kriṣṇaḥ svam aṣṭi yo nityaṁ tīrō mātraḥ paras tu saḥ |
tasya uttaraḥ tiṣṭo daksininataḥ pāduḥ yaḥ uttarataḥ sa oṁkāraḥ | yaḥ
oṁkāraḥ pranavaḥ yaḥ pravakṣaḥ sarva-vyāpi yaḥ sarva-vyāpi so
nanta yo 'nantaṃ tat tāraṁ 104 yat tāraṁ tat sūkṣmaḥ yat sūkṣmaḥ
tat sūkṣmaḥ yat sūkṣmaḥ tad vaidyutam yad vaidyutam tat param Brahma
iti sa ekaḥ | sa eko Rudraḥ sa Ṛṣaṇaḥ sa bhagavān sa Mahēvraḥ sa
Mahādevaḥ | atha kasmād uchyaṃ oṁkāraḥ | yasmād uchchāryamaṇaḥ
esa sarvaḥ kṣaṃtram unāṃśayaṃ tasmād uchyaṃ oṁkāraḥ . . . | atha
kasmād uchyaṃ okaḥ | yaḥ sarvaṃ lokān udyātiṣṭhāt 103 ervijati veṣa
eyati tasmād uchyaṃ okaḥ | atha kasmād uchyaṃ eko Rudraḥ | “eko
Rudra na devityāya tascē (ṣṭhitavān) | advityāḥ eva ṣṭhitavam | Comm.)
turtiṣya imāṃ lokāṃ tuṣṭe tāṇiṣṭyuḥ (niyamana-ākāśaṃ | Comm.)
janantyaḥ (evāvāpāda-ākāśaṃ | Comm.) | pratyāḥ janāj tiṣṭhantu saṁyug

102 The commentator explains this thus: Śrīrām śiṣṭro maṇḍraḥ svākā ity vamīru
yaḥ | janadom janāda iti karmopakshaṇaḥ tathākṣara-trayam | janam janim tad
upalakṣita-janāmad vastu-jātaṃ tad dādāti iti janādaḥ | tasya sambohaṇam | Instead of
the words in the text, another MS. reads, bhūs te ēdir maṇḍram bhūnas te svas te
śrīrām viśva-rūpa 'si.

103 Uṃsyaḥ Brahma-vidyā-śvērūpīgyā Kātyāyanaḥ saha vartate iti Somas tām | [Soma is thus = sa = Uṃa, “with Uṃa”] yataḥ somam apāma tatiḥ amrītāḥ maraṇa-
hetuḥ śrī rāja-stāmaḥ prajñātāḥ abhiṁa sampannaḥ | —Comm.

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

105 Uṛdvha-mokṣhaṁ āṭmane grahāti | —Comm.
asāntakale samhṛitya viśvā bhūvananī goptaṃ || tasarım uchyate eko Rudraḥ
dharmavahaḥ kathih parama-saktiḥ || "abhī tvā śūra nonumāḥ adugdāḥ iva
dhenavaḥ || tvānām asya jagataḥ vardhiram tvānām Indra taśvahāḥ ||
(R.V. vii. 32, 22) || tasarım uchyate Īśanaḥ || . . . . atha kasmād uchyate
Mahēśvarāḥ || yaḥ sarvan lokan sambhakaḥ saṁbhakaḥ saṁbhakṣhayaty ajaśraṁ
srijati vāsyati vāsyati tasarım uchyate Mahēśvarāḥ || atha kasmād
uchyate Mahādevaḥ || yaḥ sarvan bhavān parītyajya utma-jañāna-yogās-
varyo mahati mahiyate tasarım uchyate Mahādevaḥ || tad etad (etad nāma-
mirukti-rūpaṁ charitam || Comm.) Rudra-charitam || "esse ha devaḥ
pradiṣṭo mu sarvāḥ pūrvo ha jātaḥ sa u garbhe antaḥ || sa eva jātaḥ sa
jānīdayamāṇaḥ pratyaḥ jānāḥ tīṣṭhati viśvā-mukhaḥ ||" (Vāj. S. 32, 4)
"viśvātā-chakṣhuḥ uta viśvā-mukho viśvāt-bāhur uta viśvatās-pāt
sam bāhubhyāṁ dhamati saṁ patatrair dyaṁ-prīhit janaṇan devaḥ
ekāḥ || (R.V. x. 81, 3) || . . . . Rudro skatavam (aikyam || Comm.)
ānuḥ || Rudraṁ tāvatraṁ vai purāṇam ityādā . . . . || vratam etat
pāṣupatam || Agnir iti bhāsa Vāyuḥ iti bhāsa jalam iti bhāsa sthalaṁ
iti bhāsa eva iti bhāsa sarvāṁ vai ha idam bhasa manaḥ etani
chakṣuḥśi bhaskaṁ || "Agnir" ityādānā bhāsa grīśtvā nīṃrya
angāṁ saṁprīṣat || tasarım vratam etat pāṣupatam pāṣu-pāsa-vimokṣaḥya
yo 'tharva-śāram brāhmaṇo 'dhīte so 'gni-pāta bhavati || sa vāyu-pāta
bhavati || sa 'āditya-pāta bhavati || sa soma-pāta bhavati || sa satya-bhūto
bhavati sa sarva-bhūto bhavati || sa sarvesu tirthesu evanto bhavati || sa
sarvesu vedaśe adhitro bhavati || sa sarva-veda-śatra-charyām su charito
bhavati || sa sarvar āvair jñato bhavati || sa sarva-yajna-krubhur
iṣṭavān bhavati || tena ivaśa-pūrṇaṁ Rudrānām stā-tāsahasrāṇi
japtaṁ bhavanti || gāyatrīyāṁ stā-śahasrāṁ japtaṁ bhavati || pranavānām
ayudāṁ japtaṁ bhavati || ṛupe ṛupe (pāṭhe pāṭhe pratīpyāham || Comm.)
data-pūrvān punāḥ daśottarān ā chakṣusahāḥ panktim punāḥ ityāha
bhāgavān Atharva-bhāro 'tharva-bhāro (abhyaśāḥ adarārthaḥ || Comm.)
śakriṣa japtaṁ tuchiḥ pūtaḥ karmano bhavati || deśitoṁ japtaṁ gāyapatyām
(sarva-niṣṭhitavam || Comm) avāpnoti trītyāṁ japtaṁ devam eva anu-
praviṣayate oṁ satyaṁ || "yo Rudro agnau yo aṣv eantar ya uṣadhir
etrudhaḥ āvīsaḥ || ya ima viśvā bhūvananī chākṣṛīpe taṃśai Rudrāya
nāma "stu Agraya" || (A. V. viii. 87, 1, above, p. 333).

106 In another MS. a different answer is given to this question: Tasmād riṣhṭhīh
na anyair bhaktair drutam asya rūpaṁ upalabhyaḥ || "He is called 'Rudra' because
his form is quickly (drutam) perceived by rishis, and not by other devout persons."
"The gods went to heaven. They asked Rudra, ‘Who art thou?’ He said, ‘I alone was before [all things], and I exist, and I shall be. No other transcends me.’ He entered into one space after another, and into the space of the sky. ‘I am eternal and not eternal, discernible and undiscernible, I am Brahma, I am not Brahma,’ I am the eastern, western, southern, northern [breaths, etc., Comm.], I am below and above, the regions, and the intermediate regions, I am male, eunuch, and female, I am the Śāvitrī, I the Gāyatri, I the Trishṭubh, Jagatt, and Anuahṭubh (metres), I am metre, I am the household, the southern, and the āhavanīya fires, I am true, I am the earth (or cow), I am Gaurī, I am the eldest, I am the chief, I am the most excellent, I am the waters, I am brilliancy, I am the Rīk, Yajuḥ, Sāman, Atharvāṃgirases, I am the undecaying, I the decaying, I the mysterious, I the secret, I dwell in the forest, I am the pushikara (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 coves), 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 Viṣṇu, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Maheśvara, 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 Viṇāyaka, 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 Bṛuvah, etc. (In the same way Rudra is identified with swaḥ [swah]; mahaḥ; jana; tapas; satya; prithivi; ápas; tejas; vāyu; ákāśa; sūrya; soma; nakshatṛṇi; ashṭau grahaḥ; prāṇa; kāla; Yama; mṛityu; amṛita; bhūta; bhavaya; bhavishyat; viśva; kritsna;

107  Vākyābhāṣo rūpasya ātmone vāstuvatva-pradarśanāṁarthah | Comm. I should rather suppose, however, that the second word is not Brahmas, but abrahma.

108  Śīva-priyā | ashtavarghā vā kumārī gaurvā varnā bāla-tatā́ (?) tu | Comm.
sara; and satya.) Om! at the beginning, and in the middle are Bhūr, Bhuvah, Svaḥ; 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, fatness, contentment; thou art the thing sacrificed, and the thing not sacrificed, the whole, and not the whole, what is given, and what is not given, what is done, and what is not done, that which is supreme, and not supreme, and what is surpassing. 'We have drunk the Soma, we have become immortal, we have entered into light, we have known the gods. What can an enemy now do to us? What can the malice of any mortal effect, O immortal god? This imperishable [principle], beneficial to the whole world, sprung from [or, having the nature of,] Prajāpati, subtile, beautiful, by its own energy swallows up the incomprehensible Puruaha 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 Īsāna, he is divine, he is Mahēśvara, 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

100 Quoted in the third volume of this work, p. 265. According to the commentator whom I have quoted under the text, Soma means so-una, he who dwells with Uma, in the form of divine knowledge, Kātyāyant. 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.
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‘one.’ Now why is he called the one Rudra? ‘There is only one Rudra; there is no place for a second. He rules this fourth world, controlling and productive; living beings abide within him united with him. At the time of the end he annihilates all worlds, the protector.’ Wherefore he is called the one Rudra. Then why is he called Isāna? He it is who rules all worlds by his ordinances, and supreme creative powers. ‘We, O heroic Indra, like unmilked cows, approach with our praises thee who art the heavenly lord (Isāna) of this moving, and the lord of this stationary, [world].’ Hence he is called ‘Isāna.’ (‘Bhagavat’ is then explained.) Then why is he called Maheśvara? He who, a devourer, constantly devours, creates, variously creates, sustains all worlds, is therefore called Maheśvara. Then why is he called Mahādeva? He who, abandoning all forms of being, exults in the great divine power of absorption in the knowledge of himself, is therefore called Mahādeva. Such is the history of Rudra. ‘This god [abides] throughout all regions; he was the first born; he is within the womb; it is even he who has been born, and he is still to be born; he exists, O men, pervading all things, with his face turned to every side.’ (Vāj. S. 32, 4.) ‘The one god, who has on every side eyes, on every side a face, on every side arms, on every side feet, when producing the earth and sky, fabricates them with his arms, and with his wings.’ (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 Pāşupata rite is thus described: ‘This is the Pāşupata 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 Pāšupata rite, for the removal of the animal bonds. The Brahman who reads the Atharva-śīra is purified with fire, with air, with the sun, with soma (or the moon); he becomes truth, he becomes all, he has bathed in all the holy places, he is read in all the Vedas, he has practised the observances prescribed in all the Vedas, he is known by all the gods, he has sacrificed with all sacrificial rites; by him hundreds of thousands of itihāsas, purāṇas, and Rudras (formulas

111 R.V. vii. 32, 22, quoted above, p. 103.
relating to Rudra), and a hundred thousand 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, Brahmā, Vishnu, and Rudra, are mentioned together, along with Indra (Brahma-Vishnu-Rudrondraḥ); 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 (kāraṇam tu dhyayah sarvasva-varya-sampānaḥ sarvekṣeṣaḥ cha Sambhuḥ ākāśa-madhya dhrusam sthabhava 'dhikāṃ kṣaṇam ekam kramavatasyāpi chatur-śaptatvā yat phalam tad avāpnoti kriyānam oṁ-kāraṇaṃ cha sarva-dhyāna-yoga-jnānānām yat phalam tad oṁkāra veda-para tīrṇa ekādaya bhuvah śivakaraḥ sarvam anūtaḥ puriṣyāya). In the Kaivalya Upanishad (translated by Prof. Weber, Ind. Stud. ii. 10 ff.) Āśvalāyana asks Brahmā to explain to him the science of divine things (Athāśvalāyano bhagavantam paramahātmānam upasametya udāha adhiṣṭhī bhagavan brahma-vidyām ityādi). Brahmā (piṭāmaha) among other things tells him as follows: Anyādāram-sthāṇ sakalendriyāni nirūdhya bhaktīṃ eva-grūmaṃ pranamya | hṛt-puṇḍarikāṃ virajām viśuddham vihīntyā madhye viśadaṁ viśokam | anantam avyaktam acintya-rūpaṃ śivam prakāntam amṛitaṃ brahma-yonim | tam adi-madhyānta-śikham ekāṃ vibhum chidānda-svarūpam adbhutam | Umā-śakhyam paramēkṣvaram prabhūṃ trilochanāṃ nila-kṣyam prakāntam | dhyāvā munir gocchati bhūta-yonim samastasa-kāśhim tamasaṃ parastāt | sa Brahmā sa Sīvaḥ Sendraḥ so 'kharaḥ paramāḥ svarāḥ | sa eva Viśnuḥ sa prāṇāḥ sa śīva paramāṅkaraḥ 113 | sa eva svarāḥ yaḥ bhūtaṃ gocchha bhavaḥ sanātanam | janātāṃ tāṃ mṛityum ateti nānyāḥ panthām vimuk-

113 Another MS. has here Sa kālo 'gniḥ sa Chandramāḥ.
tayo | ... yah tatarudriyam adhito sa 'gnipata bhavati sa Vayugato bhavati ityad | "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-replete; 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 Nilarudrapaniḥah, which begins thus: Apanāyām cha viganto dīvotāḥ prithivimayaḥ | apāyaṁ apāyaṁ tam Rudram nilagriyam bhikṣayānim | "I, formed of earth, beheld descending from the sky, I beheld, I beheld, that blue-necked, created 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 ff., 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. 165,
QUOTATIONS FROM THE RĀMĀYĀNA

176 f., and 178 ff. The other texts of the Rāmāyāna 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 Rāmāyāna 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 ātī Kāmah ity uchyate budhaḥ | tapasyantam iha Sīthaḥāṃ nimayena samāhitam | 11. Krirodvāham tu dveśām gachhantah sa-marud-gaṇam | dharshayamāsa durmedhaḥ hunkritai cha mahātmanā | 12. Avadhya-tāk cha Rudreṇa chakshusena Raghunandana | vyaktyante barttrat svat sarva-gātraṃi durmateḥ | )

In i. 35, 20 (Bombay ed.), it is mentioned that the mountain-god, Himavat, gave his daughter Umā to the “unequalled Rudra” (Rudraya apratīrṇdyā). In chapter xxxvii. of the same book, vv. 5 ff. the conubial intercourse of Śiva with Umā is described in most undignified language, as follows: Purā Rāma krirodvāha śītikantaḥ mahātaraḥ| 6. Drīvītā cha bhagavān devin maithund yogapachakrama | tasya samkri-damanaṃya Mahādevasya dhīmataḥ | Śītikantaḥāya devasya divyaṃ varṣaḥ-batam gatam | 7. Na cāpi tasaṇya Rāma tasyāṃ ātī parantarapo | “Formerly, after his marriage, Śītikantaḥ (Śiva) the great devotee, (6) beholding the goddess, began to indulge in conubial love. A thousand years of the gods passed while the wise Mahādeva Śītikantaḥ 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 practice 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 impregnated 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 Brahmā and asked for a general in the room of Mahā-
deva, who, it seems, had formerly acted in that capacity. "He," they said, "whom thou didst formerly give us as a leader of our armies (i.e. Mahādeva), is now performing great austerity, along with Umā" (sect. 38, v. 3, Schlegel's ed. = sect. 37, 3, of Bombay ed.: Yo naḥ 113 sendāpatir deva datto bhagavatā purā | sa tapaḥ param āsthāya tapyate iva sakomaya). 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 Kailāsā, and appointed Agni to effect their object. Agni accordingly impregnated the Gangā, who brought forth Kārttikeya, so called because he was nursed by the Kṛttikās."

In the forty-second section it is related how the royal rihabi Bhagtratha 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 Śiva, who was the only being who could sustain the shock of the falling Gangā. Bhagtratha (as is told sect. 43) continued his austerities till Śiva the lord of Umā, the lord of animals (Paśupata), appeared to him, and said he would receive the Gangā on his head. He accordingly mounted the Himalaya, and called on the Gangā to descend. The Gangā was indignant at this summons, and came down in great volume and with great force on his head, thinking to sweep him down along with her into Pātāla. The god, however, determined to humble her pride, and she was compelled to circle for a long period of years in the labyrinth of his matted locks, without being able to reach the earth. Being again propitiated by Bhagtratha, Śiva at length allowed her to reach the lake Vindu, to flow to the sea, and eventually into the infernal regions, where she purified the ashes of the sons of Sagara and enabled them to ascend to heaven.

In the forty-fifth section is described the production of nectar from the churning of the ocean of milk by the rival sons of Diti and Aditi, who wished to obtain some specific which should render them immortal. In the first place, however, a fiery poison was vomited from the mouths

113 Yo naḥ is the reading of Schlegel's edition, as well as of Gorresio's, 39, 3. The Bombay edition reads yena, which does not seem so good a reading.
of the serpent Vāsuki, who was used as the rope in the process of churning. The gods then resorted to Śiva to deliver them from this torment:

21. *Atho dveḥ Mahādevaḥ Śankaraḥ śaraṅārthinaḥ | jagmuḥ Pāsupatiḥ Rudram trāhi trāhitī tvaḥṭurvaḥ | 22. Evam utkārṣuḥ daeva-daevaśvaroḥ prabhuvah | prādhūritāḥ tato 'traiva śankha-chakra-dharo Hariḥ | 23. Ucchānaṁ smitāḥ kṛitvā Rudram śala-dharam Hariḥ | daivaśāṁ mahāyamāno tu yat pūrvaṁ samupasthitam | 24. Tat tadāyam sura-breyṣhṭa surāgām agrato hi yat | agra-pājām iha etihāva ghrāṇedam visham prabhoh | 25. Ity utkāraḥ cha sura-breyṣhṭaḥ tatraśāntarādhiyāte | daivaśāṁ bhayaṁ dṛishtvā brūvatvā vākyam tu Sārṅginaḥ | 26. Halihalaṁ vishaṁ ghrāṇaṁ sanjagabhāṁrtopamam | devaṁ viṣṇyo devēko jagāma bhagavān Hariḥ | 21. "Then the deities, seeking as their refuge Mahādeva, Śankara, went to Rudra Pāsupati, 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 Viṣṇu, (26) he (Śiva) took the deadly poison, as if it had been nectar. The divine Hara then dismissed the gods and departed."

The gods and Asuras proceeded with the churning, but were obliged now to call in the aid of Viṣṇu, as the mountain with which the operation was being performed sank down into the infernal regions. Viṣṇu, however, assumed the form of a tortoise, and supported the mountain on his back. At length nectar was produced, which Viṣṇu carried off.

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

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

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

115 See, however, the passage from the Sundara Kāṇḍa, sect. 89, which will be quoted in the Appendix, where Mahādeva is said to visit Kuvera, or mount Kailāsa.
sighram atikramya kántāraṁ loma-haṛshaṁ | pāṇḍurāṁ drakṣhyātha
tataḥ Kailásaṁ nāma pāravatam | tatra pāṇḍura-meghāhaṁ Jambunada- 
parīkhyatam | Kuvera-bhavanaṁ divyaṁ nirmiitaṁ Viśvakarmayā |

“Having quickly passed over that dreadful desert, you shall then see 
the white mountain, called Kailāsa, and there the celestial palace of 
Kuvera, formed by Viśvakarman, in colour like a brilliant cloud, and 
decorated with gold.”

The Bombay edition, 43, 54 ff., has the following lines, in which 
Rudra may be referred to: Tam atikramya sailendram uttaras 
tyasatāṁ nīḍhiḥ | tatra Somagirir nāma madhye hemamaya mahān | 55. 
Sā tu deśo visūryo 'pi tasya bhāṣa prakāśate | sūrya-lakṣmyā 'bhuvijneyo 
tapateva Vivasvatā | 56. Bhagavāṁ tatra viśvātmā Sambhur skādakā- 
makāḥ | Brahma vasaṁ dveśo brahmavāyu-parivāritaṁ | 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, 
Brahma, lord of the gods, dwells, attended by the Brahman Riahis.”

In Gorresio’s edition (44, 117 ff.) this passage shows a number of 
various readings: Kurāṁ tāṁ samatikramya utsaraṁ paryasatāṁ nīḍhiḥ | 
tatra Somagirir nāma hieraymaya-samo mahān | 118. Indra-loka-gataḥ 
yo cha Brahma-loka-gataḥ cha yo | sarvo te samavesikhaṁta girirājam 
divam gataḥ | 119. Āṣūryo 'pi hi dekāḥ sa tasya bhāṣa prakāśate | 
saṣūryaḥ iva lakṣmīvāṁsa tapatva divakare | 120. Bhagavāṁ tatra 
bhūtātmā Svayambhū bahuḥdhāmatakah | Brahma bhavati vasyātmā 
sarvaḥ saro-bhāvanakah | 117. “Beyond, to the north of the Uttra 
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 Brahma, have beheld the king of mountains. 119. By its

118 The commentator thus explains this verse: Vīryav atati evopnoti iti vīvātmā 
vārayakas tama Viṣṇu-rūpāḥ | viṣṇu-evopnoti ity annaṁritā | sa eva Śambhuḥ tam 
bhavaty asmit | sa eva dhadaśātmakaḥ skādaśāṅwākārtihākādaśa-rudrātmakah | sa 
evamn Brahmā bhiṣmaḥgataṁ jāgot-srāvaṇiṣṭitaḥ | “Vīvātmā means, he who pervades all 
things; and consequently he is in the form of Viṣṇu, as Viṣṇu has the sense 
of pervader. The same being is Sambhu, he from whom prosperity (tam) 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 Brahma, from his increasing,— 
creating the world.”
light that region shines, although sunless, as if it had a sun, and resplendent as if the lord of day were blazing. 120. There the divine soul of beings, Svayambhū, Brahmā, dwells, self-subdued, the soul, and producer of all things.” Here there is no reference to Mahādeva, Svayambhū being substituted for Sambhu.

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

Kishk. 44, 46 ff.—Tam tu deśam atikramya Triśringo nāma parvataḥ | tasya pāde saro divyam mahat kāñchana-pushtkaram | tataḥ prachyavato divyā tīkhaṇa-krotas tarangiḥ | naḥī naika-grahākṣītyā kuśīla loka-bhāvita | tasya kāṁ kāñchanaṁ erṣingam parvalasyāgni-sannibham | vaibhavyam okarcha saśāsyāya samuchchayitam | Anutpannesu bhūteshu bāhūru kha bhūta kha bhūmītaḥ | agrajaḥ sarva-bhūtánāṁ Viśvakarmi viśrutah | tat tasya kila paurāṇam agniḥotram mahātmanah | āsīt triśikharāḥ saileḥ pravṛttāḥ tatra ye ’gnayat | tatra sarvāsthi bhūtāni sarvamadhe mahāmakhe | kṛtva ’bhavād mahātejāḥ sarva-loka-mahēvaṁ | Rudrasya kila saṃsthānam sarva vaś sarvamādhikam | tataḥ pravṛttā Sarayār ghoranakṣavat naḥī | deva-gandharva-pataqāḥ piśāchoraga-dānavah | praviṃśenti na tam deśam pradāiptam iva pāvakam | tam atikramya saśāyam Mahādevābhīpaḥ | ityādi | “When that region has been overpassed, a mountain called Triśringa [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 (mahēvaṁ) 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.
SACRIFICE OF VIŚVAKARMA BHAVAŅA. 369

In regard to the story of Viśvakarman, which is not usually met with in the Purāṇas, and does not harmonize well with the course of their cosmogony, compare the two hymns in pp. 5 ff., the story from the Nirukta in p. 9, above, and the Sātap. Br. xiii. 7, 1, 14.

Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 7, 1, 14.—Ten āha sāne Viśvakarmā Bhaṇvaṇa yē | tenāyathat tyaśīkṣhat sārvaṁ bhūtani idam sarvam abhavat | atītāyathat sārvaṁ bhūtani idam sarvam bhavati yāh evam vidvān sarvaṁ medhena yajate yo vā etad evam vedā | 15. Ten āha Kaśyapa yājayānyahāra | tad api Bhūmiḥ slokaṁ jagau | "na mā mrtiyuḥ kaśchana dātum arhati Viśvakarman Bhaṇvaṇa mandaḥ āśītha | upamankhyati syā sālīsya madhyo mṛthaṁkaṁ te sangaraḥ Kaśyapāya” iti | "With this sacrifice, Viśvakarman, the son of Bhuṇa, 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. 16. Kaśyapa performed this sacrifice for him. Wherefore also the Earth recited a verse: 117 ‘No mortal ought to bestow me. Viśvakarman, son of Bhuṇa, 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 (maheśvara) of all worlds.” Compare the passages from the Kūraṇa 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: Astai cha Viśvakarmanā bhūmiṁ dātum ītasya tatra cha kāla Bhūmir āpi imāṁ slokaṁ gītavati | tvaṁ tu mandaḥ mandaṁ mandaḥ janaḥ āśīha babhūvaṁ jātah ity arthah | upa-sābdo ni-sābdaya arthe | yaś cha adhyayam pratijñāne mandaḥ ity abhiprāyaḥ | "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, Vana-parvan, v. 10209 (in the first vol. of this work, p. 451), where the earth is said to have been given to Kaśyapa by Paraśurāma; and another text from the Anūśasan-parvan, vv. 7232 ff. (ibid. p. 464), where the earth is said to have become offended with king Anga, who desired to bestow her on the Brahmana, and to have in consequence abandoned her form. Kaśyapa afterwards entered into her, and she became his daughter. Compare also Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 4, 3, 5 (quoted above, p. 27).
yāṇa and Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, be regarded as sprung from the earth, or Bhuvana, and therefore not eternal. It is to be noted, however, that the Satap. Br. speaks of this Viśvakaṁ in as a mortal, and the Ait. Br. speaks of him as a prince who conquered the earth.

In the next passage the 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 tāvraḥ prabhuh | tataḥ sabhāyām devasya rājno Vaiśravaṇasya saḥ | dhanādhyaksha-sabhām devaḥ pāpto hi Prishṭhabha-dheuṣakāḥ | Umā-sahāyo devaḥ gaṇaś ca bahuḥbhir vṛṣṭāḥ | avatīrtva vṛṣṭāḥ tūrṇam mahīlaḥ sāla-dāriḥ vibhuh | gīres tasya mahātejaḥ pravīśhas tu sabhām Harāḥ | Riddhīya sahāya-yuktāḥ ca tathā Vaiśravaṇāḥ evavam | anyonyam tav samālīninga upavīśaṁ udbhav api | sabhāyām tatra tu deveu ca tva devaḥ yathākramam | upavīśaḥ gaṇāḥ chāiva Yakshāḥ ca saha Guhyakaḥ | aksa-dyūtām tatas tāhāyam pravīśtāṁ samamantarām | etam in anta tatra Rākhasendraṁ Vibhīṣaṇam | dīrśāva Pūlāstyaṁ ayaṁtām | Sivaḥ prāha dhaneśvaraṁ | ayaṁ Vibhīṣaṇaḥ praptaḥ tārasam tava pārthivaḥ | manyunā 'bhupīlo vīra Rākhasendra-vimānaḥ | ityādi 116

"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 Vaiśravaṇa (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 Vaiśravaṇa himself, with Riddhi (his wife), 116 and attended by his companions, [came in]. Having embraced each other, those two gods with the other deities sat down in order in the assembly, together with their hosts, and the Yakshas and Guhyakas. The two gods then began to play at dice. In the mean time, beholding the eminent Rākhasa Vibhīṣaṇa, the son of Pūlāstya, approaching, Śiva says to the lord of riches, 'Thia, O king, is the hero Vibhīṣaṇa, who has resorted to thee, overwhelmed by distress, having been dishonoured by the chief of the Rākhasas (Rāvaṇa), 117 etc., etc.

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

116 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.
117 See Bühlingk and Roth, s.v. Riddhi, and the Mahābhārata, Asvāsana-parvan, 675, and 7637, as well as the Harivaṁśa, 7167, 7739, there referred to.
the deities, who tell him to stand up; and go to Rāma, who will install him king of the Rākshasas (vv. 21 ff.). Vibhishana stands, with his head bent downwards, and sunk in contemplation, when Siva again speaks to him (vv. 37 ff.): Tasmād uttiṣṭhāḥ gachchha tvam purāṇam prabhur avayaḥ | uttihṣottihṣaḥ rājendra sukham ātmakā āśivatam | . . . .
39. Tasmād uttiṣṭhāḥ gachchha tvam purāṇam prabhur avayaḥ | ādārām sarvaabhūtanām āśivatam niravagraham | sa hi sarva-mānāna cha gatiṁ gatimaṁ varah | krītávyaṃ jagato mālam tasmād gachchhaḥ Rāgahavam|

"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).'" Vibhishana then departs through the air, to go to Rāma.390

180 In the following passages some of Mahādeva's achievements are alluded to:—
i. i. 30, 27 (ed. Bom), and i. 36, 98 (Gorr.): Sa papita Khara bhūmaṁ daśayaminaṁś āśūniṁśa | Rudrasya vinirṇādaṁ Svetāranyasya purā 'ndhakaṁ | "[The Rākṣasas] Khara fell on the ground, burnt by the fire of the arrow, like Ardhaka [who was] formerly consumed by Rudra in the Svetāranyas forest." (Compare A. V. xi. 2, 7, above, pp. 334, 335, where Rudra is called the slayer of Ardhaka.) iv. 5, 30 (Gorr.): Yathā krūdhabhāya Rudrasya Tripuraṁ vai viśvamayāḥ | "[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" (Rudrasya-viśāhakam ghoram yathā Tripura-gopuraṁ). In the following verse allusion is made to Rudra as a slaughterer of animals: vi 73, 37 f. (Gorr. = Bombay ed. vi. 94, 36). Ekaṁ advaṁ padātā iša taṁ babhivā ranjithim | harir iṣṭa Rudrasya krūdhāsya niyamateśa padam | "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.): Kumbhasya patato rūpaṁ bhagavasya muktiṁ | Ṣvaṁbōbhippannamy āśrīpaṁ Paśupateśa āśrī | "The appearance of Kumbha when shatted on the chest by the fist of Sūrya, was like the appearance of Paśupati (Siva) when overcome by Īśvara." The commentator quoted by Gorrasio has the following note in explanation: Ṣvaṁbōbhi pralaya-kūlenā hetumā abhippannamy āśrī Paśupateśa Rudrasya rūpaṁ āśrīpadā babhivā iti arthaḥ | TheBomb. ed. (76, 93) reads in the second line: babhivā Rudrābhippannamy yathā rūphaṁ Gavāmpateḥ | which the commentator renders, "appeared like the form of the lord of rays (the sun), overcome by Rudra." (Rudrasya abhippannamy abhiphiḥśatra Gavāmpateḥ Śrīvya āśrī.) It would almost seem (strange as it may appear) as if the author of the recension of the Rāmāyaṇa published by Gorrasio, had not understood the word Gavāmpati (lord of cows or rays) as designating the sun, when he took it for the equivalent of Paśupati. Īśvara and Paśupati are both names of Rudra; and he could not be assailed by himself. Gavāmpati occurs in the hymn to the Sun in the Mahābhārata, iii. 192 (as quoted by Böhlingk 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 uktaś tu Janakaḥ pratyvācha mahāmuniṃ | brāyatām asya dhanusho yad-artham iha śrītṛṣṭati | Dvarātaḥ iti khyāto Nimiḥ hāsyāścno. (jyeṣṭho, Bomb. ed.) Mahāpatiḥ | nyāsa 'yaṃ tasya bhagavan hato datto mahātmanaḥ | Dakṣa-yajna-badhe pūrvaṃ dhanur āgamyā vṛtyavān | vidhvavya tṛidadān Rudraḥ satilam idam abravit | “yaṃ dā bhāgarthino”\(^{121}\) bhāgaṃ nākalpayata me surāḥ | varāṇāṃ ([= sirāṃ, Comm. in Bomb. ed.] mahārāṇi dhanuśā sātayāmi vaḥ | tato vimanasaḥ sarve devāḥ vai muni-purogava | prāsthayanta devatāṃ teshām prito ‘bhavaḥ Bhavaḥ | yrtlāshāpi dadau teshām tāny āngāni mahāyasaṃ | dhanuḥā yāni yānī āsān sātimān mahātmān | tad oṣad deva-devasya dhanu-ratnam mahātmānaḥ | nyāsa-bhātaṃ tadā nyastāṃ asmākam pūrvaṃ viśho | \(^{122}\)

“Janaka, being thus addressed, replied to the great muni: ‘Hear, regarding this bow, from what cause it is here. A king called Dvarāta 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-

\(^{121}\) Sviṣṭākṛṣṇiḥ-ṛṇi-yajna-bhāgarthino manaḥ | “To me who desired a share in the Sviṣṭākṛṣṇa, etc., offering.”—Comm.

\(^{122}\) This last line runs as follows in Gorresio’s edition (ch. lxvii. 13): Tiṣṭhaḥty adyāpyi bhagavan kuto ‘makaḥ supūrijatam | 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 demon, to destroy the sacrifice or put the gods to flight. He is simply said to wound the gods with his bow.123

The same story is told in the Sauptika-parvan, vv. 786–808, and in greater detail in the 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, Siva’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: Swaṁ ēva mahābhāga pārvam etad anuśṭhitam | yajneshu sarveshu mama na bhagaḥ upakalpitāḥ | pūrṇaśyopapannamāna mārgaṁ varavarnini | na me swaṁ prayaṭkānti bhagaṁ yajnasya dharmataḥ |124

123 This same story is again briefly alluded to in the following other passages of the Rāmāyaṇa:—iii. 30, 36 (ed. Gcorr. = Bomb. ed. iii. 24, 35): Tum drishyaṁ tejasaṁ yuktain viśvātm vana-devaṁ | Dakshasyo vratam hantum udgatāstram Pītāsīnaṁ | “Beholding him (Rāma), possessed of might, the sylvan deities were distressed, as if he had been Pītāsīna (Siva) with his weapon ready to destroy the sacrifice of Daksha.” Ibid. 70, 2: Hantu-kāmam paśuṁ Rudraṁ krudthaṁ Dakshaṁ krateu yathā | “Like the incensed Rudra who sought to slay the victim at the sacrifice of Daksha.” (The Bomb. ed. iii. 66, 2, has a quite different reading: Daugthaṁ kāmam jagat sarvam yugānte cha yathā Harṣam | “Like Hara [Rudra] desirous of burning up the whole world at the end of the Yuga.”) And again, vi. 54, 33 (ed. Gcorr.): Tato viśvāraṇāmāsa Rāmas tad dhanur uśtam | bhagavān īva sannādhaḥ Bhaṅgaḥ kratu-jīgāmasyāḥ | “Then Rāma stretched that excellent bow, like the divine Bhāva enarged, and seeking to destroy the sacrifice.” Rudra’s followers are, however, mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa. Thus in iii. 31, 10 (ed. Gcorr.) it is said: Sa taṁ pariṁrto ghorāṁ rākṣaṁ sīrī-varāṁ māyaḥ | Mahādevāṁ pītri-vane gosāṁ pārśva-gosāṁ īva | “This son of an eminent man (Rāma) was surrounded by these horrible Rākṣasas, like Mahādeva by his attendant hosts in a cemetery.” (Instead of the last line the Bomb. ed. has the following, iii. 25, 12: Tākrithe īva Mahādevo pītriḥ pārśhadasāṁ gosāṁ.) And in another place (v. 12, 39, ed. Gcorr.) Siva is called the lord of demons (ṛṣṭham Bhūtapater īva).

124 The same words nearly are put into the mouth of Mahādeva in the Vāyu-purāṇa. See Wilson’s Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa, vol. i., p. 126, of Dr. Hall’s ed.
"The former practice of the gods has been, that in all sacrifices no portion should be divided to me. By custom, established by the earliest arrangement, the gods lawfully (āharmataḥ) allot me no share in the sacrifice." Umā is extremely chagrined that her husband, a god of so great dignity, should be so treated. Perceiving his wife's distress, Śiva goes, with his attendants, and puts an end to the sacrifice. The sacrifice takes the form of a deer, and is followed by Śiva to the sky. A drop of sweat falls from his forehead, from which a fire proceeds, out of which again a formidable being is born, Jvara (fever), which burns up the sacrifice, puts the gods to flight, etc. On this Brahmā appears to Śiva, and promises that the gods shall henceforth give him a share in the sacrifice (bhavato 'hi suvāḥ sāvete bhagam dasyanti vai prabho), and proposes that Jvara (fever) shall be allowed to range over the earth. Śiva is propitiated, and assents to Brahmā's proposal, and has ever afterwards obtained a share in the sacrifice (ity utto Brahmādeva devo bhāga chāpi prakalpite bhagavanām tathety aha . . . . . . parānaha pritīm agamaḥ utmayaṁśeḥa śītaḥ-āhyāk | avāpa che tadā bhagam yathoktaṁ Brahmādeva Bhavaḥ).

The second version of the story is as follows: vv. 10272 ff. Daksha formerly commenced a sacrifice at Gangādvāra in the Himālaya, which was attended by the various orders of divine beings, including Indra and Brahmā. Dādhīchśi, however, a votary of Rudra, was indignant that no worship was to be offered to that deity. 10283 ff. Tīśa śrineśvā manyuṁ "vīkṣaṇa Dādhīchśi vākyām abhaviḥ "nāyaṁ yajno na va dharma yatra Rudro nā iñjate | badha-bandham prapannah caṁ kimnu kālaṁ paryayaḥ | kimnu moḥdha na paśyanti vināśam paryapasthitam | upasthitam mahāghoraṁ na budhyanti mahādēvam" Ity uktaṁ sa mahā-yogī paśyati dhārana-chakshuḥ | sa paśyati Mahādevam devrathah vara-dām subhām | Nāradanoṁ mahātmānam tasyaṁ devyāṁ samipataḥ | santosaham paramaṁ lobho iti nīchāṁya yoga-viś | skha-mantrāṁ tu te sarve yenesu na nimantritaṁ [125] | tasmād deśād apākramya Dādhīchśi vākyām abhaviḥ | apūjaṁ-pūjanānāhāva pūjānāṁchāpy apūjānāt | nṛ-ghātaka-samām paśuṁ tasvatā prāpnoti mānavaṁ [126] | anūtāṁ nokta-puruṣam me na che

[125] A line similarly expressed occurs a little further on.
[126] The account of Daksha's sacrifice given in the Vāyu-purāṇa, and translated by Prof. Wilson, V.P. (vol. i., pp. 122 ff. of Dr. Hall's ed.), has a good many lines which correspond nearly with some in this passage of the Mahābhārata. Of these Dr. Hall was kind enough to send me copies. One of them agrees in sense with this verse.
ACCORDING TO THE MAHÂBHÂRATA.

vâksyâ kâdâchana | devatânam rishisâh cha madhye satyam braviyâ ahah |
âgatam Paûbhârâram erashtâram jagatah patim | adhavaro yajna-bhok-
târam sarvesham pazyata prabhun | Dakshaâ uvâcha | Santi no bahavo |
Rudrâh âsya-hastah kapardinah | skâdaâ-sthâna-gatâh nâham vedmi Ma-
hâstaram
\[127\] | Dadhâchir uvâcha | sarvesham eva mantro 'yañm yemâsam na |
nimantrita\[128\] \[129\] | yathâ 'ham Sankarâd ardhvam nanyam pazyam daiva-
tam | tathâ Dakshasya vipulo yajno 'yañm na bhavishyati | Dakshaâ uvâcha |
etan makkhaâya suvâra-pâtre havih samastam vidhi-mantra-pâtam | Vish-
\[129\] nayâmy apratimasya bhâgam prabhur vibhuâ châkâvaniya sekañ | 
Deyv uvâcha | kim náma danaṁ vishâmaṁ tâpo tâ kuryâm âhah yena |
patir namâya | labheta bhâgam bhagavan achintya ardham tathâ bhâ-
\[130\] gam ato triityam | evam brauvâgâm bhagavan eva-patim prahrish\[131\]-
a-râpâh kahubhitam uvâcha | na vetei màm devi kriudarângi kim náma yu-
\[131\] taṁ vachanam makheś | aham vijânaṁ viśâla-netre athyânya hînâh na |
vidanty asantaḥ | tavadya mohena cha sendra-devah lokas trayaḥ sarvatah |
\[132\] eva mâyâh | mâm adhavaro kâmeitaraṁ stwan ti rathantaram saña-gatâ |
\[132\] khopagantâ | mâm brâhmânâd brahma-vido yajanta mamâdhnârayavaḥ kalpa-
\[133\] yante cha bhâgam | Deyv uvâcha | suprâkyito 'pi puruho sarvah strî-
\[133\] janasaṁsadi | stauhsi garvâyate châpi evam âtmânam na saṁsâyâḥ |
\[134\] Bhagavan uvâcha | nátmânaṁ stauṁ devâri pazya me tanu-madhyaṁ |
ym tarañyâmi varûroha yâgârthe varâ-varâñi |

"Beholding them, Dadhichi, 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
Mahádeva and his boon-bestowing and auspicious goddess, and close to
her the great Nárada, and received the highest satisfaction. Dadhichi,
versed in meditation, having ascertained that all the gods had adopted
a common resolution that they would not invite Mahádeva, issued

\[127\] A verse closely resembling this occurs in the Vâyu Purâna.

\[128\] The corresponding line runs thus in the Vâyu Purâna: Sarveshâm eva-mantro 'yañm yemâo na nimantritaḥ; which Prof. Wilson thus renders: "The invocation that is not addressed to Isâ is, for all, but a solitary (and imperfect) summons."

\[130\] Instead of bhâgam, etc., the Vâyu Purâna reads sarvam prabhuh vibhôh hy âha-

\[131\] 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 Paşubhartri (Siva) 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 Mahēvara.' Dadhīchi answered: 'This is a [preconcerted] plan of all [the gods] that he (Mahādeva) has not been invited. Since I perceive Sankara, 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 (Vishnu), in a golden vessel, this entire oblation purified by rites and by texts, the share of the incomparable Vishnu: he is the lord, the all-pervading, the sacrificifcial fire.' Devī (who, without any preamble, is here introduced as speaking) said: 'What liberality or arduous austerity can I perform whereby my divine, incomprehensible husband may to-day obtain a share, a half-share, or a third?' The god, delighted in aspect, addressed his troubled wife who had thus spoken: 'Thou knowest me not, goddess, slender of waist and limb; nor what speech befits the lord of sacrifice. I know, O large-eyed; but the wicked, devoid of

\[130\) Compare the phrase \textit{vädayātmaka} above, p. 367.

\[131\) Prof. Wilson (p. 124 f.) has the following note on the parallel passage of the \textit{Vāyu Purāṇa}: "The \textit{Kūrma Purāṇa} gives also this discussion between Dadhīcha and Daksha, and their dialogue contains some curious matter. Daksha, for instance, states that no portion of a sacrifice is ever allotted to Siva, and no prayers are directed to be addressed to him, or to his bride (\textit{saṃprātya hi yajneshu na bhūgah parikaleśah | na mantrābh khyayayā sûdham Sankovasyeti nasyate}). Dadhīcha 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 (\textit{sa stiyāte sahasravān sukṣumagadhevaryu-hotriḥḥ | paśyainām Viśvakarmāṇaṃ Rudram mūrti-trayaṁyayam}). Daksha replies that the twelve \textit{Ādityas} receive special oblations; that they are all the suns; and that he knows of no other. The Munis, who overhear the dispute, concur in his sentiments (\textit{ye ets devādadātītyōḥ \textit{Āditya-yajna-bhūgināḥ | sarva víryuḥ iti jñayāḥ na hy anyo vidyate raviḥ | evam uktē tu munayāḥ samayūtāḥ didrīkshauḥ | vīchām ity abrvaṃ Dakshaṁ tasya sāhāya-kārīnaḥ). These notions seem to have been exchanged for others in the days of the \textit{Padma P.} and \textit{Bhāgavata}, as they place Daksha’s neglect of Siva to the latter’s filthy practices—his going naked, smearing himself with ashes," etc., etc. An abstract of the story as given in the \textit{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 bewilderment. Worshippers 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.' 129 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 Virabhadra, sent to destroy the sacrifice, and exhorts them to submit to Mahādeva, whose wrath is better than the beneficence of any other god (varṇa krodho 'pi devasya vara-dānāṁ na chānyataḥ). Upon this Daksha sings the praises of Maheśvara. 130 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 Bhāgavata Purāṇa, book iv. sections 2-7, with a colouring different from that of the Mahābhārata, and some interesting illustrations of the hostility between the Saivas and the Vaishnavas, or between the former and the more orthodox adherents of the Vedas, which, not-

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129 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: Mamādeva te maṁśīrāḥ stuvanti rathantare sūma gūṇanti geyam | abṛhmanaḥ brahma-vatra geyanta mamādevavāvah kaṇpayante cha bhūgam | "At my sacrifice worshippers praise (me); in the rathantara they sing the sūma 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 Brahmanical priest so called?

130 In this passage (v. 10332) Mahādeva is called Viśvakarman (Devo nāhīyate tatra Viśvakarnā Mahēśvarah). Compare the passage from the Rāmāyaṇa, 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 sectaries. Satt, the wife of Siva, was the daughter of Daksha, as we are told in the same work (iv. 1, 47, 48): Prasūtīm Mānavam Dakṣaḥ upayem ehy Ājātmajah | tasyāṁ sasanjja duhitīṁ ahottamala-lochanāḥ | trayaḥ saṁyāṁ yuktāḥ Bhava-pitṛḥ Agnaye viṁbhuh | pitṛbhyaḥ ekāṁ yuktāḥ Bhavyatāṁ bhava-cchhido | "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, saṁyataḥ bhāyaṃ yuktāḥ vā, Comm.] Pitrīs, and one to Bhava (Siva), the destroyer of existence." Satt, however, bore no children to Siva. i. 64. Bhavaṃ patni tu Satt Bhavaṃ devam anvaram | ātmanaḥ sadrikam putrāḥ na lekha guṇa-ślisāḥ |

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 Virincha (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 Mṛḍāṁ driṣṭeḥ nämrīghat tad-anādītaḥ | uṣṭha vimaḥ chakshur-bhṛgyam abhīvikṣya dhaḥan eva | kṛṣṇaṁ brahmaṇaḥkho mā saha-devaḥ sahāgnyayaḥ | sādhūnām brvato yamtaṁ vāṣyam mānād na cārmatāḥ | ayaṁ tu loka-pālānām yasogho mūrtrapaṇam | sādhvī āharaṇāḥ pantiḥ yena stabbhena dāhitāḥ | esha me sīshyātām prāpto yam na bhavet agraḥitā | pāṇim vijṛāgni-mukhataḥ sāvityaḥ eva sādhu-vat | grihitāṁ mṛiga-bālākyāḥ pāṇim maraṇa-locanaḥ | praty-yutthānābivādāḥrā vahā 'py akrīta nochitam | lupta-kriyāyāsūchaye mānīm bhīna-setavo | anīchkann api adām bālāṁ bādāyeyovastīṁ vimāṇam | protvāvāsah guhārreḥ protaṁ bhūta-gāṇair evaṇaḥ | aṣṭaya uṃmata-vaṃd nagno vyutpa-kaso hasam rudam | chīta-bhasma-krīta-sanaḥ prota-eronāḥ | raurhi-bhāṣṭaḥ | śivapadeḥo hy aśivo matto māta-janapriyāḥ | patiḥ pramaṇaḥ-bhūtanām tamo-mātṛmakātmanām | taṃsai uṃmāda-nāthāya nāṣṭha-śauḥchyā dūryāde | datā maṣyata sādhuḥ oṣodite paramesvathānā | vinindayaivaś ca Girīsam apratipam avasthitam | Dakṣaḥ 'thāpaḥ upa-
AND IS REVILED BY HIM.

spriśya kruḍḍhah āyam prachakramaṁ | ayaṁ tu deva-yañāne Indropendra-
dīṣhir Bhavaṁ | saha bhūgaṁ na labhatāṁ devaī deva-gaṇādhamāṁ

"Beholding Maṛḍa (Siva) previously seated, Dakahā did not brook his
want of respect; and looking at him obliquely with his eyes, as if con-
suming him, thus spake: 'Hear me, ye Brahmans rishis, with the gods
and the Agnis, while I, neither from ignorance nor from passion, de-
scribe what is the practice of virtuous persons. But this shameless
being (Siva) detracts from the reputation of the guardians of the
world,—he by whom, stubborn as he is, the course pursued by the
good is transgressed. He assumed the position of my disciple, inas-
much as, like a virtuous person, in the face of Brahmans and of fire,
he took the hand of my daughter, who resembled Sāvitrī. This
monkey-eyed [god], after having taken the hand of [my] fawn-eyed
[daughter], has not even by word shown suitable respect to me whom
he ought to have risen and saluted. Though unwilling, I yet gave
my daughter to this impure and proud aboliisher of rites and demolisher
of barriers, like the word of the Veda to a Śūdra. He roams about
in dreadful cemeteries, attended by hosts of ghosts and sprites, like a
madman, naked, with dishevelled hair, laughing, weeping, bathed in
the ashes of funeral piles, wearing a garland of dead men's [skulls],
and ornaments of human bones, pretending to be Siva (auspicious)
but in reality Aśiva (inauspicious), insane, beloved by the insane, the
lord of Pramathas and Bhūtas (sprites), beings whose nature is essen-
tially darkness. To this wicked-hearted lord of the infuriate, whose
purity has perished, I have, alas! given my virtuous daughter, at the
instigation of Brahmah." Having thus reviled Girīśa (Siva), who

124 Uṣṭah gīram, which the commentator explains veda-lakṣaṇāṁ gīram. It
occurs also elsewhere in this same Purāṇa, as in iii. 16, 13, where the Comm.
renders it by kamanīyām, "to be loved." See Bühlingk and Roth, vol. v., p. 1204. s.v.

125 The commentator gives as follows what he calls the real, esoteric, sense of this
abuse:— Yāstovas tv ayaṁ arthāṁ | luptāḥ kriyāh yasmin para-brahma-rūpaśvāt
ataḥ eva nāsti śuḥkhir yasmāt | amāṁśe abhiṁśa-astave iti ca chhedāḥ | tasya purna
evaiśvāasya madīya mānuṣāḥ kathāṁ yogyā śāyā iti lajjādīno dātum anichhann api
tat-sambodha-lohama dattavān | Śūdrāyāṁ amarketa-sthārī ṛṣhīṣanto na hīṁstā
dīrghaṁ yonīṇāṁ viśeṣa-vaṭtāṁ virodha-apatteḥ | etad uktam bhavati | yathā kāheś tīrthaś
vedam artha-lohama dudāti | yathā tīrthaś viśeṣa-vaṭtāṁ | 'pratīṣvāvahe' ityādi sarvāṁ viṣeṣaṁ hīṁstāṁ mātraṁ iti
svayam eva āha 'ummattā-vaad' iti | anyathā 'ummattā' ity eva akṣayaḥ | 'āśivaṁ
nāsti śiro yasmin | amāṁśe | amataṁ-jana-vaśe | iti chhedāḥ | 'paśī pramathā-
hūtānam' iti bhāsa-śāmanīyaṁ āha | tūmaṁ api doṣham opaniṣe pāri iti | nashīṇāṁ
api śvāhāṁ śūḍhāṁ yasmin | dviśesāya api eva mayā anukampayāṁ iti kṛṣṇa mano moṣya
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 Nandīvara, one of the chief of Mahādeva’s followers:

21 ff.—Yaḥ stam martyam uddīṣya bhagavaty apratādruhi | druhyaty ajñāḥ prīthag-dhriśṭie tattekato vimukho bhavet | griheshu kūṭa-dharmeshu saktō grāmya-sukhechhayā | karma-tantraṁ vitanūtād[236] veda-vāda-vipanna-dātāḥ | buddhāya parābhiṣṭāy śīyinyā vietātām-gatiḥ pāśuḥ | stri-kāmaḥ so ’stu nitarām Daksha vāstra-mukho ’chirat | vidyā-buddhir avidyāyaṁ karmamāyāṁ asau jādaḥ | saṁsaraṁ iha ya chānum anu Sarvāyamānānām | girah śrutāyāḥ puṣk̄piryāḥ madhu-gandhena bhūrīṇāḥ | mahānaḥ chinnatītātmānāḥ samruhyanti Hara-dvīkaḥ | sarva-bhakṣaḥ dvijāḥ evātyām dhiṣṭa-vidyā-tapo-vratāḥ | viṣṭha dehendriyārāmāḥ yācaḥāk iṣṭhaḥ vicharantu iha | “May the ignorant being who, from regard to this mortal (Daksha), and considering [Siva] as distinct [from the supreme

sa durhrit tasmai | ‘ēvatu iti khaśaḥ | Brahmaṇo vākyā[13] lajā-bhayaśdikam | parīṣṭya-datta ity arthaḥ | “The real meaning (of vv. 13 ff.) is this: ‘He in whom works are destroyed, owing to his character of supreme Brahma; in consequence of which there is none purer than he.’ Instead of mānīne and bhīma-setave, the division of words may also be amānīne, abhīma-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 nevertheless gave her from a covetous desire of being connected with him. The words ‘as to a Sūdra’ are merely an illustration to express unfitness, and not defectiveness, otherwise there would be a contradiction between his 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 himself says ‘like a madman.’ Otherwise he would have said ‘a madman.’ Āśiva, insuspicious, means he than whom none is more suspicious. The words matta and matta-jana-prīya 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. Nāska-tauchāya means that from him comes purity to the depraved. Durhrit means he whose heart, feeling, suggests that ‘even these, although wicked, are to be compassionated by me.’ Veta intimates joy. ‘Owing to the injunction of Brahms, abandoning modesty, fear, etc., I gave my daughter:’ such is the sense.”

[236] This is Burnouf’s reading. It is an archaic, Vedic, form. The Bombay edition reads viṣaṁute.
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 (Siita), continue to exist in this world in ceremonial ignorance. Let the enemies of Hara (Siita), whose minds are disturbed by the strong spiritual odour and the excitement of the flowery words of the Veda, become deluded! Let those Brahmins, 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.—Taeyaivaṁ dadataḥ śapaṁ brutova dvija-kulaya vai | Bhriguḥ pratyāriyach chhāpaṁ brahma-daṇḍaṁ duratgayam | Bhava-vratā-dharāḥ ye cha ye cha tām samanurattāḥ | pāshaṇḍinas te bhavantu ochchhāstra- paripanthināḥ | naṣṭa-sauchāḥ māḍha-dhiyo jaṭā-bhāsmāṭhi-dhāriṇāḥ | visāntu Siśa-dikṣāyaṁ yatra daivasam surāsavan | brahma cha brahma- nāṁ chaiva yad yūyam parinindatha | setum vidhāraṇam puṁsām ataḥ pāshaṇḍaṁ aśritaḥ | echa eva hi lokānaṁ śivaḥ panchā sanatanaḥ | yam pūrre chaṇusaṁtathur yat-pramāṇan Janārdanaḥ | tad brahma paramāṇaḥ buddhaṁ satāṁ vartma sanātanam | eivarhya yāta pāshaṇḍaṁ daivaṁ vo

127 The words so rendered, grihasu kūta-dharmeshu, occur thrice in this Purāṇa (see Böhlhing and Roth s.v. kūta-dharma), viz., in iii. 30, 10; in iv. 26, 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 kūta-dharmeshu as meaning houses "in which frauds, practices such as rognerity in regard to money, etc., prevail" (kūtaḥ vitta-sūthyādi- bahūḥ dharmāḥ yesuḥ). 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 dominant le mensonge [et la misère]," dukkha-tantreshu]; in the verse before us by "attaché dans les maisons, à des vils devoirs"; and similarly in iv. 26, 6, by "au milieu des devoirs vulgaires d'un maître de maison."

128 This depreciation of the Vedas may have arisen from a consciousness on the part of the Śaivas, that their worship was not very consistent with the most venerated Scriptures of their own country.

129 Compare the Bhagavad Gītā ii. 42 ff., quoted in the 3rd vol. of this work, p. 31 ff.
yatra bhāra-rād | "Hearing him thus utter a curse against the tribe of Brahmana, Bhṛigu launched a counter-imprecation, a Brahmanical weapon, hard to be evaded: 'Let those who practise the rites of Bhava (Mahādeva), and all their followers, be heretics, and opponents of the true scriptures. Having lost their purity, deluded in understanding, wearing matted hair, and ashes and bones, let them undergo the initiation of Śiva, in which spirituous liquor is the deity. Since ye revile the veda (brahma) and Brahmana, the barriers by which men are restrained, ye have embraced heresy. For this [veda] is the suspicious (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, Śiva departed with his followers, while Daksha and the other Prajāpatiis 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 Prajāpatiis, becomes elated. He commences a great sacrifice called Vṛhaspatiśava. Seeing the other gods with their wives passing to this sacrifice, Sati presses her husband, Śiva, to accompany her thither. He refers to the insults which he had received from her father, and advises her not to go. She, however (sect. 4), being anxious to see her relatives, disregards his warning and goes; but being sighted by her father, Daksha, she reproaches him for his hostility to her husband, and threatens to abandon the corporeal frame by which she was connected with her parent. She then voluntarily gives up the ghost. Seeing this, Śiva's attendants, who had followed her, rush on Daksha to kill him. Bhṛigu, however, throws an oblation into the southern fire, pronouncing a Yajus text suited to destroy the destroyers of sacrifice (yajna-ghra-ghnena yajūṣā dakhinaṇgaṇu jhūṣa ha). A troop of Rishus in consequence spring up, who put Siva's followers to flight. Śiva is filled with wrath when he hears of the death of Sati (sect. 5). From a lock of his hair, which he tore out, a gigantic demon arose, whom he commanded to destroy Daksha and his sacrifice. This demon proceeds with a troop of Śiva's followers, and they all execute the mandate. 16 ff. Ruruṣuṣu yajna-pātrāgī tathaiko 'gnin anāhāyan |
... 19. juhuvaḥ arvæa-hastasya śmakṛṇy bhagacān Bhavaḥ | Bhrigur lalunçē sadasyo yā 'hæat śmakṛ darśayat | Bhagasya netre bhagacān pātītasya rūṣā bhūṣī | ujjhāra sadāṣṭhaḥ 'kṣyā yāḥ śapantam asā- 
ruchat | Pūṣanāḥ chāpātyaṇ pātīm Kālingasya yathā Balaḥ | śapyanāne garimāṇi140 yo 'hæat darśayan dataḥ | 15. “Some broke the sacrificial 
vessels, others destroyed the fires, others made water in the ponds, 
others out the boundary-cords of the sacrificial ground; others as-
saulted the Munia, others reviled their wives; others seized the gods 
who were near, and those who had fled. ... 19. The divine Bhava 
(Siva) plucked out the beard of Bhrigu, who was offering oblations 
with a ladle in his hand, and who had laughed in the assembly, show-
ing 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 [Dakaha when] cursing [Siva]. He moreover knocked 
out the teeth of Pūshan141 (as Bala did the king of Kalinga’s), who 
(Pūshan) had laughed, showing his teeth, when the great god was 
being cursed.” Tryambaka (Siva, or Virabhadra, according to the 
commentator) then cut off the head of Dakaha, but not without some 
difficulty. The gods report all that had passed to Svayambhū (Brahmā), 
who, with Vishyū, had not been present (sect. 6). Brahmā advises 
the gods to propitiate Siva, whom they had wrongfully excluded from 
a share in the sacrifice (v. 5. athāpi yuyām kriṣṇa-kīrṇaḥ Bhavaḥ 
yo barihko bhāga-bhājam ārañā). The deities, headed by Aja 
(Brahmā), accordingly proceed to Kailāsa, when they see Siva “bear-
ing 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 even-
ing cloud” (v. 35. lingaṇaḥ tāpasyaḥ bhasma-daṇḍa-jaṭājinam | 
angena sannāhā-'bhra-rūṣā chandra-lekāhāca bibhṛatam). Brahmā ad-
dresses Mahādeva “as the eternal Brahma, the lord of Sakti and Siva, 
who are respectively the womb and the seed of the universe,—who, 
in sport, like a spider, forms all things from Sakti and Siva, who are 
consubstantial with himself, and preserves and reabsorbs them” (vv.

140 Garimāṇi guruṭæe Rudra | Comm.
141 See Taitt. Sañhitā, ii. 6, 8, 3, and other texts quoted above, pp. 200 ff., for the 
elder story.
MAHADEVĀ PROPITIATED; D'S SACRIFICE RECOMMENDED.

41 f. jāne tvām ivaśya jagato yoni-vijayoh | Sakte Śivasya cakṣa
param yat tad Brahma nirvantaraṁ | tvam eva bhagavattat Chāiva-
Saktiyoh sarāpayoh | vivaśam srijasī pāsy atsi kriḍann ārṇa-paśo yathā). (A
similar supremacy, as we shall see, is ascribed to Vaiṣṇu 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 Dakṣa, at which a share had been refused
to him by evil priests (v. 49. Na yatra bhāgāṁ tava bhāgino đaduḥ kṛyā-
joṇaḥ). Mahādevā partly relents (sect. 7), and allows Dakṣa to have
a goat's-faced head, Bhaga to see with Mitra's eyes, Pūshan to eat with
the teeth of his worshipper, Brhgu to have a he-goat's beard, etc. (vv.
3 ff.) Dakṣa, after having had a goat's head fitted to his body, celebrates
the praises of Śiva (vv. 8 ff.). The sacrifice is then recommenced, and
in order to its completion, and to remove the pollution occasioned by
the touch of Mahādevā's warriors, an oblation is made to Vaiṣṇu on
three platters (v. 17. Vaishnavaṁ yajna-santatayai trikapālam dvijottamāḥ|
purodāśāṁ nirvapana eśra-sāmārya-buddhayā). Hari (Vaiṣṇu) being
meditated on, then appears (v. 18), is saluted with the greatest reverence
by the gods, headed by Brahmā, Indra, and Śiva (Tryakṣaḥ); is
lauded successively by Dakṣa, 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 Dakṣa
and Mahādevā, and to show that he himself was the one supreme deity,
of whom all the others were only the manifestations, though in reality
one in their essence:

V. 50. Śrī-Bhagavān uvācha | aham Brahmā cha Sarvāḥ cha jagataḥ
karaṇam param | atmeśvarāḥ upadrashtā mayāmādir avīśakṣayaḥ | 51.
atma-mayaṁ samāviṣya so 'ham guṇamayīṁ deiva | srijan rākshan haram
vivaśaḥ dadhre saṁjñāṁ kriyochitām | 52. tasmin Brahmasy advitiye kvala
paramātmanī | Brahma-Rudra cha bhūtaṁ bhedenāyāno 'nupasyati | 53.
yātha pumān na evaṁguhyo śivāḥ-pān̄ śaṁśe tvacchāt | pārakṣya-buddhiṁ
kurute evam bhūteśu mat-parah | 54. Tryāṇāṁ eka-bhāvaṁ yo na
pasyati vai bhūdam | sarva-bhūtaṁ manāṁ brahmaṁ ca sāṁśi adhigachhati |
50. “I am Brahmā and Sarvāḥ (Śiva), the supreme cause of the world,
the soul, the lord, the witness, the self-manifesting (or, self-beholding),
DISPUTE BETWEEN BRAHMA AND VISHNU.

devoid 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 Brahma 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.). Satti, the daughter of Daksha, who had abandoned her original body, is born again as the daughter of Himavat and Menā (v 58. evam Dākṣhayānī hitaḥ Satti gardva-kalevaram ājñena Himavataḥ kṣetre Menāyām iti sūrūna).142

The Saiva 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 Siva, by narrating the following legend of an undignified dispute between Brahma and Vishnu regarding their respective claims to superiority, and of the apparition of the

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142 The same account of Satti's double birth is given in the Vishnu Purāṇa, i. 8, 9 ff.: Evam-prakāro Rudro 'sa tu Sattiṁ bhāryāṁ avindata; Daksha-kopacheha tatvijña tu Satti moṁ kalevaram | Himavat-duhiṁ su 'bhūd Menāyāṁ deiva-sattama | upayame punaṁ chomāṁ ananyāṁ bhagavāṁ Bhavāḥ | "Rudra, being of the character thus described (i.e., one of the eight forms of the son born to Brahma: see above, pp. 339 ff.) obtained Satti for his wife. This Satti 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 Umā who was identical [with his former spouse]." In the preceding section (the 7th) of the Vishnu Purāṇa, Satti 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: Tāḥyath ēshīhāh kanṭasyah ekādāśa sulochanāh | Khyatiḥ Satty atha Sambhūtiḥ Srutīḥ Pristī Xahamā tathā | Sannatiḥ chamaisyā cha Urjā Svēhā Svadhā tathā | Bhṛigu Bhava Marichiḥ cha tathā chaivaṁgirīḥ muniḥ | Pulasyāḥ Pulahāḥ chaiva Kratuḥ charahi-saras tathā | Atrir Vasiṣṭha Vahniḥ cha Pitarāḥ cha yadha-kramam | Khyatiy-ādyāḥ jagriḥah kanyāḥ munaye muni-sattama | "Younger than them (the other thirteen daughters of Daksha) were eleven virtuous and lovely-eyed damsels, Khyati, Satti, Sambhuti, Sruti, Priti, Xahama, Sannati, Anuṣyā, Urjā, Svēhā, and Svadhā. Bhṛigu, Bhava. Marichi, the muni Angiras, Pulastyā, Pulaha, Kratu the excellent rishi, Atri, Vasiṣṭha, Vahni (i.e. Agni or Fire), and the Pitrīs,—these munis in order married Khyati and the other maidens."
Linga to rebuke and humble them by pointing out the inferiority of both to the supreme Mahādeva:

Linga Purāṇa, i. 17, 5-52.—Pitāmahaḥ uvācha | Pradhānam lingam akhyataṁ linga cha paraṃśvaram | rakshārtham ambudhau mahayaṁ Vishnus tv ādit surottamāḥ | vaśmānīka gato sarga jana-lokam saharsbhīḥ | sthitikālo tadā pūrne tataḥ pratyākhyate tathā | catur-yugasaḥ sahaśrnte satyalokam gato suraḥ | vinā 'dhipatyaṁ samatām gato 'nte Brahmāno mama | śuḥko cha sthāvaram sarvas te anāśiriphiyā cha sarvaśaḥ | paśavo mānushaḥ vrikshaḥ piśāchaḥ piśītāsanāḥ | gändharvādyāḥ kraṃsaiva nirdagdaḥ bhānu-bhānubhiḥ | skāṇḍeṣa mahāghore tamo-bhūte samanatāḥ | pushṭas (?) hy ambhaśi yogātām nirala nirupeplavāḥ | sahaśra-śrīraḥ viśvātmā sahaśrākṣaḥ sahaśra-pāt | sahasra-salāḥ sarvasvānaḥ | Hīraṇyagarbha rojasat tamasa Sankaraḥ svayaṁ | sattena sarvago Vishnuḥ sarvātmāte Mahēśvarah | kālātmā kāla-nābhas tu śuklaḥ kriṣṇas tu nīryugah | Nārāyaṇo mahābhūḥ sarvātmā sadaśamayāḥ | tathā bhūtam aham ariṣṭvā lakuṇānam pankajakṣaṇam | māyāyā mohitas tasya tama avocharaḥ kau taye | vaḍeti hastena samuttāpya sanātanam | tādā hasta-prāhārena tīreṇa sa ariṇdhaṇa tu | prabuddho 'hīya-sayanāṁ sanātinaḥ khaṇam eṣaḥ | darśeṇa nidrā-viklīnaṁ nirajāmala-lochanaḥ | mām asre samsthitaṁ bhāsa'dhyāsito bhagavān Hariḥ | aham chotrāya bhagavān hasan mām madhuraṁ sakriṭ | svagataṁ svagataṁ vatsa pitāmaha mahādyute | tasya tad vaḥchanaṁ śrutva śmaṇa-puruṣā sarvarabhāḥ | rojasā viddha-vairas cha tam avocharaḥ Janardanam | bhāhase vatsa vatsati sarga-saṁhara-kāryam | mām ihantaṁ-smitaṁ kṛitä guruḥ śishyam iśvanagha | kartāram jagatāṁ śakṣāṁ prakriyāte pravartaṁ | sanātanam ajaṁ Vishnuṁ Virīchim viśva-sambhavam | viśvātmānaṁ viśvātārāṁ bhātāraṁ pankajakṣaṇam | kimartham bhāhase mohād vaktum arhasi satvaram | so 'pi mām aha jagatāṁ kartā 'ham iti lokaya | bhātā kartā bhāvān angad avatirṇo mamāyayāt | viśmṛito 'si jagannāthaṁ Nārāyaṇam anāmayam | purusām paramātmāṇam puru-hūtam puruvāpjanam | Viṣṇum achyutam tānāṁ viśvaṁ prabhāvodbhavam | tavoparaṁ naśtvātra mama māyā-kritam tu idam | śriṁ satyaṁ tathārthaṁ sarva-devaścara haṁ aham | kartā netā cha kartā cha na mayā 'sti samolvāḥ | aham eva param Brahma paraṁ tattvaṁ pitāmaha | aham eva param jyotiḥ paramātmā te aham vibhuḥ | yad yad ariṣṭatmā ārutaṁ sarvaṁ jagaty asminī | charācharam | tat tad viddhi charurvaktā sarvaṁ manmayam ity atha |

143 In a transcript of this passage made for me in India, and published in my Mataparīkṣā, the reading is aham kaṁ, which seems a preferable reading.

144 Bhavyād maḥāḥ—reading in the Mataparīkṣā.
VISHNU ROUSED FROM SLEEP BY BRAHMA:

"Pitāmaha (Brahmā, in answer to an inquiry of the gods and rishis) says: 'Pradhāna (nature) is called the Linga, and Paramēśvara is called Lingin" (the sustainer of the Linga). It arose for the preservation of myself and Vishnu in the ocean, O deities. When the Vaimānikasa creation had proceeded with the rishis to the Janaloka, and when—the period of the continuance [of the world] having then been completed,—[all things] had been absorbed, at the end of the thousand sets of four yugas, and had departed to the Satyaloka—I, Brahmac, being at length reduced to a condition of equality [with other creatures] without dominion over them, and all immovable things having become altogether dried up from want of rain,—beasts, men, trees, Piśāchas, flesh-eating goblins, Gandharvas, etc., were by degrees burnt up by the rays of the sun. The one awful ocean being everywhere enveloped in darkness, the great-armed Nārāyaṇa, the soul of all things, formed of existence and non-existence, slept 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 (tamas) Śankara, through goodness (sattva) the all-pervading Vishnu, and in his universality Maheśvara, having the character of time, having time for his centre, white, black, free from the three qualities, the great-armed Nārāyaṇa, the universal soul, having the essence both of entity and non-entity. Beholding the lotus-eyed deity in this condition, sleeping, I, deluded by his illusion, touching the eternal being with my hand, impatient, said to him, 'Who art thou? speak.' Roused

144 Lingūdhishthānam | Comm.
145 Vaimānikasa sarga deva-sarga | Comm.
146 "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. 237 ff., vol. ii., and pp. 192 ff., vol. v. of Dr. Hall’s ed.).
147 Lit. "the end of me, Brahmā, having come to equality without dominion."
148 The reading of the Bombay text is here prakṣa; but some such word as ātā, "sleeps," seems to be required by the sense.
149 Kālamūḍha is the term in the original. Perhaps the proper reading may be Kālanūtha, "the lord of time," which occurs in the Mahābhārata, Śūnāp. 10369. 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 illwill being excited by passion (rajas), I said to Janārdana (Vishṇu): 'Dost thou, O sinless god, like a teacher speaking to his pupil, smiling inwardly, address the words 'child, child,' to me [who am] the cause of creation and destruction, the undisputed maker of the worlds, and the mover of Prakṛti (nature), the eternal, unborn, Vishṇu, Virinchi, the source and soul of all things, the disposer, the upholster, 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, Puruṣa, the supreme Spirit, invoked of many, lauded of many, Vishṇu, the undecaying, the lord, the source and origin of the universe. In this there is no fault of thine: it arises from my illusion. Listen to the truth, O four-faced deity: I am the lord of all the gods, the maker, the director, the destroyer; there is none equal to me, all-pervading. I, even I, O Pitāmaha, am the supreme Brahma, the supreme reality, the supreme light, the supreme spirit, all-pervading. Whatever thing, movable or immovable, has been seen or heard of in this world, know, O four-faced deity, that it is all formed of me. By me of old has been created everything that is discernible, consisting of the twenty-four principles; the atoms, which in their ultimate [and most subtile] form are eternal, have been united; and the beings sprung from my wrath (Rudra), etc., have been created. From my complacence thou and numerous (mundane) eggs have been formed in sport. Intelligence (buddhi) has been created by me in sport, and then from it three-fold shankāra: 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

181 Brahmā here assumes this character as belonging to himself.
182 See above, pp. 230 and 266 f.
in the sea of universal dissolution between us twain, whose enmity had been roused by passion. At this time there appeared before us, to stay our contention and admonish us, a luminous Linga, encircled with a thousand wreaths of flame, equal to a hundred final mundane conflagrations, incapable of diminution or increase, without beginning, middle, or end, incomparable, indescribable, undefinable, the source of all things. Bewildered by its thousand flames, the divine Hari said to me (Brahmā) who was myself bewildered, ‘Let us on the spot examine the source of [this] fire. I will go down the unequalled pillar of fire, and thou shouldst quickly proceed strenuously upwards.’ Having thus spoken, the universal-formed took the shape of a boar, and I immediately assumed the character of a swan. Ever since then men call me Hansa (swan), for Hansa is Virāj. Whoever shall call me ‘Hansa, Hansa,’ shall become a Hansa (unimpassioned saint). Having become purely white, and fiery-eyed, with wings on every side, rapid as thought and as the wind, I went upwards. Nārāyaṇa too, the soul of all things, having taken the dark form of a boar, like a heap of blue collyrium, ten yojanas broad and a hundred yojanas long, bulky as mount Meru, with white sharp-pointed tusks, luminous as the sun of mundane destruction, long-snouted, loud-grunting, short-footed, wondrous-limbed, victorious, strong, incomparable, proceeded downwards. Speeding thus downwards for a thousand years, 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

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183 See the commencement of this extract.
184 In the 6th and 5th 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.”—Aufrecht’s Catalogue of the Bodl. Sansk. MSS., p. 633.
185 See the first volume of this work, pp. 9 and 36.
with me, beheld this eternal loud-resounding [monosyllable] upon the right side of the Linga; the first letter a-kāra, after it u-kāra, ma-kāra in the centre, and Om as the result of the sounds.’”

This is followed by a great deal of mysticism about the letters of the word om and the other letters of the alphabet, etc., etc.

The eighteenth section of the same Purāṇa contains a hymn addressed by Viṣṇu to Rudra, which recites a list of the attributes of the latter deity. Mahādeva is gratified with this hymn, and tells Brahmā and Viṣṇu that they had both sprung 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:

Līṅga Purāṇa, 19, 8 ff.—Jñānābyam avam gatvā punar Nārāyaṇah svayam | praniḥpatya cha Viśveśam prāha mandataraṁ vaśi | “āvayor devadevaṁ saivāt ati-sobhanam | ihāgato bhavān yaśmāḥ saivāt-samānāya nau” | tasya tad-vachanaṁ śrutvā punaḥ prāha Haro Harim | praniḥpatya sāhitam mūrdhṇā kriyājali-putāṁ smayan | Śrī-mahādevaḥ uvācha | pra-laya-ṣthiti-sargaṁ kartā tvam dharaṇipate | vatsa vatsa Haro Viṣṇo pālayaitach charāharam | tridhā bhīnno hy ahaṁ Viṣṇo Brahma-Viṣṇu-Bhavākhyaḥ | sarga-rakṣā-laya-ghunair nīkhalāḥ paramēśvaraḥ | samnāmaṁ tyaju bho Viṣṇo pālayainam Pitāmaham | pāde me bhaviṣhyati utaḥ kalpa tace Pitāmahaḥ | tadā drakshyasī māṁ chaisaṁ so ’pi drakṣhayati padma-jāk | evam uktaḥ sa bhagavāṁ tatraivaṁtaradihyata | tadā-prabhriti lokeśu līṅgarcha supratishthitā | līṅga-vedi Mahādeci līṅgaṁ sükhād Mahēśvaraḥ | “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,186 since thou hast come hither to allay it.’ Having heard these words, Harā (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-

186 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 dśobhanam as meaning udbhayor api sama-balaśvach cēhobhamōnam, “brilliant from the equal powers of the two combatants”; and supplies śamaya, “appease, or stop, it” (ataḥ śamaya ity adhyāhāraḥ).
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 Pitamaha. 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 (Uma), and the Linga is the visible Mahesvara."

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 Mahabharta, quoted above, p. 230 and 266 f., makes him of Vishnu): "Sanandana dayo ye ca purnam eashas tu Vedasah | na te lokesu aajjanta nirapaksha prayasu te | sarve te cha'gata-jnanah vitaraga vimatsaraha | teshu evam nirapakshakau loka-erishtau mahatmanah | Brahma yo 'bhud mahakrodhas trailekhyadahana-kshama | tasya krodhat samudbhata-jvala-mala-vaidyam | Brahma yo 'bhut tatad sarva'm trailekhyam akhilam mune | dhruvati-kusilat tasya lalatat krodha-dipitat | samutpannas tadah Rudro madhyahnarka-sama-prabha | artha-nari-nara-vapuh prachandao 'ti-vastravah | "vidhakamnam" ity uktvah tam Brahma 'ntardadha punah | tathokto 'sau dvidha stratam purushata'chathah 'karo't | bibheda purushata'm cha daadha chaikadha cha sah | saumya'svamya'ish tathah santaksata'ish stritvam cha sa prabhu' | bibheda bhadra'deva'svarupair asita'h sitaih | "Sanandana and the others who were before created by Vedhas (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.

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 Harivanśa says (v. 43): Tato 'prijat punar Brahmā Rudraṁ roshātma-sambhavan | “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 Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata in chapter ii. (pp. 176 f., 184 ff., 223–226, 230 ff., 240 f., 263, 266 ff., 278 ff., and 283–291), and in the last section, while they contain some of the earliest descriptions of which I am aware, of Rudra in the new, and very different, aspect in which he has been conceived in the later ages of 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

187 See Professor Wilson’s notes on this passage, V. P., 2nd ed., vol. i., p. 103, ff. The Sāntiparvan 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 Puruṣa. (Athā tatrātatas tasya Chaturvakitrasya dhīmataḥ | talaśa-prabhavat putraḥ Śiveḥ ūgōd yaśrīchhayaḥ | ākāśa mahāyogī purā trinayanaḥ prabhūḥ | tataḥ khaḍ nipapātiśu dharaṇīdhara- mūrdhāni | apratāḥ chāhāvait prito savande chīpi pādayoḥ | tamaḥ nipatitaṁ drimson aṣṭyaṁ praptāṁ | uśīrṇa Vânama tadā prabhur evaḥ Prajūpatiḥ | uṣāha chainam bhāyavāṁdhi chirasūgatam ātmajam.)
undergoes in the later, as compared with the earlier, passages. To my own remarks on this subject, however, I shall prefix some observations by Professors H. H. Wilson, Weber, and Whitney, on the character of the Vedic Rudra.

The following remarks by Professor Wilson are extracted from the Introductions to the first and second volumes of his translation of the Rig-veda (published, vol. i., 1st ed., in 1850, and 2nd ed. in 1866; and vol. ii. in 1854):

"We have a Rudra, who, in after-times, is identified with Siva, but who, even in the Purānas, 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 Siva,—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 Siva 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 Siva 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, Viṣṇu, and Siva, 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."—(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

169 Creuzer, Religions de l'antiquité, book i., chap. i., p. 140.
irascible deity. As above remarked, the Maruts, or winds, are termed his sons; and this relationship would assimilate him to Indra. There is also a class of inferior deities; termed Rudras, who in one passage are worshippers of Agni, and in another are followers of Indra; being the same as the Maruts. So far, therefore, Rudra might be identified with Indra; but we have the name applied unequivocally to Agni in a hymn exclusively dedicated to that divinity (R. V. i. 27, 10). The term denotes, according to the Scholiast, the ‘terrible Agni’; but there is no warrant for this in the text, and we may be content, therefore, with the latter, to regard Rudra as a form or denomination of fire."—(Ibid. pp. xxxvii. f.)

"Rudra is described, as in the first book, by rather incompatible qualities, as both fierce and beneficent; but his specific province is here also the tutelarship of medicinal plants, and administration of medicine, and he is designated as a physician of physicians (R. V. ii. 33, 4). With respect also to his presiding over medicinal plants, there occurs a passage worthy of note, as among the herbs are those, it is said, which Manu selected, alluding, most probably, to the seeds of the plants which Manu, according to the legend as related in the Mahâbhârata, 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 Purânas."

—(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 Brâhmana (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-upadhâna-parisamâpyty-ânantaryam, Sâyâga), and the fire has been kindled, and blazes up (âtîyamâno

139 See the Section on the Maruts in the fifth vol. of this work, pp. 147 ff.
 Remarks of Professor Weber on the

'tīkhat), the gods (i.e. the Brahmans

160) are terrified by it, yād vai no

yaṁ na himyād 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 ex-
plains sāta-rudrīya by sānta-rudrīya (as gata comes from the root gam);
a double sense, which may perhaps have actually been, though in-
distinctly, 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
Maruta. The unbridled fury (manyu) of the storm, its roaring, its
tearing up (aufschlilten) 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 horri-
ble with the idea of the god of storms, and regard him as the lord, and
the cause, of every evil:

183 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 transcendent expression for the fact of a few
wise men applying for instruction to one still wiser than themselves."

161 "The Arāhadvāya of the Chārtreyiya School of the Kāthaka also (ii. 17) says:
Satarudriyaṁ devānāṁ Rudra-jamanaṁ." 'The Satarudriya is an appealing of
Rudra by the gods.'

183 "Hence in the R.V. i. 114, 6, he is also called sarāha, "boar," as the storm-
clouds too are elsewhere conceived under the same image" (Ind. Stud. i. 272, note).

183 "In R.V. i. 114; ii. 33. Hence, too, seven verses from these hymns are incor-
polated in the Satarudriya."
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 beneficial in so far as he chases away clouds and vapours, purifies and clears the atmosphere; in reference to this he is called a physician, and moreover acquainted with healing herbs: but he carries also diseases and contagions themselves as arrows in his quiver, and slays therewith men and cattle.

"In the crackling flame of the fire, now, men thought that they heard again the wrathful voice of the storm, that in the consuming fierceness of the former, they perceived once more the destructive fury of the latter. In this way we have to explain how it happened that both deities became gradually identified, and lent their respective epithets to one another, particularly as at the same time the storm is, in bad weather, accompanied with gleaming and fiery lightnings. This identification seems to have extended not merely to Agni and Rudra themselves, but also to the Rudras, in so far as the latter, from being the raging and flaming companions of the storm, appear to have become the representatives of all sorts of terrific shapes in general, until in the epic period they retired completely into the background, while their ancient master, Rudra, in his combination with Agni, became continually more firmly condensed as the god of rage and destruction, and a new class of beings took the place of the Rudras as attendants upon him (in his capacity of Śiva).

"At the period when the Rudra-book (the Satarudriya) was composed, the blending of the two destructive deities (Storm and Fire) had evidently taken place; and the epithets which are there assigned to Rudra lead us back partly to himself, and partly to Agni. The epithets 'dweller in the mountains' (giriśa, giriśaya, giriśanta, giriitra), and those of kapardin, vyūpta-keśa, ugra, and bhaṇa, bhishaj and śiva, tāmbhu and bākara, belong to the Storm, while on the other hand those of nila-grīva (=nilakaśṭha, spoken of smoke), sitikaṃṭha, hiraṇya-bāhu (of flame), vīlohitā, saharāksa (of sparks), pātupati (of sacrificial

victims), śāra and ḍhava, etc., belong to Fire. Now almost all these epithets are technical epithets and characteristics of the epic Siva, and when applied to him are partially unintelligible, and become explicable only after they have been distinguished according to the two separate elements to whose combination this god owes his origin. But as in the Rudra-book Rudra nowhere appears as Īśa or Mahādeva, and no character is assigned to him analogous to that of the epic Siva; and as the word śiva is applied to him simply as an epithet (with its comparative śivātara annexed); the book in question must in any case be held to date from an earlier epoch of the Indian religion, whilst its elevation to the rank of an Upanishad may only have taken place in the epic period, and have been occasioned by the special worship of Siva.'

The following remarks of Professor Whitney on the same subject are taken from the Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. iii., p. 318 f. (published in 1853); and are reprinted in the volume entitled "Oriental and Linguistic Studies," published by their author in 1873:

"To the second domain, the atmosphere, belong the various divinities of the wind and storm. God of the breeze, the gentler motion of the air, is Vayū (from the root va, ‘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.

168 "And so of many other epithets found elsewhere: thus Śiva owes his epithet Tryambaka, and his wife Ambikā, to Rudra; and, on the other hand, his epithet Tripura, and his wife Kāli, Karūli, to Agni," etc.

169 "Hence he is also called Kālagnirudra, as in the Purāṇas, and in the Kālagnirudra 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," kahayadetrā;¹⁶⁷ his wrath is deprecated, and he is besought not to harm his worshipper; if not in the Rik, at least in the Atharvan and Brāhmaṇas, he is styled 'lord of the animals,' as the unhoused beasts of the field are especially at the mercy of the pitiless storm. At the same time, to propitiate him, he is addressed as master of a thousand remedies, best of physicians, protector from harm: this may have its ground, too, partly in the beneficial effects of the tempest in freshening the atmosphere of that sultry clime. Rudra's chief interest consists in the circumstance that he forms the point of connexion between the Vedic religion and the later Īśa-worship. Īśa 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 Īśa 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; Īśa 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 (idāna) 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), tawny-coloured (this epithet is frequently applied), with beautiful chin (ii. 33, 5), fair-complexioned (ibid. 8), multiform, fierce, arrayed in golden ornaments (ibid. 9), youthful (v. 60, 5), terrible as a wild beast, destructive (ii. 23, 11), wearing spirally-braided hair (i. 114, 1, 5); and as the celestial boar (ibid. 5). He is frequently represented as the father of the Maruts or Rudras (i. 64, 2; i. 85, 1; i. 114, 6, 9; ii. 33, 1; ii. 34, 2; v. 52, 18; v. 60, 5; vi. 50, 4; vi. 56, 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 (ii. 33, 3), as armed with a bow and arrows (ibid. 10, 14; v. 42, 11; x. 125, 6), with a strong bow and fleet arrows, with sharp weapons (vi. 74, 4; vii. 46, 1; viii. 29, 5). His shafts are discharged from the sky, and traverse the earth (vii. 46, 3). He is called the slayer of men (śṛ-ghna, 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 (śīra, 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 Vishnu 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, Varuna, Mitra, and Aryaman, as unable to resist the will of Savitri. See the fifth volume of this work, p. 163.

169 Bhuvanasya pitāram. Compare Raghuvansā i., 1, where Paramāśvara (Śīva) and Pārvati are styled the "parents of the world" (jagātāḥ pitāram).

170 In vii. 56, 17, it is similarly said of the Maruta, tava gohā mrīnā usdho vasu: "For 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. 38, 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 ease 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 Pusan (see above, p. 301, note 7). While, however, the cosmical function of Rudra is thus but obscurely indicated, he is described as possessing other marked and peculiar characteristics. It is, however, principally in his relation to the good and evil which befall the persons and property of men that he is depicted. And here there can be little doubt that, though he is frequently supplicated to bestow prosperity, and though he is constantly addressed as the possessor of healing remedies, he is principally regarded as a malevolent deity, whose destructive shafts, the source of disease and death to man and beast, the worshipper strives by his entreaties to avert. If this view be correct, the remedies of which Rudra is the dispenser may be considered as signifying little more than the cessation of his destroying agency (as Professor Weber remarks, see above, p. 397), and the consequent restoration to health and vigour of those victims of his ill-will who had been in danger of perishing. It may appear
strange that opposite functions should thus be assigned to the same
god: but evil and good, sickness and health, death and life, are
naturally associated as contraries, the presence of the one implying the
absence of the other, and vice versa; and in later times Mahādeva is in
a somewhat similar manner regarded as the generator as well as the
destroyer. We may add to this that, while it is natural to deprecate
the wrath of a deity supposed to be the destroyer, the 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 Mahādeva,
is yet, like him, a terrible and destructive deity; while, on the other
hand, the ancient Vishnu, like the modern god of the same name, is
represented to us as a preserver, of a benignant, or, at least, of an
innocuous character (R.V. i. 22, 18; i. 156, 4; i. 186, 10; viii. 25, 12).

In the Yajur-veda we find the same characteristics assigned to Rudra
as in the Rig-veda. Thus both a healing virtue (iii. 59; xvi. 5, 49)
and a destructive efficacy are ascribed to him, the latter being depicted
in the liveliest colours, and deprecated in every variety of expression.
Thus he is represented (iii. 61 ; xvi. 1, and elsewhere) as carrying a
bow and arrows, and is earnestly supplicated (xvi. 9 ff., 51 ff.) to avert
his shafts from the worshipper. Many of the epithets which are
applied to him in the Rig-veda occur again here, such as “brown” or
“tawny” (xvi. 6), the god “with spirally-braided hair” (ibid. 10), the
“fierce” (ibid. 40), the “bountiful,” the “gracious” (51), etc.;
while a multitude of new appellations are heaped upon him (and his attendants),
such as “blue-necked,” “thousand-eyed” (ibid. 7), “thousand-quivered”
(13), “clad in a skin” (iii. 61 ; xvi. 51), “the dweller in the
mountains” (xvi. 2, 3, 4), and others far too numerous to repeat (xvi.
17-46). The imagination of the rishi runs riot in the invention of
these epithets, which are of the most heterogeneous description. Some
of the characteristics here attributed to Rudra are of a disgraceful
nature, as where he is styled the “lord of thieves, the robber, the
cheater, the deceiver, the lord of pilferers and robbers,” etc. (vv. 20,
21). Several new names are ascribed to Rudra in this Veda, as Bhava, Sarva, Paśupati, etc., etc. (vv. 18, 28). Altogether an approximation is discernible in the epithets which occur in the Satarudriya to the fierce, terrific, impure, and repulsive character of the later Mahādeva. Ambikā is mentioned for the first time in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (i.ii. 5), and is described not as the wife, but as the sister of Rudra.

In the Atharva-veda 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 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (i. 7, 3, 8) Sarva, Bhava, Paśupati, and Rudra are said to be all names of Agni; and of these appellations Sarva is declared to be in use among the people of the east, and Bhava among the western tribe of the Bāhikas. Another passage (vi. 1, 3, 7 ff.) of the same Brāhmaṇa describes the birth of a boy (kumāra, a word applied to Agni in the Rig-veda, v. 2, 1), to whom the names of Rudra, Sarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Aśani, Bhava, 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, Aśani, Paśupati, Bhava, Sarva, Īśāna, Mahādeva, Ugradeva, etc. (Agniḥ hridyena Āśaniḥ hridayāgṛṇa Paśupatīn kṛitena-hṛidāyena Bhavaṁ yaknā | Sarvam matasmābhāyam Īśānam manyunā Mahādevam antahparīsyeṇa Ugraṁ devaṁ vanishthunā ityāt).  

173 The Nirukta i. 16, 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 Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, in another passage (ix. 1, 1, 1 ff.) referred to by Professor Weber (see above, pp. 347 and 395 ff.), appears again clearly to make this identification. Finally, traces of the early connexion of Rudra with Agni are discoverable, as I have already remarked (p. 349), in the legend of the birth of Kārttikeya, which I have quoted from the Mahābhārata.

Though, however, these deities may have at one time come to be thus identified, the distinctive epithets applied to Rudra in the Rigveda appear sufficiently to prove that he was generally discriminated from Agni by his early worshippers. The tendency visible both in the hymns of the Veda and in the Brāhmaṇas (see above, R.V. ii. 1, 6, p. 306; A.V. vii. 87, 1, and xiii. 4, 4, pp. 333 and 338; Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, as quoted in p. 341; Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 1, 5, p. 22) to identify the different deities with one another may have arisen from a vague conception of the unity of the divine principle by which all these several divinities were supposed to be diversely animated.

Between the texts which I have cited from the Brāhmaṇas relative to Rudra, and the earliest descriptions of the same deity which we discover in the Epic poems, a wide chasm intervenes, which, as far as I am aware, no genuine ancient materials exist (for the Upanishads I have quoted are of uncertain date) for bridging over. The Rudra of the Mahābhārata is not indeed very different in his general character from the god of the same name who is portrayed in the Satarudriya; but in the later literature his importance is immensely increased, his attributes are more clearly defined, and the conceptions entertained of his person are rendered more distinct by the addition of various additional features, and illustrated by numerous legends. Instead of remaining a subordinate deity, as he was in the Vedic era, Rudra has thrown Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya, Mitra, and Varuṇa completely into the shade; and although Indra still occupies a prominent place in the Epic legends, he has sunk down into a subordinate position, and is quite unable to compete in power and dignity with Rudra, who, together with Vishṇu, now engrosses the almost exclusive worship of the Brahmanical world. Ambikā, who was subsequently identified with the
spouse of Rudra, is in the Vêjasaneyi Sanhitâ (above, p. 321) spoken of as his sister. Umâ or Pârvati, 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 Taâtitirîya Áranyaka,174 is now his acknowledged consort.175 In systematic mythology the function of destroyer is assigned to him, as that of creator is to Brahmá, and that of preserver to Vishnu; but he is also worshipped under the emblem of the “Lingga” as the great generative power.

I have (above, pp. 192 f.) quoted a passage from the Mahabhârata 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 “mahâsêpha” 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.:

Anuâsana-parvan, v. 7510.—Dahaty árdhovam sthitam yach cha priyam
nîtam âthirâ cha yat | âthirâ-lingsa cha yan nityam tasmât Stâhu
iti smratah | . . . . . v. 7516. Nityamca brahmacharyena lingam asya
yatd uhitam | mahayanty asya lokâs cha priyam hy etad mahatmanâh |
vigrham pujayed yo vai linyam va pi mahatmanâh | linga-pujayita nityam
mahatih bryiyam abhyote | rishayas châpi devâs cha ganadhvâparasas
stâhâ | lingam evâchayanti sma yat tad árdhovam samâsthitam | ityadi |
“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 Stâhu. . . . 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 (vigrâha), 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) that Pâñini (4, 1, 49) gives a rule whereby, in addition to the names of the goddesses Indrâ and Varuñâ, which are found in the Rig-veda, the names of four others who are not found there, and who are all wives of Siva (under his different appellations of Bhava, Sârva, Rudra, and Mrida)—viz. Bhavini Sârvi, Rudrâ, and Mriadâ—may be formed. (The rule is this: Indra-Varuna-
Bhava-Sârva-Rudra-Mrida-himârâya-yava-yavuna-mûtulâhûryûn ânu). It
does not, however, follow that these last-named goddesses had risen into any importance in the time of Pâñini. Indrâ and Varuñâ were never of any significance.
How Did the Linga-Worship Arise?

Gandharvas, and Apearases worship.” Compare with this extract verses 9616 ff., 9625 and 9631 of the Droga-parvan.

The Linga is also mentioned in the list of Siva’s names in another part of the same Anuśāsana-parvan, v. 1160:

Ürdheo-retaḥ ārdeho-lingaḥ ārdeho-bāyi naḥbaḥ-sthitāḥ | v. 1191.
Linggaḥyakshaḥ surādhyakshaḥ . . . viṇāhyakshaḥ viṇa-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

In the Sautpika-parvan it is related that Mahadeva had been appointed by Brahma to create living beings. He proceeded to perform austerities, and continued doing so so long that Brahma produced another creator, who performed his task. Mahadeva 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 ff.: chukrodha bhagavan Rudro lingaṁ svam chaṇyavidhyata | tat praviddham tatha bhumam tathaiva pratyatishṭhata). I have not observed any mention of the Linga in the earlier part of the Rāmāyaṇa, but in the Utarā Kāṇḍa, sect. 31, v. 43 ff., the following lines occur: Yatra yatru cha yūti ema Rāvaṇa rākṣahesvaroḥ | jāmbūnādamayaṁ lingaṁ tatrā tatra ema niyate | 43. Bālukā-vedi-madhya tu tāl lingaṁ sthīpya Rāvaṇaḥ | archayāṃśa gandhaśaḥ cha pūṣpam chāmrīta-gandhabhīkṣaḥ | “Wherever Rāvaṇa, lord of the Rākshasas, went, a golden linga was carried thither. Placing that linga in the midst of a pedestal of sand, Rāvaṇa worshipped it with incense, and flowers of ambrosial odour.” The commentator remarks on v. 43: Tat lingaṁ jāmbūnādamayaṁ niyāṇa-pūjāṁ | Aitāorya-kāṃsayaḥ hi tat-lingga-pūjāḥ Rāvaṇaṁ | Aitāorya-kāṃsaya sauvrīna-linga-pūjāṁ tattvādhiṣṭhaḥ | “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.”

In this paper on “the Ante-Brahmanical Religion of the Hindus,” the Rev. Dr. Stevenson asserts that the “worship of Siva, 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 Siva is grounded by Dr. Stevenson on the facts: (1) that Siva is not named in the ancient Vedic hymns; (2) that Rudra does not occupy in those hymns the high position which the later Siva holds; (3) that various particulars in the legend of Daksha (see above, pp. 372 ff.), such as the general indispersion to acknowledge Siva’s right to share in the sacrifice, and the circumstance that his rites required no Brahmanical priest (see above, p. 377, note 139), point to a recent introduction of Siva’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 Brahmins from them, and associated with the worship of Rudra.

This conjecture would acquire additional probability if we were justified in supposing that the word "śīśnadeva," 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,
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 thunder-bolt 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 ‘śīna’ approach our sacred ceremony. 6. Thou, O Indra, hast surpassed in power, when thou runnest thy course. The worlds have not comprehended within them thy greatness. By thine own might thou hast slain Vṛitra. No enemy hath attained the end of thee in battle. 7. The earlier gods have yielded to thy divine power; their powers have bowed before thy sovereign might. 179 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.—Kam naś chitram ishanyai chhitve vṛtakāṃ prithugmānam vāsāṃ vāriḍahadhayai | kat tasya dātu kāvase vyuṣṭau vakṣah vajrāṃ Vṛitra-turam apinvat | 2. Sa hi dyutā vydyutā vati sama prithum yonim ausrutvā "sarayā | sa saniḥbhi prasahāno asya bhrātur na rite saćthaṣṭaṃ māyaḥ | 3. Sa vijayā yātā apaduspadā yān sarvahāta parśhadat sanishyan | anaraṇaṃ yat bātā-ādaraṇaṃ abhi varpaṣaḥ bhat | 4. Sa yakhyo avanir goṣṭi avro ā juhoti praśhanyaaṇu uṣrīḥ | apādo yatara yujyaaḥ "ratīhaḥ drony-āvāsaḥ itra pṛitvam vāh | 5. Sa Rudrebhīr asata-vārah pribhā hiti gyaṃ ārē-avadyāḥ ā agāt | samrasya manva mithūna vivaṛt annam abhiyaa arodayaḥ mūdhāyaḥ | 6. Sa id dāsaṃ tuvi-rovam patīr dan sahākṣam tri-śrēṣṭhāṃ damayat | asya Trito na ojasā vriṣṭhāno vipā varāham ayo-agrayaḥ han | 7. Sa drukṣam manuṣhe ārdhvasānaḥ ā savishad arisānāya sarum | sa niṣṭamaḥ nākhu "smat sujaṭāḥ puro "bhinād arhan danyu-hatyas | “What wonderful, wide-travelling bull dost thou, perceiving, send to us for our delight! What an act of power does he display at the dawn! He has formed the

179 “Ihre Kraft kommt deiner Herrscherkraft nicht gleich.”—Böhtlingk and Roth s.v. mū-ānu.
180 This word in the locative plural also occurs in R.V. i. 51, 3.
Vytra-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 ‘śīna,’ he by his craft conquered the riches of the city with a hundred gates. 4. The steed, coming among the cows conquered in battle, pours out the flowing rivers [in the place] where the allies, without feet or chariots, employing the clouds as their horses, send forth fertilizing water. 5. The great [Indra], who has indescribable treasures, and from whom evil is far removed, forsaking his house, has arrived with the Rudras. Coming and plundering their food, he has, I believe, made the two unsheltered (children) of Vamra to weep. 6. This lord subjugated the loud-voiced Dāsa with six eyes and three heads. Trita, increasing through his strength, struck the boar with his iron-tipped shaft. 7. Rising up, he has launched his arrow against the malignant and destructive man. He, the noble and potent hero, has shattered for us the cities of the enemy (or of Nahush) in the conflict with the destroyers (Dasyus).”

The following is Sāyana’s explanation of the word “śīnadeva” in the first of the preceding passages, R.V. vii. 21, 5, and repeated briefly in his note on the second passage: “śīna-devaḥ | śīnena dvayanti kri-ḍanti iti śīna-devaḥ | abrahamacharyāḥ ity arthāḥ | tathā cha Yāsakaḥ | . . . . “śīna-devaḥ abrahamacharyāḥ” | . . . . “Śīnadevaḥ” are those who sport with the śīna (membrum virile), i.e. unchaste men; as Yaska says, “Śīnadevāḥ” means the unchaste.” Durga, the commentator on the Nirukta, as cited by Roth (Illust. of Nir. p. 47), gives the same explanation as Sāyana. He says that those men are called “śīnadeva” who “are always dallying carnally with prostitutes, forsaking Vedio observances” (śīnena nityam ova prakīryāh striḥīḥ sākāḥ kriḍantaḥ āste krounti karmāṇy uṣṭrijyā). 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 Śāyaṇa'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 "anṛita-deva" (vi. 104, 14) and "mūra-deva" (vi. 104, 24).Śāyaṇa explains "mūra-devāḥ" as="māraṇa-kriḍāḥ," "those who make a sport of killing"; and he therefore takes "deva" there in the same sense as he does in "śīśā-deva." But in the other word, "anṛita-deva," he takes "deva" in the usual sense of "god," and interprets it as "he whose gods are false" (anṛitāḥ asatya-bhūtāḥ devāḥ yasya tādṛśāḥ). 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 "anṛita-deva" is explained as signifying a "false player," this interpretation is afterwards withdrawn (in favour of that which Śāyaṇa gives of this word) at the close of the article on the word "deva." Nor does the sense assigned by Śāyaṇa to "śīśā-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 "śīśā-deva" is to be understood of human beings, and if it could be taken as describing any deviation from the contemporaneous Aryan worship, it would find many parallels in the Rig-veda, as may be seen by a comparison of the words "akarman," "adevayu," "anṛich," "anindra," "anya-vrata," "apavrata," "avrata," "abrahaman," "avyayvan" "avyayu" | "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 "śīśā" cannot be taken as equivalent to "Linga," which means a sign, the phallus, and is therefore emblematic, while the "śīśā" denotes not an image, but the male organ itself. "Śīśā" has also the sense of "tail," as in R.V. i. 105, 8.

182 The word is explained by Böhtlingk and Roth s.v. as=mūladeva, and as denoting a species of goblins.
pointed out to me by Professor Aufricht, where the words mashe nas śiṇā vyadanti ma adhyāś mean, "caries worry me, like mice gnawing their tails." The word "śiṇadevāḥ," if understood of demons, may therefore mean, as Roth suggests, "tailed (or priapic) demons," and not "worshippers of the śiṇa." 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. 382 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 "śiṇa-deva," that it might be understood either of men or demons, either of whom would have been unwelcome visitors at an Arian ceremonial. Perhaps, as the word "yātavah" (demons) precedes, it is most likely that the latter are intended: and the same remark may be held to apply to the second passage (x. 99, 3).

However interesting, therefore, it would be to find a proof of the existence of a phallic worship among the aboriginal tribes contemporary with the Vedic rishis, it must be confessed that the word "śiṇadeva" does not supply this evidence.

In a passage (in the Preface to the tenth vol. of his Rāmāyaṇa, p. ix.) which I have adduced in the second vol. of this work (pp. 419 f.), 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. Siva (a deity, as I believe, of the Cushite or Hamitic tribes which preceded on the soil of India the Arian or Indo-Sanskrit races) wished to have a part in the worship of the conquerors, and in their sacrifices, from which he was excluded; and by disturbing their rites, and by a display of violence at their sacrifices, he succeeded in being admitted to participate in them." Signor Gorresio, however, offers very little proof of his assertion in regard to the worship of Siva 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 (Rāmāyaṇa vi. 19, 50 f.) 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 Rākhasa, 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 these 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 ff. (= Sundara Kāṇḍa 78, 17, in Gorresio's ed.), and is as follows:

_Tis'ha va kim mahārāja śramaṇa tava vāmarāṇ | ayaṁ eko mahārāja Indrajit kahapayishyatī | anena cha mahārāja Māheśvaram anuttamam | ishtvā yajñaṁ evor labdhāḥ lokes parama-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, Parasurāma, and above all, of Jarāsandha, 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 Rākhasas worshipped for their own purposes. It appears from the passage of the Rāmāyaṇa (cited above in p. 167) that Rāvaṇa 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 Vishṇu which procured for Indrajit his magical powers.

The same worship of Brahmā is related in regard to Atikāya, one of Rāvaṇa's sons, in Rāmāyaṇa vi. 71, 31 f. (Bombay ed.):

_Etenārdhiko Brahmā tapasa bhāvātītanā | aśtraṇi chapy avāptāni ripavān cha parājifāh | sāvadwair abadhyatavām dattam aham Sevām-bhavā | "By this contemplative (Rākhasa) Brahmā had been worshipped with austerities, and he had obtained weapons, and conquered_
his enemies. [The privilege] had been bestowed on him by Śvayambhū that he should be indestructible by gods or Asuras."

In verse 28 he is described as "reverent to the aged, and of renowned strength" (ṣṛddha-ṣoṭi śruta-balāḥ). Rāvaṇa 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, Śūpāśva (Avindhya¹⁹⁴ in Gorr.), who is described as "virtuous and pure," is introduced as saying to him: Veda-vidyā-erataḥ snātas eva- karma-nirataḥ¹⁹⁵ tathaḥ | striyāḥ kasmād badhaṁ vīra manyasa Rākhasa-sevāra | "Why dost thou, heroic Rāvaṇa, lord of the Rākhasas, 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.): Eko hitāgniḥ¹⁹⁶ cha mahātapāḥ cha vedānta-gaḥ karmas caḥgṛya-kūraḥ | "He had placed the sacrificial fire, was very austere, had read the concluding treatises of the Veda, and was an eminent hero in rites."¹⁹⁷

¹⁹³ Instead of śruta-balāḥ, Gorresio’s edition reads śrutidharaḥ, "an observer of the Vedas." In Manu vii. 38 the following verse occurs: Frīḍhāṁścha nityāṁ sevetā viprān veda-vidyaḥ śuchīn | Frīḍhāṁści hi satataṁ rakshobhir api pūjata | "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 Rākhasas." Can this verse refer to the character Frīḍhāṁści given to Ātīkṣya 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 Ātīkṣya in consequence of the verse of Manu? or have the two passages no connexion? The coincidence is at least curious.

¹⁹⁴ He is, as remarked by the commentator, also called Avindhya; and so in the (Rāmopākhyāna in the Vana-parvan of the) Mahābhārata (vy. 16148, 16492–6, and elsewhere).

¹⁹⁵ The commentator thus explains these words: Veda-vidyā-grahāpekhita-brahma- charya-erata-pūrva-vidyāṁ girihiṣṭāḥ | snātaḥ | guru-kulāt samādhītita tadāntaraṁ dūra-grahāna- pūrvaṁ nityānigamotrdhī-eva-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.v. snāta and snātaka, and Kūltaka’s note on Manu iii. 2, referred to by the latter lexicographer.

¹⁹⁶ Eko hitāgniḥ ity ārhaḥ sandhāḥ | āhitāgniḥ iti ehhedaḥ | Comm.

¹⁹⁷ Vedāntayāḥ | adhitpanishatkaḥ | karmas caḥgṛya-kūraḥ | agryasūraḥ | paramānubhūtiḥ parama-karmaścaḥ | In some of the earlier lines of the same section Vibhishana thus speaks of Rāvaṇa: Gataḥ estaṃvinidānām gataḥ dharmasya vigrahaḥ | gataḥ este saṃkṣepaḥ sa hastānām gatir gatā | ādityaḥ patito bhūmau
Again, it is related in the hundred and thirteenth section (Bombay ed.), that Rāvaṇa 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 Rākhasa-brahmans (Rākhasa-devī).  

Rāmāyaṇa vi. 113, vv. 112 ff. (Bombay ed.)—Chitāṃ chandrama-
kaśthai cha padmaśtra-ōchandanaś | brāhmaṇaśaṃvartayāmānāyān
rākavāstaranāvīrītām | prachakruḥ Rākhasendraśaṃ prītmedham
anuttamam | vediṁca daksīṇapračchāṃ yathā-sthānane ca pāvakaḥ |
pradhadāyona sampruṣaññ orvauṃ skandha prachikshipuḥ | pādaśāk śaka-
ṭam prāpur urośi choliśkapalam tada | dāru-pātraṇi sarvasaṃ arāṇīṃ
cuttaranāṃ | daṭṭvā tu musalaṃ chāyanaṃ yathā-sthānāṃ vichakramābhiḥ |
śāstra-śrīṣṭena vidhīnā mahārashvī-vihītena | cha | tatra medhyam paisā
dhatvā Rākhasendraśaṃ Rākhasaḥ | paristaraṇiśaṃśaṃ vishvāyāya
samavēyāya | gandhair mahāyair alankārāya Rāvaṇaṃ dīna-mānaśaḥ |
Vibhīṣaṇaḥ-saḥya te vastrāya cha vidhih saḥ | lājāra avakrantīṃ saṃ
vāṣpa-pūrṇa-mukhaṃ tathā | sa dadau pāvakaḥ tasya vidhi-vyuḥaṃ |
Vibhīṣaṇaḥ | snātā vaivādstra-vastreṇa tilān darbha-vimśītrītanā |
udakena cha sammiśraṇ prādaya vidhi-pāvasakām | “They formed,
mugna tamasi chandramaḥ | “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 Vibhīṣaṇa abuses his dead brother in the
hundred and thirteenth section (Bombay ed.), vv. 93 ff.  

188 Veda-mārgaṅgata-krīyaṇā | Comm.
190 Kalpa-sūtra-kiḍā-piṣṭi-vihītenā | Comm.
190 Paristaraṇaṃ mukham anāyād iti paristaraṇiśaṃ śaṇaḥ | tām Rākhasendraśaṃ mukha
samavēyaṇā | “nectā iti mukham pravṝṇaṇāḥ” iti sūtraś | Comm.; who seems
therefore to understand paristaraṇiśā 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 anustaraṇiḥ kim rāmaḥ iti paśchitaṁ anustaraṇiḥ
tām rājavāyuḥ tām uśabhyā māṣeṣharamaṇā yajamāṇām āṣṭritavesatāṁ iti arthaḥ |
But Tīrtha (a previous commentator) reads anustaraṇiḥ kim rāmaḥ, and explains the
sense thus: having immolated a rājavāyu (bos grunniens), they covered the sacrifice
with its skin.”  

191 I insert here part of Gorresio’s text for comparison (vi. 96, 10 ff.): Tatā sa
veda-videśaṃsa tam rāmaḥ paśchitāṃ kriyaṇā | chakrād rākhasendraṃ prīt-
medham anuttamam | vediṁca daksīṇā-prāchāṃ yathā-sthānaṃ ca pāvakaḥ |
Vibhīṣaṇaṣaṃ tu samprūṣaṃ tuśhyān samaṃsaṣtāḥ tāruṇaḥ | pradhadāyona sammūruṇaṃ
ṛvuṃ sarvaṃ yathāvidhi | Rājasyaṣaṃ tada śāraṃ vāṣpa-pūrṇa-mukhaḥ devīḥ |
pādaśāk śakataṃ chakrāntaraṇaṃ udākhalam | vānapoṣyatiṃ chāyanaṃ antare pī
vyadāśyāyaṇā | daṭṭvā tu musalaṃ chaiva yathāśāntaḥ mahātmanaḥ | śāstra-
śrīṣṭena vidhīnā mahārashī-vihītena cha | tataḥ paśchāt paśuḥ hatvā rākhasendraṃ
rākhaśaḥ | atitharṣkākim sarvaṃ prītātāṃ samavēyaṇā |
with Vedic rites, a funeral pile of faggots of sandalwood, with “padma” wood, “uṣṭra” grass, and sandal, and covered with a quilt of deer’s hair. They then performed an unrivalled obsequial ceremony for the Rākshasa prince, [placing] the sacrificial ground to the south-east and the fire in the proper situation. They cast the ladle filled with curds and ghee on the shoulder (of the deceased); they placed the car on the feet, and the mortar between the thighs. Having deposited all the wooden vessels, the [upper] and lower firewood (arāṇī), and the other pestle, in their proper places, they departed. The Rākshasas having then slain a victim to their prince in the manner prescribed in the Sāstras, 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 Rāvaṇa with perfumes and garlands, and with various vestments, and besprinkled him with fried grain, their faces being covered with tears. Vibhīṣaṇa having bathed, and having, with his clothes wet, scattered in proper form “tila” seeds mixed with “darbha” grass, and moistened with water, applied the fire [to the pile].”

Gorresio remarks (note 94, p. 310, vol. x.) that the funeral rites of the Aryan Brahmans are here introduced as practised among the Rākshasas, a race of different origin and worship, in the same way as Homer represents Grecian ceremonies as having been celebrated in Troy.

132 “According to Āpastamba (says the commentator), it should have been placed on the nose; this must therefore have been done in conformity with some other sūtras” (yadgopya “nāsika ērwōn” ity Āpastamboktaṁ tathāpi sūtrāntarāt skandha ‘pi nīkshēpaṁ ērwasya bodhyaḥ). Compare Professor Müller’s article on the funeral ceremonies of the Brahmins in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1866, pp. vi. ff.

133 On this whole passage the commentator remarks: “Tatyajnas tam mahābhūgam pancha-bhūtāni Rāvaṇam | sarira-dhātavah hy asya mahāmāṁ rudhiram eva cha ne śūr brahmāstra-nirdagdāḥ na cha dharmāpy adriyata” iti Mahābhārata uktaśeva kaśya Vālmikinā imaśāṃ samayāṇa-pūrvakāṁ dāhā uktāḥ iti ekena [tasya Rāma-pāra-vargana-parāhāyé tyukta-ālankāra-paratvād iti vadati | “Since it is said in the Mahābhārata (Rāmapārva, in Vana-parvan 16829 f.) that ‘the five elements forsook the great Rāvaṇa, and the constituents of his body, flesh, and blood perished, when he was burnt up by the divine weapon (brahmāstra), and not even any ashes were seen,’—who is it that is here alleged by Vālmiki to have been brought to the cemetery and then burnt? If any one raises this objection, I deny that there is any difficulty, as in the description of Rāma’s prowess the Mahābhārata makes use of the ornament of exaggeration.”
INDRAJIT SACRIFICES TO FIRE,

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 Ravana, there is anything, except the "Rakshastra texta," contrary to Brahmanical usages. As, however, the commentator (in the Bombay ed.), in his note on another passage, represents the worship at the Nikumbhilā as being offered to Kali, and as the description is of some interest, I will quote it at length:

Rāmāyaṇa vi. 19, 38 ff. (Gorr.).—Indrajit tu tatās tena saṁyuge 'dbhuta-kārīṇā | nirjito Bāli-puṭraṇa kroḍhaṁ chakre sudarūṇam | se 'ntardhāna-gataḥ pāpa Rāvaṇaḥ raṇa-karkaśaḥ | nikumbhāyaṁ vidhi-vat Pāvakaṁ jahuva 'stra-vit | jahuvaṁ tasya tatrāgnau raktoshīhāmbāravarojaḥ | ajahrus tatra somāhṛtāḥ Rākṣakaḥ yatra Rāvaṇaḥ | āsataṁ sitadhaṁ samidha ṭha vihītakāṁ | lohitāni cha vāsaṁi svruvaṁ

134 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: Brahama-datta-varo viro Rāvaṇaḥ kroḍha-mūrchedhataḥ | adriyo nidānaṁ vājanam munochāsini-varcitaseśaḥ | "The son of Rāvaṇa, 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 Rākṣasā had been threatening Śītā after her capture by Rāvaṇa, because she would not yield to his desires, and that one of them, Śūrpaṅkha, according to a proposal to eat her, says (v. 44 ff.): Surā čhāṇyatiṁ keśipraṇā sarva-loka-vināsini|mānauhā māhām āśrūyā nṛtyāṁ "ṭha nikumbhātmā | "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 Bhadrakāli on the west side of Lankā (Nikumbhila nāma Lankāīyaḥ paśchima-shōga-vartini Bhadrakāli | tāṁ nṛtyāmaṁ tāi-sampaṁga gatoṁ nṛtyāmāḥ). In the Uttra Kāṇḍa (sect. 25, v. 2) we are told that Rāvaṇa, with his attendants, entered "the Nikumbhila, a grove in Lankā" (tato nikumbhila nāma Lankopavamanam uttamam). The commentator says it was "a wood situated at the western gate of Lankā for the performance of rites" (Lankā-paśchima-daēra-desa-varti-karīma-siddhi-ketu-bhūtaṁ kānanaṁ). His son Indrajit, with the aid of the Brahman Uṣanas, had been celebrating there the seven sacrifices, the "agniṣṭoma," "advamedha," "rājaśyu," "gomedha" (cow-sacrifice), the Vaishnavyā ceremonial, etc. When he had performed the Māhekārava offering, "which it is difficult for men to obtain," he obtained boons from Māheśvara, 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: Yajña te saptā puṭrerā pṛauptiḥ te bahu-vistarāḥ | 8. Agniṣṭoma 'svamedhā cha yajno bahusuvrāṇakaḥ | rājaśyuva tathā yajno gomedho Vaiṣṇavas tathā | 9. Māheśvara prapṛṣṭe tu yajne punāhā śudrubhā | varāṁte labāhiḥ puṁsaḥ nākṣhāti Pāispater ṭha | Only six kinds of sacrifice are here mentioned, unless the word "Bahasuvṛāṇaka" stands for a seventh.
AND OBTAINS AN INVISIBLE CHARIOT.

kārśhayasaṁ tataḥ | sarvato 'gniṁ samāśtryya karaśī sa-prāsa-lomariaḥ |
| chhāgalasyāpi krishṇasya kaṁthaad ādaya jivataḥ | somitam tena vidhivat |
| sa jukāva rayotukal | sakṛīd eva samiddhasya vidhūnasya mahārchihaḥ |
| babhuvah saṁnimittāni vijayam yāṇy avedayan | pradakṣiṁavarta-bikhas |
| tapta-hātaka-sannibhaḥ | havis tat pratijagrāha Pāvakaḥ svayam utthītaḥ |
| tato 'gni-madhyād uttāsthau kāṇchanaḥ syandanottamaḥ |
| caturbhīśa kān-
| chanāptādair abhiv yuktāḥ prabhadrakaiḥ | antardhāna-gataḥ kṛṁmā |
| dvīpta-pāvaka-sopradhaḥ | hūtāṁnim tarpaśteva cha dāitya-dānavā-rākha-
| sān | vāchayitvā tataḥ svasti prayuktāśi devāśiḥbhiḥ |
| āruvaka ratham kresītham antar-dhāna-chaṁsāsūham | svasaṁśaṁ vājībhī śvam yuktām |
| śastraiḥ oḥa vīvidhāṁ yutam . . . 50. Śāmbānāmaya nāgaśa|
| ṛitā-dītya-sannibhaḥ | babhuvendrajaṁ kṣetv vaidūrya-samalankṛitāḥ |
| Hūvā 'gniṁ Rākhasaṁ mantrasā tato vachanam abhivit |

“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 Rākhasas 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 Rākhasas, having caused a benediction (svasti) to be pronounced, and been blessed by the Brahmans, [Indrajit] ascended the beautiful chariot, moving invisibly, drawn by self-directed horses, and furnished with various weapons. . . . 50. ‘A golden serpent,’ 136 bright as the rising sun, and adorned with lapis lazuli, formed the banner of Indrajit. Having made an oblation to Fire with Rākhasa texts, he then spake,” etc.

136 See, in reference to this, the quotation from Signor Gorresio given above in p. 412.

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The ceremony of Indrajit is again alluded to by Vībhīṣaṇa in vi. 84, 14 ff. (Bombay ed.—vi. 63, 13, of Gorr. ed.):

"Chatyaṁ nikumbhīlam adya prāpya homam karishyatī | Hatavan upayāto hi devair āpi sa-vasavaḥ | durakharaho bhavaṇy eha sângrāmām Ravaṇāṁ majaḥ | . . . . 16. Sa-sainyās tatra gachhāmo yäsat tan na samāpyato | . . . . . . . . . . 23. Samāpta-karmā hi eśa Rākhasaścābhho bhavaṇy adriṣṭaḥ samaro surāsuraiḥ | yuyudṣaṇā tena samāpta-karmajā bhavaṇ surāṇām āpi samāyayo mahān | "Having to-day resorted to the sacrificial ground, he will offer an oblation (homa). When he approaches after making this offering, this son of Rāvaṇa is invincible by gods and Vāsasvā. . . . . 16. Let us go thither with our hosts before that ceremony is completed. . . . . 23. For when he has accomplished his rite, that prince of the Rākhasas 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 Vībhīṣaṇa returns to the subject (vi. 85, 12, Bombay ed.—vi. 64, 11 of Gorr.):

"Tena stena tapasā vara-dānāt Savyambhuvah | astraṃ brahma-kirāḥ prāptaṃ kāmaṇāḥ ca turangamāḥ | sa eha eha sainyena prāptaḥ kile nikumbhīlam | yady uttishtat kriyam karmā hatān sarvān ca vidhi naḥ | nikumbhīlam asamprāptaḥ akṣītāmīḥ eha yo ripuk | tvam atatatyaṁ nanyāt Indraśastra e tu baddhah | "This hero has obtained through austerity, and, by the gift of Savyambhū, 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 alays thee, thou cruel tyrant (Indrajit), before thou hast reached that ground,"

106 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.

107 Explained by the commentator as nikumbhīlam tad-yūga-bhūmim mahākāri-khetraṁ tad-ākhyā-nyagrodha-mūla-rūpam | "That sacrificial ground, the sacred precinct of the great Kāli—viz. the root of the nyagrodha tree so called." This tree is mentioned in vi. 87, 2 ff., Bombay ed. (=vi. 66, 2, Gorr. ed.): . . . . pravistic tu mahād vaṇam | adarśāyatūt-karma-Lakṣmanapya Vībhīṣaṇaḥ | mālasyummasāmānuṣāmīṁ nyagrodham bhimadaranam | tenvi Ravaṇa-bhrati Lokahamāya nyavedayat | 'kopaśāraṁ bhūtānīṁ balavīṁ Ravaṇāśastraṁ | yopahṛtya teṣāḥ pachit sangramam adhiśeṣante adriṣṭaḥ sarva-bhūtānīṁ tato bhavaiś Rākhasaḥ | nīkantī samara labhanti baddhīṁ eha śārmatvame | tam apravisthāṁ nyagrodham balinām Ravaṇāśastraṁ | vidhāsaṇya kararā dhītāṁ iṣyāti |
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:

_Sevam antikaṁ viśaṅgaṁ tu dṛṣṭvā satrubhir arditaṁ | udatiṣṭhata durdṛṣṭvā ṛṣiṁ yāvake | viśeṣo dṛṣṭvā krodhaṁ sa ṛṣiṁ | utpattiṁ_ | “Hearing that his army was harassed by their enemies, and dispirited, the irresistible (Rākṣasa) arose while his ceremony was unaccomplished. Issuing forth from the gloom of the tree, the son of Rāvaṇa, incensed, mounted his chariot,” etc.

Again, in a passage of the Sundara Kāṇḍa, or Fifth Book, sect. 89, vv. 22 ff. (only found in Gorresio’s, not in the Bombay ed.), which forms the sequel to the one given above, p. 370, Mahādeva is represented as receiving Viṣṇu with favour, after he had deserted his brother Rāvaṇa. Now if the author of the poem had intended to represent Śiva as an especial object of adoration to the Rākṣasas, he might have been expected to describe this deity as repaying their worship with especial favour and affection; but it is inconsistent with this that he should represent Śiva as receiving favourably a deserter from the Rākṣasa camp.

There is a section (the forty-first) of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa, or Sixth Book (which, however, is to be found only in Gorresio’s ed.), wherein Rāvaṇa defies Viṣṇu at great length. But I do not consider this as any proof that the poet intended to attribute to the speaker any especial hostility to Viṣṇu’s worship (particularly as Indra, Śiva, and Brahmā are also slightly spoken of), but rather as a demonstration called forth by the poetical necessities of the argument. Even while the poet represented Rāma as the incarnation of Viṣṇu, it was of course natural to make the arrogant Rāvaṇa defy him. The fact is, that the traits ascribed to the Rākṣasas in the Rāmāyaṇa must be regarded as poetical far more than historical. The poet assigns to his personages such characteristics as he considered at the moment to be most conducive to the interest, and effective with a view to the action, of his poem. These characteristics are sometimes absolutely contradictory, as when Rāvaṇa is described both as an observer of the Vedas and at the same time as a persecutor of Brahmans and polluter of their sacrifices. I do not therefore see that the Rāmāyaṇa supplies any
sufficient grounds for regarding the non-Arian tribes of Southern India as being especially addicted to the worship of Śiva. 183

Sect. VIII.—The earlier and later representations of Umā, the wife of Śiva.

We have already seen (p. 267) that in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (3, 57) Ambikā, who at a later period is identified with the wife of Rudra, is declared to be his sister. 184

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. xvi., p. 89 f.) 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):

183 It is also related in the Utara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa (sections 4–8, of which I shall give the substance in the Appendix) that a Rākṣasa named Suceṣa had formerly received a boon from Mahādeva and Pārvatī, and that his three sons, the lords of Lankā, had made an attack upon the gods, but had been driven back and defeated by Vīshṇu, and compelled to take refuge in Pātāla. But neither does this, nor even the Linga-worship attributed to Rāyaṇa in the Utara Kāṇḍa 31, 42 f., suffice to prove any special adoration of Śiva among the southern races more than among the northern.

184 Rodiac is his wife according to the Nirukta xi. 49; and xii. 46; Rodiac Rudraṣya patnī. Sāyaṇa, however, on R.V. i. 167, 4 and 6, says that she is the wife of the Maruta. On v. 4 his words are: Toseya (Rudrasya) stri Rodiac iti kecid āḥuḥ | apare tu Marutāṃ striyo Rodiac iti nāmadhyam uryāḥ āḥuḥ | eyam te poksho yuktah utoṭatra evam eyavahārīt | “Some say Rodiac is Rudra’s wife. Others say Rodiac is the name of the wife of the Maruta. This is the correct view, from the word being so applied afterwards” (in the next verse). On verse 5 Sāyaṇa says: Rodiac Marut-patnī eavyud vā. “Rodiac is the wife of the Maruta, or Lightning.” In this verse she receives the epithet of viśāha-stūkaḥ, “having dishevelled hair,” and is said to seek the society of the Maruta (Jasahl yad im evyā sautoṭhyayai viśāha-stūkaḥ Rodiac nyūtinyā). I doubt if she is much, if at all, noticed in the later literature. See the fifth volume of this work, pp. 148 and 346.
Atha Indram abravan “Maghavan etad vijaññhi kim etad yakham” iti | "tathā" iti tad abhyadravat tasmā tirodāhe | 12. Sa tasmin eva ākāśe striyam ājāga bahu sōhamānām Umāṁ Haimavatīṁ । tāṁ ha । weācha kim etad yakham iti | iv. 1. Sa Brahma iti ha weācha Brahmano vai etad-vijayam mahyathvam iti| tato ha eva vidānchakāra Bhrahmati । “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.”

In his remarks on this passage of the Kena Upanishad (Ind. Stud. ii. 186 ff.), Professor Weber supplies an interesting and ingenious contribution to the mythological history of Umā. He says: “The representation in sections 3 and 4 indicates that the Kena Upanishad was produced at a time when,—in place of the three principal gods, Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya, 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 (B.V. x. 89, 13). Nor am I able to give a satisfactory

200 This is explained by the commentator: Tasya Indraya yaksha bhaktim buddhā vīdyā Umā-rūpini prādurbhāt stri-rūpā | sa Indras tām Umāṁ bahu sōhamānāṁ sarvebhāṁ hi sōhamānāṁ sōhamanatamān vīdūṁ tadā “bahu sōhamānā” iti vividhegam upapannam bhavati | Haimavatīṁ kena-kritābharaṇavatīṁ tva bahu sōhamānāṁ ity arthā । athavā Umā eva Haimavatī dukhīṁ Haimavatī mitām eva sarvajnena śivam eva vartate iti jñātum samarthā iti kriyā tāṁ uṣāgāma Indras tām ha Umāṁ kila weācha paprachha kim etad durṣayitvā tirodhikām yakham | “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 Ivāra (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. Roe (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 Umā Haimavati, who comes forward as mediatrix between the eternal Brahman and the gods? According to Sāṅkara, she is Vidyā (knowledge) who appears Umārūpīṇī (in the form of Umā) to Indra. The same explanation is found in Śaṅkara, who (on Tāttr. Ār. x. 1, 150, p. 787 of the text in the Bibliotheca Indica), when interpreting the word soma, cites this passage, and remarks: Himavat-putryāh Gauryāh brahma-vidyābhināṣi
rūpatvād Gauri-vāchakaḥ Umā-kābde brahma-vidyām upalakshayati | utaḥ evo Talavakārāpanishadī brahma-vidyā-mūrti-pratāv brahma-
vidyā-mūrtiṁ paśhyate "bahu bhavhamānām Umām Haimavatīṁ tāṁ h
uvācha" iti | tad-viśvavat̐̆̄ Paramātmāḥ 203 Umāyā vāha vartamānāvatā
Somaḥ | "[Since Gauri, the daughter of Himavat, is the impersona-
tion of divine knowledge, the word Umā, which denotes Gauri, in-
dicates divine knowledge. Hence in the Talavakāra Upanishad, in
the passage on the impersonation of divine knowledge, the impersona-
tion of divine knowledge is introduced in these words: "He said to
the very resplendent Umā Haimavatī. The supreme Spirit, who is
the object of this Divine Knowledge, from his existing together
with Umā, is called Soma (i.e. Sa- Umā."  204  And again in
the same commentary on Anevāka 48, it is said: Umā brahma-vidyā
tayā vāha vartamāna Soma paramātmā | "Umā is divine know-
ledge: thou who existest with her, O Soma, supreme spirit," etc.
Further in the same commentary on Anevāka 18, in explanation
of the term Ambikā-pataye, we have the words: Ambikā jagannā
Pārvatī tasyāh bharite | "Ambikā is Pārvati, the mother of the
world,—to her husband," etc.; and the word Umāpataye (which stands
in the Dr̥avīḍa, but not in the Āndhra, text of the Tāttr. Ār.) is
thus interpreted: Tasyāḥ evo brahma-vidyātmakā dehaḥ Umā-śabde-
chyaḥ 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 Atharvasirās Upanishad. See
above, p. 302.]
etc. 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 Kaivalya Upanishad (see above, p. 363) no longer belongs to the Vedic period; and further, though the commentaries in other places also explain ‘soma’ by ‘Umāyā sahīta,’ ‘accompanied by Umā’ (as Śaṅkarā has done in the passage above cited), such an interpretation is just as groundless as in the texts commented on by Śaṅkarā, where the word signifies simply the Soma-libation. From the considerations just stated, therefore (i.e. partly from the unanimity of the commentaries, and partly from the very position which Umā here assumes in the Kena Upanishad), the signification of this word might seem to be fixed with tolerable certainty as denoting ‘Brahma-vidyā,’ ‘divine knowledge,’ and Umā might appear to be directly related to Sarasvatī, the divine word, and we might even be tempted to bring her into etymological connexion with the sacred word ‘om.’ There are, however, some additional points which seem to place the original signification of Umā in quite a different light. First of all, why is she called Haimavatī? What has she to do with the Himavat? Is it that the Brahma-vidyā (divine knowledge) came originally from the Himavat to the Arians dwelling in Madhyadesā (the central region of Hindustan)? We have learnt from the Kaushitaki 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 (vedhāṃ bikhiṇum), 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 Himalaya than was possible for men living

206 [The entire text of the Anuvāka, and the part of its commentary which refers to the terms Āmbikāpataye and Umāpataye, as given in the Bibl. Indica, are as follows: Text: Namo hārṇyāvālo hārṇyāvayāya hārṇyārūpaya hārṇyāpataye Āmbikāpataye Umāpataye pāla pataye namo namah | Comm.: Āmbikā jāganmītā Pārvati | tasyāḥ pataye bharata | tasyāḥ eva Āmbikāyāḥ brahma-vidyātmakā dehāḥ Umāsadbena uchṣyate | ādvidyāḥ Umāyāḥ pataye svāminī Rudrīya pūnaḥ pūnaḥ namaskāro ‘tātva.]

207 e.g. Mahādharma on Vaj. S. 16, 39, and Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra on the corresponding passage of the Taitt. Saṃhitā.
in Madhyadesa, where their minds were more occupied by the practical concerns of life. Such a view of Umā 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 Umā actually does signify divine knowledge (brahma-vidyā); and, moreover, her subsequent position as Rudra’s wife (in the Taitt. Ār.), and so Śiva’s, would thus be quite inexplicable. Now there is among the epithets of this latter goddess a similar one, viz. Pārvati, 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, Giridanta, Giriṣaya, Giritra, in which we recognize the germ of the conception of Śiva’s dwelling on Kaiśa. He is the tempest, which rages in the mountains, and his wife is therefore properly called Pārvati, Haimavati, ‘the mountaineer,’ ‘the daughter of Himavat.’ At the same time it is not clear what we have to understand by his wife;\(^{207}\) and further she is, perhaps, originally not his wife, but his sister, for Umā and Ambikā are at a later period evidently identical, and Ambikā is Rudra’s sister (Ind. Stud. i. 183).\(^{208}\) Besides, this identification of Umā with Ambikā leads us to a new etymology of the former. For as

\(^{207}\) Indian mythology, however, assigns wives to the gods, without always, or even generally, ascribing to the wives any specific cosmic 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 Sarasvati also, the goddess of streams and of speech, is called Ambitama, is addressed with the word ‘Amba,’ and is said to be ‘produced on the highest peak on the mountain top’ (uttama dīkhara jataḥ parvata-mūrdhāni). According to this view, Umā and Sarasvati, Ambikā and Ambitama, Pārvati and the parvata-mūrdhāni jataḥ, would perhaps have been originally identical, and have only become gradually separated, in such a way that in the one the violent and destructive energy of nature had become concentrated, and in the other the harmonious music of the streaming waters? And should we thus have to seek in the Umā of the Kena Upanishad and, on the other hand, in the Varadā of the Taitt. Ār. two examples of the original identity of both? Kuhn, at least, as he has informed me, holds Ambikā to be decidedly identical with Sarasvati.” [Is not a certain confirmation of this supposed original connexion of Umā and Sarasvati to be found in the fact that in the mythology of the Rāmāyana i. 36, 13 (quoted below in p. 430) Umā is the younger, while the river Gangā is the elder daughter of Himavat?—J.M.]

\(^{208}\) See above, p. 321.
Ambikā, 'mother,' appears to be merely an euphemistic and flattering epithet, employed to propitiate the cruel goddess (see Mahīdhara on Vāj. S. 3, 57)—just as Rudra was called Siva), in the same way it appears that we must derive Umā from the root ‘u,’ ‘āv,’ ‘to protect.’ It is true that a final vowel before ‘ma’ commonly takes ‘gusa,’ or is lengthened, but the words ‘simā’ and ‘hima’ show that this is not necessary, and the name of Rumā is perhaps (unless we derive it from ‘ram’) a perfectly analogous formation. It certainly remains a mystery how we are to conceive the cruel wife of Rudra coming forward here in the Kena Upanishad as the mediatrix between the supreme Brahma and Indra, for on that supposition this Upanishad would have to be referred to a period when her husband, Rudra, was regarded as the highest god, the Īśvara, and thus also as Brahma; i.e. it would belong to the period of some Śaiva sect. But since this remains questionable and improbable, we must first of all hold to the view that the conception entertained by the commentators of Umā as representing ‘divine knowledge’ rests solely upon this passage of the Kena Upanishad, unless indeed the original identity of Umā with Sarasvatī, which in the last note was regarded as possible, is here again visible.

"I consider the present opportunity a favourable one for speaking of some other names of Siva's spouse. As in Siva, 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," 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 Kāli, Kārī (see Ind. Stud. i. 287) carry us back to the wife of Agni, while Gaurī and others perhaps refer to Nīrītī, the goddess of all evil.

[The words of Mahīdhara here referred to are: Yo 'yaṁ Rudrābhīṣṭatva vīrodhvinaṁ hantum iśhā bhavati tadā anayā bhaginyā kṛurdevatayā sūdhanaḥbhūteyā tāṁ kinnati | "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.]

"The most remarkable instance of this is to be found in Mahābhārata iv. 178 ff., in the hymn of Yudhishthira to Durgā, where he calls her Yaśodā, Krisṇā, 'born in the cowherd family of Nanda,' "sister of Vāsudeva," 'enemy of Kansa,' and having the same features as Sankarshana,' etc., etc. However late the date of this hymn may be, it is still in the highest degree remarkable."
"The Tenth Book of the Taittirīya Aranyaka, 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: Kātyāyanāya vīdmahe Kanyakumāri dhīmahi | tān no Durgīḥ prachodayāt | ['We think on Kātyāyana and meditate on Kanyakumāri; 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.

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. Kātyāyanāya vīdmahe Kanyakumāri dhīmaḥi tān no Durgīḥ prachodayaḥ, are, in the Upanishad as it is given in the Atharva collection, changed into Kātyāyanāya vīdmahe Kanyakumāri dhiṃahi tān no Durgīḥ prachodayaḥ. 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 Durgō occurs as follows in verse 26: Kātyāyanāya vīdmahe Kanyakumāryai dhiṃahi tān no Durgīḥ prachodayaḥ |

The author observes here that in Ind. Stud. i. 75, he had incorrectly given Kanyakumāri as the proper reading. The text in the Bibl. Ind., p. 770, has Kanyakumāri.

Sāyaṇa's interpretation, as given by Weber i. 228, note, and here, is as follows: Pushehā Durgō-gāyatri | Hema-prakhyām indu-khoḍēnha-maulim [-aṃtmoulim, in Bibl. Ind.] ity āgama-praviddhā-mūrti-dharām [-ṇēm, B. I.] Durgōm prārthayaśe "Kātyāyanāya" iti [priti tān iti Kātya [Kātyayi, B. I.] Rudraḥ | . . . . eo eva ayanam adhiṣṭhānām yaśaḥ sā Kātyāyani [Kātyayani, B. I.] Atho vā Kātyaṁ rishī-viśehaṁ apatyaṁ Kātyaḥ | . . . Kutsalam anishtham māraṇyapi iti kumāri kanyā dīpyamānā chāsau kumāri cha Kanyakumāri | Durgō Durgō | lingādi-eyatyaṁ savatra chhāndasā drāśasyayāḥ | [There are other variations in the text as given in the Bibl. Ind.] . . . . Then follows Durgō's gāyatri. In the words 'Kātyāyana,' etc., he suppliestes Durgō, 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 Kātyāyani is she whose path, support, is Kātya. Or, Kātya is the offspring of Kata, a particular rishi. . . . Kumāri is she who destroys what is bad, undesirable. She who is both Kanya, 'shining,' and Kumāri, is Kanyakumāri. Durgō is Durgō. Diversity in forms is to be seen everywhere in the Vedās."
All the other gods who are invoked are male—viz. Rudra, Mahādeva, Dantī, Nandi, Shaṃukha, Garuḍa, Brahman, Viśṇu, Nārāyanha, 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, Kāṭyāyanī, Kanyakumāri, and Durgā, are already well known to us as names of Śiva's consort: and, indeed, they all appear to carry us back to the flame of fire. It is true that as regards Kāṭyāyanī this is somewhat difficult; though when we consider the great importance of the Kāṭya family in reference to the sacrificial system of the Brahmins, it does not seem very improbable that a particular kind of fire, which perhaps was introduced by one of the Kāṭyas, was called after him, and that this name was then associated with Kālī, Karāli, and Durgā, which are originally mere appellations of fire. Kanyakumāri, or 'the maidenly,' is a very fitting epithet of the holy, pure, sacrificial flame; and even at the time of the Periplus, i.e. of Pliny, we find her worship extended to the southernmost point of India, to the Cape which was then, as now, called after her Cape Comorin: but does it not appear that she was then no longer worshipped as the sacrificial flame, but as the wife of Śiva himself (whose name Nilakaṇṭha Lassen [Ind. Ant. i. 194] finds rendered in the Nālandā of the Periplus)? The hymn to Agni in the second anuvāka of the Taittiriya Āraṇyaka (Āndhra recension) seems pretty decisive in favour of our connecting Durgā with the sacrificial fire. It is there said 214 in the second verse [Bibl. Ind., p. 788]: Tām agnivipākā tapāsā jvalantīṃ caivo-chanīṃ karma-phaleśu jujātām | Durgāṁ devīṁ taraṇam aham prapadye sūtārasi taruṇa namaḥ | ['I seek as my refuge the goddess Durgā, who is of the colour of fire, burning with austerity (or heat), daughter of the sun (or of fire), who is sought after for the reward of rites: adoration be to thy energy, O impetuous [goddess].'] The five following verses repeat (as does also the Durgā-stava in the Parisīṣṭa) 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 Kātr IST śīta between the fourteenth and fifteenth divisions of the seventh section of the eighth Ashtaka of the R.V." (i.e. between Maḍāla x. 127 and 128). See note in the Appendix.

215 This verse is as follows: Jātavedasa sunavāma somam arūṭiyate νidadhāti vedah | sa naḥ parshad atri durgāṇi visvā nāveva sindhuṁ durītā 'ti Agniḥ
would help the suppliant over all 'durga' and 'durita' (difficulties and evils). Verse second could certainly be understood as if the worshipper turned to the personified Durgā (Evil) herself, and sought her protection, so that thus Durgā would have arisen out of Nīrūti. But it appears to me better to understand the passage of the violent flame of the fire, which, like the fire itself, delivers, alone, 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 Nīrūti, 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 terrible character, both from her connexion with Rudra and also with Agni (compare Karāta).

"The last name of Śiva's consort which I find in the Taitt. Ár. 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: Āyut eva deva akṣharam brahma-sammitam | gāyatriḥ [gāyatri, Bibl. Ind.] chhandānām mātā idam brahma jyotahsva me | . . . sarvavargī mahā-devī sandhyā-vidya Sarasvatī | 216 But the words in anuv. 30 are not so clear: Utmās kikha jātā bhūmyām parvata-mūrdhāni| brahmamahīyo 'bhāyanunātā gachha deva yathāsukham | stūto (=stūta u) mayā varadā veda-mātā prachodayanti pavanā devijātā, 217 etc.; where especially the first strophe reminds us of Pārvatī and Haimavatī, and one does not rightly comprehend how Sarasvatī obtains such an epithet (unless we are to understand the waters streaming from the hills, since Sarasvatī is, as is well known, at once a river goddess and the goddess of speech).

In the same way the names Mahādevī and Sandhyāvidyā (see Wilson under Sandhyā) belong at a later period exclusively to the consort

216 [The sense of these words, according to the reading in the Bibl. Ind., is: "May the boon-bestowing goddess (or the goddess Varadā) come: do thou, the mother of the Vedas, the letter equivalent to the Veda, the gāyatī, 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 Brahmanas, go, goddess, wherever thou wilt. Praised by me, the boon-bestowing goddess, the mother of the Veda, twice born in the air, stimulating us," etc. The latter part of this quotation does not occur in the text as given in the Bibl. Ind.]
of Śiva. The other names, however, ‘sarva-varṇā, ‘chhandasaṁ 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 Śiva, viz. Kālī and Karālī, occur in a passage of another of the Upanishads (the Muṇḍaka i. 2, 4), where they are appellations of two of the different tongues of fire: Kālī Karālī cha Manojavā cha Sulohitā yā cha Sudhūmravārṇā | Sphulingini Viśvarūpī cha devī lalāyamānāḥ tī sapta jihvāḥ | which is thus translated by Dr. Boer (Bibl. Ind. xv. 153):

“The seven flickering tongues [of the fire] are—Kālī (the black one), Karālī (the terrific one), Manojavā (swift as the mind), Sulohitā (the very red one), Sudhūmravārṇā (of purple colour), Sphulingini (emitting sparks), and the Viśvarūpī (all-shaped) goddess.” The words “of the fire” are not in the original. The commentator, however, briefly remarks: Kālī Karālī Manojavā cha Sulohitā cha yā cha Sudhūmrava-vaṛṇā Sphulingini Viśvarūpī cha devī lalāyamānāḥ dahanasya jihvāḥ | Agner havir-ahuti-grasanārthāḥ stāḥ saptā jihvāḥ | “Kālī, Karālī, Manojavā, Sulohitā, Sudhūmravārṇā, Sphulingini, and the goddess Viśvarūpī, 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 ff., 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 Śiva, who was developed out of Agni), who (Durgā), as is well known, became the object of a bloody sacrificial-worship under the names Kālī (the dark, black), Karālā, Karālavadanā, Karālānanā, Karālāmukhi. It is evident that a considerable time was required for the sense of the word to become developed from that of the ‘dark, terrific, tongue of fire’ to that of a goddess Kālī, Karālā, worshipped with bloody sacrifices: and since
we find the latter in the drama of ‘Mālati-Mādhava,’ by Bhavabhūti, who is assigned by Wilson to the eighth century, the Muṇḍaka Upanishad must be considerably older; unless, indeed, the ancient signification of these names maintained itself at a later period alongside 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 Manojāvas, 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 Vishnus 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. Sch. = Bombay ed. 35, 13 ff; Gorresio’s ed. 37, 14 ff.).—Saiśendro Himavān nāma dhātanām ākaro mahān | tasya kanyā-devayaṁ jātaṁ rūpēṇārtrimatam bhūvi | yā Meru-dukhitā Rama tayor mātā sumadhyanā | nāmnā Menā manoijnā vai patrī Himavatāḥ priyā | tasyān Gangeyam abhavaj jyeṣthā Himavatāḥ utā | Umā nāma devityā 'bhūt kanyā tasyaiva Rāghava | . . . 19. Ya śākṣyā Saiḷa-dukhitā kanyā”stād Raṅgu-nandana | ugraṁ tā taretam āstikṣya tapas topo tapo-āhanā | ugraṁ tapasā yuktāṁ dadau Saiḷa-vaṁś utām | Rudra-yāpratirūpaya Umāṁ loka-namaskritām | Ity eto Saiḷa-rājaṁ sute Rāma bahāvatūḥ | Ganga cha saraṁ tretaḥ śravatā deviṁ ṣaṁ chāpy Umā pūrd | “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.
THREE DAUGHTERS OF HIMAVAT ACCORDING TO HARIVAŅSA. 431.

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 Harivānśa (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:

Etahām mānasi kanyā Menā nāma mahāgirēḥ | patni Himavatāḥ kṛṣṇēḥ . . . 943. Tīrṇaḥ kanyās tu Menāyāṁ janayaṁśa Sāilā-ṛṣṭiḥ | Aparṇāḥ Ekapatālāḥ cha trītyām Ekapatālām | tapaḥ charantyaḥ su-mahād duścharam Deva-Dānavaḥ | lokān samāpayāmasu tās tīrṇaḥ sthāgu-jangamān | āhāram eka-pargena Ekapatāḥ samācharat | pāṭalā-puṣpam ekas cha ādadāv Ekapatālā | ekā tatra nirdhārā tām mātā prayasyahayat | "u ma" iti nisbehantā mātri-mehena duḥkhītaḥ | ētā tathāka tada mātrā devi duśchara-chārīṇi | Uṃṣety evaḥhāvat khyātā trikuh lokeshu sundarī | tathaiva nāmā teṣāḥ viṣrutā yugadhārminī | etat tu trīkumārtām jagat sthāyati Bhārgava | tapaḥ-kārīrā tāḥ sarvās tīraḥ yogabala-vitiḥ | sarvāḥ cha brahma-vādīnaḥ sarvāḥ chaitrodevaḥ- 
retasaḥ | Uṃā tāsām varisāḥ cha jyeshṭāḥ cha vara-varniṇī | mahāyogabaloḍa Mahādevam upasitiṇa | Asitasyaikarpurgha tu Devalasya mahā- 
manaḥ | pati dattā mahābrahman yogāchāryāya dhimaṇa | Jaiṭhāravya 

tu tathā viddhi tām 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, Ekapatālā, 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. Ekapatālā ('One-leaf') fed upon one leaf. Ekapatālā took only one pāṭalā (Bignonia) for her food. One (Aparṇā) took no sustenance, but her mother, distressed through maternal affection, forbade her, dissuading her with the words əmō ('O don’t'). The beautiful goddess, performing arduous austerity, having been thus addressed by her mother on that occasion, became known in the three worlds as Umā. In this manner the contemplative goddess became renowned under that name. But this world shall remain [distinguished by] having these three maids. All these three had mortified bodies, were distinguished by the force of contemplation, and were all chaste, and expounders of divine knowledge. Umā was
the eldest and most excellent among the three. Distinguished by the force derived from deep contemplation, she obtained Mahādeva [for her husband]. Ekaparṇā was given as a wife to the great Asita Devala, the wise teacher of the Yoga. And know that Ekapāṭalā was in like manner bestowed on 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 Kṛiṣṇa:118


"Reverence be to thee, Siddhasenaṁ (Generales of the Siddhas), the noble, the dweller on Mandara, Kumāri, Kāli, Kāpāli, Kapilā, Kṛishṇa-pingalā. Reverence to thee, Bhadrakāli; reverence to thee, Mahākāli; reverence to thee, Chandra, Chāndā; reverence to thee, O Tārini (deliveress), O Varavargīṁ (beautiful-coloured), O fortunate Kāṭāyani, O Kāralī, O Vijaya, O Jayā (victory), who bearest a peacock's tail for thy banner, adorned with various jewels, armed with many spears, wield-

118 The Bhagavadgītā, in which Kṛiṣṇa himself is so highly extolled and glorified, begins shortly afterwards in the twenty-fifth section of the Bhishma-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,
Sakambhara, thou white one [or Svetā], thou black one [or Krishṇa],
O destroyer of Kaitabha. Reverence to thee, O Hiranyakashī, Virū-
pākeśī, Dhūmrākṣī (golden-, distorted-, dark-eyed), O Vedaśruti
(tradition of the Veda), most pure, devout, Jātavedaśī (female Agni),
who dwellst 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 Durgā, dweller in wildernesses. Thou art called
Śvāhā, Svadhā, Kalā, Kaśṭhā (minute divisions of time), Sañavatī,420
Sāvitri, mother of the Vedas, and the Vedānta (or end of the Veda).
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 Pātala, thou con-
stantly abidest; and conquerest the Dānavas in battle. Thou art
Jambhānī (destroyer ?), Mohini, Māyā, Hri, Śrī, Sandhyā,420
the luminous, Sāvitri, the mother, Tuṣṭi (contentment), Puṣṭi (fatness),
Dhṛiti (constancy), Dīpti (light), increaser of the sun and moon,
the power of the powerful in battle,—[all this] thou art seen by
the Siddhās and Chāraṇas [to be].421

In another part of the Mahābhārata, (fourth or) Virāta-parvan,
178 ff., there is another hymn (already referred to above, p. 425, note)
addressed by Yudhishṭhira to Durgā, and very similar to the preceding.
Among other things, she is there said to “ have her perpetual abode
on the Vindhya mountains, and to delight in spirituous liquor, flesh,
and sacrificial victims” (Vindhyo chaiva naga-brushto tava ethānāṁ hi
stāvatam | Kāli Kāli Mahākali śikhu-māṁsa-paśu-priye).

In the Harivaṁśa, vv. 3236 ff., it is related by Vaiśampāyana that
with the view of defeating the designs of Kansa in regard to the de-
struction of Devaki’s offspring, Vishnu descended into Pātala, where he
sought the aid of Nidrā Kāla-rūpiṇī (Sleep in the form of Time); and

420 Compare what has been said by Prof. Weber on the relation of Uma and Saras-
vatī, above, p. 424, note, and p. 428.
421 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 Yaśodā on the same night on which he was to be born as the eighth child of Devaki (3247), when he would be carried to Yaśodā and she to Devaki. He tells her that she would be taken by the foot, and cast out upon a rock; but would then obtain an eternal place in the sky, becoming assimilated to himself in glory; would be installed by Indra among the gods (3251 ff.), received by him as his sister under the name of Kauśikī, and would obtain from him (Indra) a perpetual abode on the Vindhya mountain, where, thinking upon him (Vishnū), she would kill the two demons Sumbha and Niśumbha, and would be worshipped with animal sacrifices (tatraiva tvām bhaginy-arthe grahitvayā sa Varaha | Kusikasya tu gotrenā Kauśikī tvam bhavishyasi | sa u Vindhyo naga-sthāte sthānaṁ dasyati kāvstam | ityaśrito). Vaiśampāyana then (vv. 3268 ff.) repeats a hymn to Āryā (Durgā) which had been "uttered by riches of old," beginning Nārāyaṇam mamaṁ yām daviṁ tribhuvanēvārtam | "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 Sri, Dhṛiti, Kirti, Hṛt, Sandhyā, Kātyāyani, Kauśikī, Jayī, Vijayā, Tushṭi, Puṣṭi (3269 f.). She is also called the eldest sister of Yama (jyeṣṭhā Yamasya bhagīni, 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 nipi-jitā, v. 3274). She is also described as fond of wine and flesh (śrī-māṁsa-priyā, v. 3279), the goddess of wine (śrī-dvī, v. 3286), as being Sarasvatī in Vālmiki (comp. pp. 424 f., 428 f.), and Smṛti (memory) in Dvaiṣpāyana, i.e. Vyāsa (Sarasvatī cha Vālmikī Smṛtir Dvaiṣpāyana tathā, v. 3285), and among sciences, the science of Brahma or the Veda (vidyānam brahma-vidyā, v. 3291), and as pervading the entire world (teyā vyāptam idam sarvam jagat sthāvaram-jagamām, 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 Vaishnava) under the protection and patronage of Vishnū.

Kauśikī is applied as an epithet to Indra in R.V. i. 10, 11. See the first volume of this work, p. 347 f., and the fifth volume, p. 219.
A hymn addressed to Durgā by Pradyumna, the son of Kṛishṇa, is also to be found in Harivaṃsā vv. 9423 ff.; and another uttered by Aniruddha, son of Pradyumna and grandson of Kṛishṇa, occurs in vv. 10236 ff. of the same work. The latter hymn is repeated by Vaiśampāyana after he had made obeisance to the “∞nite, imperishable, celestial, eternal primeval-god Nārāyaṇa” (anantam akṣhayam ādyam ādi-devam sanatanaṁ | Nārāyaṇam namaskṛitya, 10232); and he talks of the goddess as being “adored by rishis and gods with flowers of eloquence” (rishiḥbhūr davastaiḥ chaiva vāk-pushpaṁ arciḥtām tadbhām, 10234). The hymn addresses Durgā as the sister of Indra and Vishṇu (Mahendrā-Viśṇu-bhagīṇī, v. 10235), as Gautamī, and by many of the names which we have already found in the preceding hymns, as well as by many new appellations, and goes on thus (v. 10256 ff.): Brahmā Viṣṇuḥ cha Rudraḥ cha Chandra-sūryāgmi-mārūtaḥ | . . . . kṛitenām jagad idam proktām devyāḥ nāmāṅkuṣṭanāt | “Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, the sun, moon, and wind . . . . all this world is pronounced by uttering the name of this goddess.”

The worship of this goddess reaches its climax in such works as the Devī-māhātmya in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, 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.): Nityaṁāva sā jagan-mūrtir tāyā sarvam idam tatam | tathāpi tat-samutpatīr bahudhā brāyatām mama | devānām kṛṣṇa-siddhy-artham avirbhavati sā yada | utpanneti tada loka sā nityā 'py abbhiḥkiyate | “She is the eternal form (or substance) of the world; by her all this [universe] is stretched out; and yet hear from me her manifold birth. Whenever she is manifested to effect the purposes of the gods, she, though eternal, is said in the world to be born.” The narrative then proceeds, that when Viṣṇu was sunk in this sleep of contemplation (Yoganidrā) at the end of the Kalpa, two demons, Madhu and Kaṭāḥba, sprang from his ear and were about to kill Brahmā; when the latter, seeing Viṣṇu asleep, with the view of arousing him, began to celebrate the praises of Yoganidrā, “his divine sleep who was abiding in his eyes, the mistress of the universe, the support of the world, the cause of its continuance and destruction” (Hari-netra-kṛitāyām | viśveśvaraṁ jagaddhātṛṁ ethiśi-samhāra-kāri-
ānā | nīdrāṃ bhagavatīṃ Viśṇuḥ). Some of the functions assigned to her are as follows (v. 56): Tvasvāva dhāryate sarvāṃ tvayaite
tvijyate jagat | tvayātā pātyate devī taṃm aty anta cha sarvāḥ |
“By thee the universe is upheld; by 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.): Yachcha kimhit kavachīd vastu vai
asad va ‘khiṭatmakā | tvaya sarvāya yaś taktiḥ tā taśa kih stūyate tadā |
yaya tvaya jagat-erhaṅkā jagat-patā ‘tīt yo jagat | va ‘pi nīdrā-vakṣaṃ
nitāḥ kau tvām stotum śatvarāḥ | Viśnuḥ sātrā-grahaṇam abham Īśāna
eva cha | kāritaś te yato ‘tas tvām kaḥ stotum kātkāmin bhūeti | “Thou
art the power (takti) 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 Viśnu, and me (Brahmā), and Īśāna (Śiva) to become incor-
porate, 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.—Sākrādayaḥ sura-gaṇaḥ nihate ‘tītrīya
tasmin duratmanī surarādaḥ cha devāḥ | tām tuḥtuṣṭaḥ praṇati-namrata-
śrīrodharmānaḥ vāgbhiḥ praharṣa-pulakodgama-chārū-dahāḥ | devāya yasyā
tatam idam jagad atma-śaktiyā niḥśeṣa-dvā-gaṇa-śakti-samāka-mūrtiyā |
tām Ambikām akhila-dvā-maharshi-pājyām bhaktiḥ nataḥ esa vida-
dhātu sābhāni tā naḥ | yaśtāḥ prabhāvam atulam bhagavān Ananta
Brahmā Haraḥ cha na hi vaktum abalam balancaḥ | sa Čaṇḍikā khaḷa-
jagat-paripālaṇaḥ pdfaḥaḥ chāṣṭhona-hayasya maitīn karotu | “When
the goddess had alain 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 hornripilation, 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 (śaktis) of all the gods, who is to be adored by all
the deities and rishis: may she confer upon us blessings. May Čaṇ-
ḍikā, whose unequalled majesty and might neither the divine Ananta
(Viṣṇu), nor Brahmā, nor Hara (Śiva) is competent to express, de-
termine upon the preservation of the world, and the destruction of the fear of evil."

These specimens may suffice to show the dignity to which this goddess has eventually been elevated in the estimation of her worshippers; and a comparison of the characteristics which are here assigned to her with the descriptions quoted above from the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, etc. (pp. 364, 373 ff., 430 f.), will show that she has now attained a higher rank in the Indian pantheon than was originally enjoyed by the daughter of Daksha and Himavat.
APPENDIX.

NOTE A.—Page 33, line 19.

In the Uttarakanda, too, of the Ramayana (iv. 9, Bombay ed.), it is said: Prajapatiḥ purā sriṣṭvā apaḥ salīla-sambhavaḥ | tāsāṁ gobāyane sattvān aṣṭijat padma-sambhavaḥ | “The lotus-born Prajapati, 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 rakṣḥ, “to protect”).

On this verse the commentator remarks: “Apaḥ sriṣṭvā” bhūmer adho-bhāga-vartinir apaḥ sriṣṭvā ity arthaḥ | tatra “salīla-sambhavaḥ” Prajapatiḥ abhūd ity anvayaḥ | . . . . “‘Having created the waters:’ the sense is having created the waters existing beneath the earth. In them the water-born Prajapati 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 Raiva, which is given in the Kishkindha Kāṇḍa or fourth book of the Ramayana, the following reference occurs to the three steps of Viṣṇu; and it is of such a character as to preserve some trace of Aurṇabhāva’s interpretation of those steps:

Sect. 40, vv. 54a ff. (Bombay ed.):—Tataḥ paraṁ āmanayaḥ śrīman Udaya-parvataḥ | tasya köṣṭra divaṁ sriṣṭvā śata-yojanam ayata | 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.
The three steps of Vishnû are mentioned in other parts of the Râma-
yāṇa. Thus in book vi. 39, 21 (Bombay ed.), it is said: Prāśādaśeṣa vimānaṁ cha Lankā paraṁ-bhūṣita | ghanair ivātopāpaṁ madhyamam Vaishnavaṁ padam | "Lankā was beautifully adorned with temples and palaces, as the middle step (or position) of Viṣṇu, with clouds, at the departure of the hot season [and commencement of the rains]."

The commentator explains the middle position of Viṣṇu by akāśa. 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 god to Viṣṇu that he would assume the form of a dwarf, and (2) the petition of Kaśyapa to the same deity that he would become the son of himself and Aditi, are more closely connected than they are in Schlegel's edition by the insertion of the words, "Bestow the boon which Aditi, the gods, and I solicit," which are wanting in Schlegel's text. Further, in the Bombay edition Kaśyapa is made to allude to "the hermitage where the work was accomplished," as if he was himself present there, of which nothing is said in Schlegel's edition. And again, as already noticed in note 129, p. 130, by the omission of the words "thus addressed by the deities," which occur at the beginning of verse 17 of Schlegel's text, the Bombay edition harmonizes the two parts of the story, and removes the appearance of interpolation which Schlegel's text exhibits.

NOTE D.—Page 175, line 33.

In this note I shall adduce some further evidence tending to confirm the supposition that Rāma may not have been originally represented in the Rāmāyaṇa as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

In the summaries of the poem, contained in sections 1 and 3 of

3 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 darāñāt | stomaṁ tadaro ity Aupaman- yavah | "Rishi comes from seeing: he is one who saw the hymns," so says Aupama-nayana." See the second volume of this work, pp. 196 and 198; also the third vol., p. 85). Rāmāyaṇa i. 3, 3: Rāma-Lakshmaya-Bīśahihīk rūjina Dādaraṁe cha
the First Book, as given in the Bombay edition and in Schlegel’s, no allusion is made to the divine origin of Rāma; and the same is the case in the first and third sections in Gorresio’s edition also. In the fourth section, however, of the last-named recension (which the others do not contain), the plan pursued by the gods for the destruction of Rāvana, and the divine fluid through which the sons of Daśaratha were produced, are distinctly referred to (vv. 14, 15: Rāvanasya badhopāya mantrayān samudāhritam | 15. Svargāvataraṇaṁ chaiva surānāṁ samudāhritam | deva cha pāyasotpatiḥ putra-janma nṛpasya cha). In the first of the two summaries in Rāmāyaṇa i. 1, 13 and 18 (Bombay ed.), Rāma is described as “glorious like Prajāpati” (Prajāpati-samaṁ kṛtman, v. 13), and as “resembling Vishnu in vigour, and pleasant to behold, like the Moon” (Vishnunā sadriśa cīrya soma-vat priyadarśanaḥ, v. 18). The first of the epithets in the last line would imply that he was not Vishnu. Otherwise, what necessity for the comparison? The commentator remarks thus on the expression in v. 18: Yadyapi Rāmo Vishnura eva sarva-rūpāṇaḥ cha tathāpi mānusahpādhi-bhedat sarvatra sādriśyate draśtaḥ śa yadva Vishnunā sadṛsiṁ ity anameyālankāraḥ | “Although Rāma was no other than Vishnu, still, from the seeming distinctness of his humanity, resemblances may be regarded as existing in all points [between the one and the other]. Or, the comparison may be regarded as coming within the class of improper similes (anameyālankāra).” 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 mānusah-dharmānāṁ koka-mohadānāṁ māyākānāṁ tatra daksināna aspaḍhika-bhedat adāya tat-samatvoktiḥ | Bhārgava-loka-pratibandha-rūpāy

sahāryaṁ sarāśreyaṁ yat prūptam tatra tatteṣtah | 4. Haretam bhāṣitam chaive gatir yuvāḥ cha etṣeṣtah | tat sarvaṁ dharma-viryaṁ yathāvato samprapadyati | 5. Śrī-śrīśṛṣṭiṁ cha tathā yat prūptam charata vane | satyaśandhena Rāmeṇa tat sarvaṁ chānevauienikato | 6. Tatāḥ pahyati dharmānāṁ tat sarvaṁ yogam āstihiḥ | purūr yat tatra nirvṛttam pāṛvī Śāmkaraṁ yathā | 7. Tatra sarvaṁ tattvato drikṛśe ityādī | 3. “Whatever actually occurred to Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Śīta, to king Daśaratha with his wives and dominions, (4) their laughing, their talking, their fates and their endeavours—all that he sees exactly by the power of righteousness. 6. He also beheld all that happened to the truthful Rāma while travailing 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.
APPENDIX.

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 Bhārgava (Paśuṣurāma, see above, p. 177) of his celestial abode, that he conferred final emancipation on Jaṭāyu (Rāmāyaṇa, Bombay ed., iii. 68, 87), 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 Sitā’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 bhūhyati devāḥ eḥa). In v. 84 Rāma is said to have been honoured, or worshipped, by all the gods (pajitāḥ sarvā-devatāḥ); while on the other hand he is said, v. 86, to have received a boon from the gods (devatābhya varam prāpya). In verse 32 Rāma and his party, while living at Chitrakūṭa, are compared to gods and gandharvas (deva-gandharva-sankatāḥ). In section 2, verse 82, the epithets dharmaṃsano bhagavataḥ, and dhimataḥ, “righteous,” “divine or venerable” (an epithet constantly applied to Krīṣṇa, 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 Viśnu 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 pitaṃ rohayaṁ tada Daśarathaṃ nripam (“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 ff., 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.]


[Gorres. ed., sect. 19, vv. 10 ff.]

stra-kuśalau Viṣhṇu arāha-saman-vitusau | 15. Pusheṣṭa tu Bhaṭarato
minalagne prasana-dhitā | Sārpa
jatau tu Saumitrā kuṭre 'bhuyūde
ravaḥ | 16. Rājyaḥ putraḥ mahā-
mānaḥ caturro janire prithakā
| gunavanto 'nurūpadho ruṣhya pro-
sṛṭpadopamaḥ |

[Bombay edition.]
8. “After the sacrifice had been completed, the six seasons passed; and then in the twelfth month, in Chaitra, on the ninth lunar day, (9) in the lunar mansion of which Aditi is the deity, when five planets were culminating, when Jupiter was rising with the moon in the sign of Cancer,—(10) Kaṇḍalaḥ 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 Viṣṇu, and gladdener of the race of Ikshvāku, with red eyes, great-armed, with red lips, and with a voice like a kettle-drum. 12. Kaṇḍalaḥ received lustre from this son of unbounded might, as Aditi did from the chief of the gods who wields the thunderbolt. 13.[A son] called Bhaṭarata, of real valour, possessed of all virtues, was born of Kaikeyī, who was manifestly the Bharato nāma Kaikeyyāḥ putraḥ
satya-parākramāḥ | dharmātmā cha
mahātmā cha prakhyāta-bala-vikrama-
maḥ | . . . 19. Sa caturvihir mahā-
bhagāḥ putrair Daśaratho vīratṛḥ |
babhava parama-prito devair eva
Pitāmahaḥ | 20. Teshām ketau ievā
brahṛtho Rāmo loka-hite rataḥ |
Sevambhūra ievā devānām sarvākām
sama-dārśanaḥ |

[ Gorresio’s edition.]
After naming Daśaratha’s wives, the narrative proceeds:
10. “To them were born four sons, of boundless might, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Saṭruṅgha, and Bha-
rata, in fashion like the gods. 11. Kaṇḍalaḥ brought forth Rāma, a son of unparalleled vigour, the first in birth, might, and qualities, equal in valour to Viṣṇu. 12. (=v. 12. of the Bomb. ed.) 13. For this lotus-eyed Rāma was born from the half of Viṣṇu’s generative power, for the good of the worlds, and the destruction of Rāvaṇa. 14. This glorious hero, a mine of virtues, excelled in fire and energy, and in manly vigour was not in-
ferior to Indra and Viṣṇu. 15. So too Saumitrā bore two sons, Lakṣmaṇa and Saṭruṅgha, firm in devotion, of great energy, second to Rāma in virtues. 16. These two also, combined, were two

3 This verse, though not found in the Bombay edition, is to be found in Schlegel’s as the fifth.
fourth part of Viṣṇu. 14. Then Su-
mitrā bore two sons, Lakṣmaṇa
and Satrughna, heroes, skilled in all
weapons, who had [each] the half
[of the fourth] of Viṣṇu. 4 15.
But Bharata, of tranquil mind,
was born under the lunar mansion
Pushya and the sign of Pisces;
while the sons of Sumitrā were
born under Śārpa (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
brilliance like the constellation
Proṣṭhapadā.”

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 Viṣṇu was incarnate in Rāma. The same
remark which in p. 175 I have made on the passage as given in Schlegel’s
edition, applies to this recension also—viz. that the verses which refer
to Daśaratha’s sons being incarnations of Viṣṇu might be omitted with
little injury to the connexion. The account of Bharata, Lakṣmaṇa,
and Satrughna, given in vv. 13–15 (as they now stand), has a certain
awkwardness, inasmuch as after leaving Bharata, and introducing
(v. 14) Lakṣmaṇa 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 mother, and the
names of Sumitrā’s sons (which that verse does not contain), may at
the same time have been left out. In Gorresio’s text of this passage,
the verses describing the astrological influences under which Daśaratha’s

4 Which had been communicated to their mother. See sect. 16, 21, Schlegel.
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 Viṣṇu [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 Viṣṇu) to compare his might to that of Indra, an inferior god. On this subject Gorresio remarks, in note 90, p. 423 f. of his sixth volume, as follows: “This is one of the passages in the poem from which it might be inferred that the avātara of Viṣṇu in Rāma was an interpolation in the epopee. If Rāma was a corporeal manifestation of Viṣṇu, and consequently Viṣṇu himself in a human form, the epithet ‘not inferior to Viṣṇu,’ 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 Aryan K., or Third Book, 30, 20 ff. of Gorresio’s edition, that when the Rākshasas were about to attack Rāma, the gods and other beings became very anxious about his safety: Tato devorekhi-gandharvāḥ siddhāḥ cha saha chārāgaiḥ | uchukh paraṁ-sanstraṭaḥ guhyakāḥ cha paraśparam | catur-dasa sahasrāṇi rakshāsāṁ bhima-karmāṇām | ekāḥ cha Rāmo dharmaṁ kathāṁ yuddham bhavishyati | Rāmo no vidito yo ‘yaṁ yathā cha vasudhāṁ gataḥ | manushyāṁ tu maśva ‘ya kārṇyāā vyathitam manah | nardantīva chaṁs teshāṁ rakhshaṁ kāma-rūpinām | nānā-vikrita-vetānām Ramāramam upāgamati | “Then the gods, rishis, Gandharvas, Siddhas, Chārānas, and Guhyakas, being greatly terrified, spoke thus among themselves: ‘There are fourteen thousands of Rākshasas, terrible in their deeds, and the righteous Rāma is but one: how shall they fight together? We know who

5 Signor Gorresio, on the other hand, thinks they are superfluous (Preface, vol. i., p. lii.).

6 In the Aryan Kāṇḍa 68, 38 (Bombay ed.), Rāma and Lakṣmana are compared to the chiefs of the gods, Viṣṇu and Vāsava (Indra, uṣṇaṇāya ita Viṣṇu-vāsaṇaḥ). The commentator makes no remark on this.
this Rāma is, and how he went to the earth; but considering his human nature, our minds are distressed from compassion. The army of these Rākshasas, who take any shape they will, and who have assumed various disguises, has approached the hermitage of Rāma, as if shouting."

In the Bombay ed. iii. 24, 19 ff., however, most of the words ascribed to the gods, etc., are quite different: Tato devāḥ sa-gandharvāḥ siddhāḥ ca saha chāraṇaḥ | sameyuscha mahātmāno yuddha-darśana-kānkhayaḥ | 20. Rishayaḥ mahātmāno lokes brahmarsī-śattamāḥ | samelīya chochuḥ sakhitā te 'nyonam punya-karmaṇaḥ | 21. Seasti go-brahmaṇānānācha lokānām ohoti samsthitāḥ | jayatāṁ Rāghavo yuddha Paulastyaṁ rajani-charanā | 22. Chakra-hasto yathā yuddhe sarvāṁ asura-purāṇān | ecam uktēva punah prachur ālokaḥ ca parauparam | 23. Chaturdasa sahastrāṇi rākshasāṁ bhitma-karmaṇaṁ | okaḥ ca Rāmo dharmatāṁ kathāṁ yuddham bhavishyaître | 24. Iī rājārṣhayāḥ siddhāḥ sa-ganāḥ ca devīrṣhayāḥ | jāta-kautāhalās tathārīr vīmāna-sṭhāṁ ca devatāḥ | 25. Āvishṭām teṣām Rāmāṁ sangrāma-kriyaṁ sthitam | dṛṣṭvā sarvāṇi bhūtāni bhāyād vīryathīre tadā | 26. Rūpaṁ apratimaṁ tasya Rāmaṇākṣita-karmaṇaḥ | babhūva rūpaṁ krūdhaṁya Rudra-syeva mahātmanaḥ | . . . . . . . . . . . . 35. Tasya rūṣṭasya rūpaṁ tu Rāmasya dadrīse tadā | Daksīṇeṣva krutam hantum udyanaya Pīṇākinaḥ | 19. "Then the great gods, Gandharvas, and Siddhas, with the Chāraṇa, (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 Brahmanas, and upon the worlds! may Rāma conquer in battle the Rākshasas, 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 Rākshasas, terrible in their deeds, and the righteous Rāma is but one:

7 Adirghatam arsham | Comm.
8 The following is the commentator's note on the last four words of this line, of which it is difficult to make any sense as they stand: "Lokānāṁ ye 'bhisengatāṁ'' iti pāthe lokānāṁ lokopāśitāṁ saṅgataḥ havir-homādi-devāṁ upakāraḥ iti arthaḥ. "According to another reading, lokānāṁ ye 'bhisengatāṁ, 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.
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how shall they fight together?" 24. [Having] thus [spoken], the royal rishis, Siddhas, and Brahma rishis with the [other] hosts, stood in curious expectation, together with the gods in serial cars. 25. Beholding Râma, full of might, standing in the front of the battle, all creatures were agitated with fear. 26. The unparalleled form of Râma, vigorous in action, was like that of the great Rudra when incensed. . . . 35. The form of Râma, incensed, was beheld then, like that of Pinaîkin (Rudra) when prepared to destroy the sacrifice of Dakaha."

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 Râma, the reference to Vishnû 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 Râma; 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 Râma in his conflicts with the Râkshasas was not entirely unchequered by reverses. In the forty-fifth section of the sixth, or Yuddha Kânda, Bombay ed. (corresponding to section 20 of Gorresio's recension), it is related 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 Râvana.

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: Râma-Lakshmanayor eva sarva-doha-bhidâh sarân | bhrišam avastayâma Râpâhi samilinjaya | niramitra-kartrau tu tav ubhau Râma- Lakshmanas[10] krudhendradrjita virau pannagaih karatâhm gataiḥ | tayoḥ kshata-ja-mârgena susrâva rudhiram bahu | . . . 16. Buddhau tu karabandhena tav ubhau raṣa-mûrdhani | nimeshântara-mâtrela na śekatur avenhitum | . . . 22. Pâpâ prathamadâ Râmo viddha marmanu margaśaiḥ | krodhadh Indrajitâ yena purâ Śâkro 'pi nirjitatâ | "The son of

Rāvana, victorious in battle, discharged numerous arrows which pierced the whole bodies of Rāma and Lakshmana. Both of these two heroes had their bodies wounded in every spot by the incensed Indrajit with serpents11 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. . . . Avekshanta Rāghava | akeśhau manda-nivedāu | iṣṇitaṃ pariplatau | iṣṭa-jālāchitaṃ | stabdhau kāyānau | kara-talpa-gau | niṣvāstanau | yathā | sarpau | niśkeśhau | dīna-vikramau | ityādi | “They bewailed the two descendants of Raghu, incapable of effort, breathing slowly, bathed in blood, encompassed with a net of arrows, stiff, lying on a bed of arrows, breathing like serpents, helpless, their vigour quelled,” etc. Vibhishana comforts the monkeys by saying that the good fortune of Rāma and Lakshmana would not forsake them (vv. 38 ff.): Athavā rakṣyatām Rāmo yāvat sanjñā-viparyayaḥ | labdha-sanjñau hi Kākutthau bhayaḥ nau vyeṣṭi-neshyataḥ | naitat kīchana Rāmasya na cha Rāmo munārshati | na hy enaṁ hāṣyaṭe Lakshmir durlabhā yā gatayusām | “Or, let Rāma be guarded while his insensibility continues. When the two descendants of Kākutthā 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.” Böhltingk and Roth, s.v. nirantarā, translate the clause thus: “There was no spot on their bodies in which an arrow was not sticking.”

12 On this the commentator, in conformity with his dogmatic views regarding the divine nature of the two heroes, remarks: Na ṇeṣṭkūtaḥ akeśhitum | tātiśreṇa eva | sikhitau manuṣhaṇaḥ-nafanāya iti bodhyam | “‘Could not look up:’ 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 Kāyaḍa, section 27. He was originally called Mehaṇā, but after he had taken Indra captive, he received from Brahma the name of Indra-jīt, or the “conqueror of Indra,” ibid. section 30. A summary of the story will be found further on.

14 Gorresio’s ed. reads iṣṭa-jālāchitaṃ.
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It will be observed that nothing is here said of the divine nature of Rāma; and nothing is said of Lakshmi being his spouse, though she is regarded in Hindu mythology as the consort of Nārāyaṇa (see the commentator’s remark on Uttara Kāṇḍa, 17, 35, which will be quoted below).

In the next section (the forty-seventh) of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa it is related that Rāvaṇa sent Sītā on his car Pushpaka, with the Rākṣasī 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.: Nana Varuṇam Āgneyam Aindram Vāyasyam eva ca | astraṃ Brahma-sirak chaiva Rāghasuvya pratyapad-yata | 17. Adriṣṭamānena raṇe māyayā Vasavopana ca | mama nāthāv anāthāyāḥ nihataḥ Rāma-Lakshmanau | 18. Na hi driṣṭi-patham prāpya Rāghasuvya raṇe ripuḥ | jīvan pratini-varteta yadyapi syād manojayah | 19. Na Kālasyatiibhāro ‘sti kritāṇtā ca sudurjayaḥ). Sītā is then consoled by the Rākṣasī Trijaṭā, who tells her (v. 22) that her husband is not dead; and explains why she thinks so. In vv. 30 f., she says: Nemau śakuyau raṇe jetaṁ sendraiv api surāsurasūḥ | tādriṣṭaḥ darśanam driṣṭaḥ mayā choditraiḥ tava | idam tu samahāch chitram karaḥ paśyavat Maithili | visanjana patitāv etau naiva Lakṣmīram vimun-chatā | prāyena gata-sattvanāṁ puruṣānāṁ gatāyuḥam | driṣṭamāneshu vaktreshu param bhavati vaikṛṣtam | “These two cannot be conquered in battle even by the Suras and Asuras, Indra included. Such a sight I have seen, and declared to thee. But behold this great wonder, that though they are lying senseless from the arrows, Fortune (Lakṣmī) ...

13 The commentator says on this verse: Pratyapad-yata pratyapad-yetām | ca-va- chanam ārāham | “nana” itaḥ pūreṇaṁ tat kim idāniṁ na smṛtām iti ēsauḥ.
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): Eklambham antar Rāma prayāvyadhya vīryavān | ethiravat ativo-yogāchehaś | sarvā śandānto '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 Lakshmana, whom he supposes to be dead; and ascribes the misfortune to his own bad generalship (v. 18: Imām adya gato vairām mamāṃśrayya durnayāś). In sect. 50, Vibhishana laments the condition of Rāma and his brother, and the disappointment thereby caused to his own hopes of becoming king of Lankā; but is comforted by Sugrīva, who says to him (vv. 21 f.): Rājyam prāpyaisi dharmajna Lankāyām neha saṁbayaś | Rāvanah saha purṇaṇa eva-kāmam neha lepayate | 22. Garudânā dhīshānātav eva ubhau Rāghava-Lakshmanau | tyakto moham badhīshyete sa-ghaṇāṃ Rāvanāṃ rāge | "Thou, O [prince], well skilled in duty, shalt without doubt obtain sovereignty in Lankā; but Rāvana and his son shall not obtain the object of their desire. 22. Both Rāma and Lakshmana are watched over by Garuḍa: having escaped from their swoon, they shall slay Rāvana with his host." Sugrīva, however, proposes to his father-in-law Susheṇa, to remove Rāma and Lakshmana from the scene of action to Kishkindhā; and promises that he himself will slay Rāvana, his son and kinsmen, and bring back Sītā, as Indra recovered the lost Śrī (24 f. : Saha śūrair hāri-ghaṇāir labha-śajāde arindamau | gachha tvam bhūtarau gṛhiṣa Kishkindhām Rāma-Lakshmanau | abhām tu Rāvanāṁ hatvā sa-purāṇām saha-bāndhavam | Maithilīm anayiḥhyāmi Śakro nasiḥtām iva Śriyaṁ)." 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 Bṛhaspati 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

17 In Gorresio’s edition fifteen more verses (vi. 26, 27–41) follow, in which Sugrīva boasts further of what he will accomplish; but they are not found in the Bombay ed.
those herbs. The Bombay edition then goes on at once in vv. 33 ff.
to relate that a tempest arose, attended with lightnings, and announces
the arrival of the celestial bird Garuḍa for the purpose of curing Rāma
and his brother. In Garresio's text the following verses are intro-
duced between those which correspond to the thirty-second and thirty-
third of the Bombay edition:

Garresio, sect. 26, vv. 8, 9, 10, 11a.—Athinam upasangamya
Vāyuḥ karsa vacaḥ 'bravit | Rāma Rāma mahābhāho atmānāṁ smara
vais hṛidā | Nārāyanas tvam bhagavān Rākṣasārthe 'vatāritaḥ | smara
sarpa-bhujāṁ devaiṁ Vainateyaṁ mahābalam | sa sarpa-bandhād ghorat
tu yuvāṁ sammoahayāyati | sa tasya vachanam ārūte Rāghavo Rāghu-
nandanaḥ | saṁmāra Garuḍaṁ devam bhujaganāṁ bhagavaham | "Then
Vāyu, approaching him, spoke this word in his ear: ‘Rāma, Rāma,
great-armed, recollect thyself in thy heart: thou art the divine Nārā-
yanā, who hast descended [to earth] on account of the Rākṣasas.
Call to mind the snake-devouring god, the strong Vainateya (the bird
Garuḍa); he shall deliver you twain from the dreadful bonds of the
serpents.’ Hearing Vāyu’s words, Rāma called to mind the god
Garuḍa, the terror of serpents."

The absence of these verses from the Bombay edition renders it
probable that they formed no part of the original Rāmāyanam. But
in addition to this fact, another proof to the same effect is to be found
in the circumstance that in the verses which follow shortly after in
both recensions Rāma, after being cured by Garuḍa, is represented
as inquiring, and consequently, as being ignorant, who his benefactor
is, although, according to Garresio’s edition, he had just before called
Garuḍa to mind, **i.e.** summoned him. It is true Rāma had been sense-
less; but he had regained his consciousness so far as to call upon Garuḍa:
so that in Garresio’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.)
=Gorr. ed. 26, 16 ff.): Tām āgataṁ abhiprakṛtya nāgāṁ te vipradu-
dravuḥ | yais tu tav purushau baddhau tarañhātār mahābalaṁ | tataḥ
Suparṇaḥ Kākṣasthau spṛśatiṁ pratyabhinandya cha | vimamsaṁ cha
pariḥṣyām mukhe chandor-sama-prabho | Vainateyena samprīśtāṁ tayoṁ
samruhuṁ 18 evaṁ | svargavo cha tanuṁ snigdhaṁ tayor ābu babhūvatuṁ |

18 Yathā-pūrṇam saṁṛūṣaṁ-māṁsāṁ abhūvan | Comm.
40. 

41. In his remarks on vv. 40, 41, the commentator, in the Bombay ed., explains this as follows: Deiṣyagā Vainateya-saprātā puurvato 'py adhikā | atra anyair devair avatīrya bhagavato Rāmayya mūla-mūrter āyavyā upākaraḥ sampādīto Garuḍaṁ tu svā-rūpateḥ eva iti bodhyam 

42. Ko bhavāṇ rūpa-samppanno divya-srag-amulepanaḥ (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 descendents of Kakutstha, soothed with his hands their faces brilliant as the moon. Touchèd 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, distinguished by beauty, adorned with celestial garlands, and unguents?’” etc.

43. In his remarks on this verse, the same commentator says: “Ko bhavāṇ ści ayam praṇino ‘pi maṅgāya-bārirokhita-eyavehāraḥ eva tat-satyato-pratyubpā <!aata> atra Rāme-samāŋgacana-paryantam pakṣya-gākaraṅa āyata saṃsiddhi-mātṛto niṣga-bodhananeka nirasya Rāghava-spárṣanūdy-artham purushākāraṁ eyavehār । । travers 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.
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The corresponding passage in Gorresio’s edition (sect. 26, vv. 16 ff.) does not, as I have intimated, differ materially from the above, and in it, in like manner, Rāma is distinctly represented as inquiring who Garuḍa is.

In reply to Rāma’s question, Garuḍa tells him (vv. 46 ff.) who he is, says he is his friend, and that no one but himself, whether god or Asura, could have delivered Rāma from the bonds of the serpents, which had been turned into arrows by the magic art of Indrajit. He warns him that in dealing with the treacherous Rākṣasas he must proceed warily, and finally assures him that he shall slay Rāvaṇa and recover Sītā; and then departs after walking round and embracing him (v. 60: Pradakṣiṇāṁ tataḥ kṛiteṣa pariṣthonya oha).\[21\]

There is another passage in Gorresio’s edition (book vi., sect. 33) in which it is related that after the fall of Prahasa, one of the Rākṣasas, Mandodari, Rāvaṇa’s queen, went into the assembly to disuade her husband from contending any further against Rāma, when she is introduced as saying (v. 25 f.): Na oha mānusha-mātro ’sau Rāmo Daśaratḥāṁ mājaḥ | ekam yena vai pūreṇa bāhavo rākṣasāḥ hataḥ | “Nor is this Rāma a mere man, he by whom singly many Rākṣasas have formerly been slain.” The same idea is repeated in the two following verses, where the number of the slain and the names of some of them are given.

The passage in which these verses occur is not, however, to be found in the corresponding section (the fifty-ninth) of the Bombay edition, which omits verses 6–51 of the thirty-third, and the whole of the thirty-fourth sections of Gorresio’s edition.

In the fifty-ninth section of the same book (Bombay ed.) it is related that Lakṣmaṇa was wounded by Rāvaṇa with an iron lance given to the latter by Brahmā (v. 105–7); but that when Rāvaṇa tried to lift his fallen foe, he was unable (v. 109 f.): Himavat Mandar Meru rājikaṁ vā sahaṁraiś | sakyam bhujābhyaṁ uddhartaṁ na sakyō Bharatāṁ nujāḥ | ṭaktyā ṭraḥṣyaṁ tu Saumitrīś tadāṁ ’pi stāṁtrāro | Viṣṇuṣe amāṁśaya-bhāgam ātmānam pratyanusmṛtaḥ | “Himavat, Mandara,

\[21\] From this last circumstance the commentator infers the divine nature of Bāma. His words are: Pradakṣiṇāṁ kṛiteṣa iti anena divya-devatāvastūro Rāmāḥ iti sarvān prākṛita-kapin praty api bodhitam | “By these words, ‘having walked round him, with the right side towards him,’ it is intimated even to all the ordinary monkeys that Rāma was an incarnation of a celestial deity.”
Meru, or the three worlds with the immortals, might be lifted by him with his arms, but not the younger brother of Bharata. But Lakshmana, though smitten on the chest with the lance given by Brahma, recollected himself to be an incomprehensible portion of Vishnu.footnote 22 Similar words are again ascribed to him in v. 120:

Vishnu bhogam amimanaam atmam pratyanusaranam. Expressions of the same purport occur in the parallel verses in Gorresio’s edition, sect. 36, vv. 86, 88, and 98. The words in v. 88 are Vishnu aksintyo yo bhayo manusaham deham anithita | “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

footnote 22 The commentator’s note on v. 110 is as follows: Amoghayaa Brahma-ratseyaa stevaratvah shataha samidhvivishnuh amimanaam mithaiva Vishnuh-bhogatevamten ityataayaa chintayitum akhyaa eaa Vishnuh bhogam atmam pratyanusaratah anuvanam na hi evayaa evam hinasty ity abhyam Brahma-bakti-mutiya (? tirodharham bhogavat-tejo ‘ndaah eaa aham ammi iti dhyyatevun naa-vad amikrta-manushyatvan itarvakam dridha-pratity-artha-paraam na sarvadat tathaa dhyyanam evam oh Brahma-bhadrayanaa Lakshmayaa eva-tarirvya gariyaasteam upaditam ity uktaa bhavati | “Being struck on the breast with the unfailling (dart) given by Brahma, Lakshmana recollected himself to be indubitably a portion of Vishnu, or to be a portion of Vishnu which could not be conceived of as being of such and such magnitude. With 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: Idaa’h cha bhakta-mitra-vahatraam bhogavata bhogavat-vastu-raamah eva saabhava-siddham eva iti bodhyam evam cha Rama-Lakshmanayoh aapana-bandhavatvaa tgasrayataabhadramuni esaahau mAnusha-vaseha-nirvahanam-mitra-paragii iti bodhyam tad uktam Bhagavatah “Martya-vataraa tv aha martya-dikshyam raksha-baddhayaam na kave shaa vishaa kuto ‘nyathaa suh rematah eva atmahaa Sitaa-chyiti evamunivedavasya” “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 the capability of ignorance to Rama and Lakshmana are only intended to serve the purpose of carrying out their characters in their human disguise. This is declared in the Bhagavata Purana (the verse occurs in v. 19, 6, as I learn from Böhtlingk and Roth’s reference, i.e. dikshama), ‘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 Rakshas. Otherwise, how could the Lord, the Spirit, whose delight is in himself, have undergone the sufferings arising from Sita?”’
APPENDIX.

(fifty-ninth, Bombay ed.) Hannmat tells Rāma to mount on his back, as Vishṇu on that of Garutmat or Garuḍa (Vishṇur yathā Garutmantam aruṇya); and in verse 125, Rāma is said to have rushed on Rāvaṇa as Vishṇu rushed on Vairochana (Vairochanāṁ iva kruddha Vishṇur sīyādi).

In the same sect. (59, 135 ff., Bombay ed.) it is related that Rāvaṇa was defeated by Rāma, but spared, and sent back to Lankā. After his return he thus speaks (sect. 60, v. 5 ff.): Sarvaṁ tat khalu me mogham yat taptam paramaṁ tapaḥ | yat samāno Mahendrena mānusheṇa vinirjitaḥ | 6. Idam tad Brahmano ghorāṁ vākyam māṁ abhyupasthitam |


“Utpateyati hi mad-vāṁśe puruśo rākṣasādhamā | yas tvāṁ sa-purvaṁ saṁtīlaya sa-balaṁ śāvā-sūrāthiḥ | 10. Nilhishyati sangrāme tvāṁ kulādhamā durmāte” | kāpto ‘ham Vedantatā ca yathā sa dharmāṁ purā |


“All the extreme austerity that I have undergone is then vain, since

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30 See Wilson’s Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. 371: “Whose (Sambhu’s) son was Anarasya, who was slain by Rāvaṇa in his triumphant progress through the nations” (tato nārasya | tain Rāvaṇe dig-vijaye 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 Anarasya is, however, told in the Uttra Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, section 19. Dushkanta (sic), Suratha, Gāḍhi, Gaya, Purūravas (though, as the commentator remarks, they lived at different periods [bhīmna-bhīma-kāla-eertino pi Dushkantadāyaṁ iva-va-kāle Rāvaṇaṁ prati jitaṁ-vādaṁ vara-dvāṅaṁ uktasamantak Ś, yet they all in their own times) submitted, without fighting, acknowledging themselves conquered, to Rāvaṇa on his victorious march through the world in consequence of the boon Brahmā had given to him (v. 5). Anarasya, a descendant of Ikshvāku, and king of Ayodhya, however, when called upon either to fight, or acknowledge himself conquered, prefers the former alternative (v. 9); but his army is overcome, and he himself is thrown from his chariot (v. 21). When Rāvaṇa triumphs over his prostrate foe, the latter says that he has been vanquished, not by him, but by fate, and that Rāvaṇa is only the instrument of his overthrow (v. 26); and he predicts that Rāvaṇa should one day be slain by his descendant Rāma (v. 29: Utpateyate kula hy asmīna Ikṣvākūryo mahātenum | Rāmo Dāsaraṁhīr ēmaṁ yas te prāgan karishyata).
I, though the equal of Indra, have been overcome by a man. This is the direful word of Brahmā that has now reached me, [when he said]: 'Know that thy great cause of apprehension is from men. I have decreed thy indestructibility by gods, Dānavas, Gandharvas, Yakshas, Rākshasas, and Pannagas: but thou hast asked no [security] from men.' This man I consider to be Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, since I was formerly thus cursed by Anarāṇya of the race of Ikshvāiku; 'There shall arise among my posterity a man who shall slay thee in battle, thou lowest of Rākshasas, and wicked wretch, along with thy sons, ministers, hosts, and charioteers.' And I was also cursed by Vedavati 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, Nandīvāra, Ramīhā, and the daughter of Varuṇa²⁵ (Punjikasthalā) uttered, has befallen me. What has been spoken by rishis²⁶ is never falsified. Wherefore, ye must assemble, and make exertions.'

In this passage it will be observed that there is no express reference to the divine nature of Rāma: and it is conceivable that the original legend may have represented him as being, even in his human capacity, of sufficient prowess to slay the king of the Rākshasas.

[Most of the stories referred to in the preceding passage are given in the Uttara Kāṇḍa, and I shall supply an abstract of them here. That of Anarāṇya will be found in note 23.

The rather pretty story of Vedavati 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 Vedavati, and is the Vocal daughter (vāṁmayī kanyā) of Vṛihaspati's son, the rishi Kuśadhvaja, 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-pādensa to-po-yuktāh sevyante | "The word "rishi" denotes persons distinguished by austerity." It would thus refer to Vedavati and others.
to Vishṇu, the lord of the world, whom he desired for his son-in-law (v. 12: Pituṣ tu mama jāmata Vishṇuḥ kila sūrekṣaraḥ | abhipretas trilokekas tasmāṇ nāsavya me pītā | dātum iekhati tasmai tu). This resolution provoked Sambhu, king of the Daityas, who slew her father, Kuśadhvaja, while sleeping, on which her mother (whose name is not given), after embracing his body, entered into the fire (15). Vedavatī then proceeds (v. 16): Tato manorathaṁ satyaṁ pitur Nārāyaṇam pratiḥ karomiti tam evāhaṁ hridayena samudvahā | iti pratijnāṁ āruhya charāmi vipulam tapaḥ | . . . . 18. Nārāyaṇo mama paśur na tv aṁsah puruṣottamam | abhyoe niyamaṁ ghorāḥ Nārāyaṇa-pārtipaya | "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, Puruṣottama, 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 Vishṇu (v. 24). She rejoins that no one but he would thus contemn 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.): Tasmāt tu dharshita chāhaṁ tvayā pāpaṁma vane | tasmāt tava badhārtham hi samutpateṣyat aham (samutpateṣyam samutpateṣya ity arthaḥ | Comm.) punah | nahi sakyaṁ striyā hantum purushah pāpa-nīchayāḥ | śāpe tvayi mayotsriḥṣte tapasāḥ cha vyayo dhavat | yadi tv asti maya kinchit kriyāṁ datam hutaṁ tathā | tasmāt te ayomi- jā sadhoṁ bhavyam dharmam eṣa | ovam ukte praviṣṭāṁ sa jñāne jñāvedasaṁ | papaṁ cha dīvo dīvyam pūrpa-ṛishiḥ samantaṁ | sāhā Janaka-rājaṁ prasūta tanaya prabhā | tava bhāyaṁ mahābāho Vishṇus tvam hi samānanaṁ | pūruṣam kroḍha-hataṁ satrur gyaṁ savi nihatam tvayā | upāsryīteśe bālābhāṁ tava viryaṁ amānusham | "Since I have been insulted in the forest 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 Kṛita age, v. 38) has been born (in the Tretā age, v. 38) as the daughter of king Janaka, and [has become] thy bride; for thou art the eternal Vishnu. The mountain-like enemy who was [virtually] destroyed before by her wrath, has now been slain by her, after she had associated herself with thy superhuman energy.” On this the commentator remarks: Ānena Sitā eva Rāvana-badhe mukhyām kāraṇam Rāme tu kankaśīvam āropitam iti uchitam “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: Ānena Sitāyāḥ Lakṣmiitvam ephuṣam evoktam iti uttam Parāśarasya “Rāghavatov ‘bhavat Sitā Rukmiṇi Krishna-janman’ 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] Rukmiṇī.”

I have not noticed in the Uttara Kāṇḍa any separate legend about Umā, but the commentator connects this allusion to her in the preceding passage (vi. 60, 11) with the following story about Nandīvara, which is thus told in the sixteenth section of the Uttara Kāṇḍa (v. 1 ff.): After his victory over Kuvera, Rāvana went to Saravaṇa, the birthplace of Kārttikeya. Ascending the mountain, he sees another delightful wood, where his car Pushpaka stops, and will proceed no further. He then beholds a formidable dark tawny-coloured dwarf, called Nandīvara, a follower ofMahādeva, 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-dīpam | Kailāsā-sikhara-chālana-vaijayām Rāvanasya stri-minīttam maraṇam ity evam-rūpaṃ ity śūnyā | “They say that at the time when he shook the summit of Kailāsa, a curse was pronounced on Rāvana that he should die on account of a woman.”
demands who Sankara (Mahādeva) is, and laughs contemptuously at Nandīvara, who has the face of a monkey. Nandīvara, who was another body (ṣapārā tambh) of Siva, being incensed at this contempt of his monkey form, declares that beings, possessing the same shape as himself, and of similar energy, monkeys, shall be produced to destroy Rāvana’s race (v. 17: Tasmād mad-virya-saṃyuktāḥ madraṇa-sama-tejasāḥ | utpasyanti badhārthāṃ hi kulasya tava vānarāḥ). Nandīvara 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 tada śiṣṭā Mahēśvaram). 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 lauded 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 Rambhā 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 Rambhā, 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 (chakṣuḥ-āṇḍiṣṭya-gayaḥ sarasm | Comm.) with water, launches the following curse against Rāvana: v. 54. Akāmā tena yasmāt tevam balād bhadre pradharṣitā | 55. Tasmāt sa
ywastim anyāṁ nakāmāṁ upayāsyati | yadā hy akāmāṁ kāmārio dharsekhayishyati yoshitam| mārāhā tu saptadhā tasya takalbhavītā tadā;

"Since thou, kind lady, who hadst no passion for him, hast been forcibly insulted by him, he shall not approach any other damsel who does not reciprocate his passion. For when through passion he shall ravish any woman who has no passion for him, his head shall split into seven fragments." Hearing of this curse, Rāvaṇa resolves to abstain from offering violence to women.

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 tān-nimīttam brahma-kāpaḥ stīr-dharseya maraṇa-rūpaḥ | "The daughter of Varuṇa was Punjikasthālā. On her account, a curse of Brahma, involving the penalty of death, [was pronounced] on the rape of women."

After expressing himself as above (p. 458), Rāvaṇa desires his brother Kumbhakarṇa (a monster who, owing to the curse of Brahma,28 slept for six months at a time, and remained awake for a single day) to be awakened. This is with immense difficulty effected. Kumbhakarṇa asks (book vi., sect. 60, Bombay ed., vv. 67 ff.) why they have awakened him, and is told that they stand in dread, not of the gods, but of a man, Rāma (v. 72: Mānushān no bhayaṁ rajan tumulaṁ samprabādhate | ityādi); when he assures them that he will destroy their foes, and himself drink the blood of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. After drinking two thousand jars of liquor, he goes to see and consult with his brother Rāvaṇa; who, in answer to his inquiry, describes to him (sect. 62) the present position of affairs, and the necessity there is to obtain his assistance. Kumbhakarṇa, in reply, delivers (sect. 63, Bombay ed., vv. 2–21) a moral discourse on the wickedness of Rāvaṇa's conduct, such as we should scarcely have expected from the speaker's antecedents;29 and is told by Rāvaṇa in answer (vv. 23–27) that this is not the time for such labourted lectures, but for action, to which he calls upon him to proceed, if he has any regard for him, or pretensions to valour. Kumbhakarṇa then promises (vv. 30 ff. of the same section) to destroy the enemies of his brother. But before this last speech of Kumbhakarṇa, which is given in the forty-second section of Gorresio's recension, that text introduces another speech of

28 See sect. 61, vv. 19 ff.
the same personage, which occupies vv. 30–53 of the fortieth section, and a further speech of Rāvaṇa which fills the forty-first section; both of which are wanting in the Bombay edition, and even in one of the MSS. consulted by Signor Gorresio, as we learn from his Preface, vol. v., p. xlvi.; and might, as he thinks, be omitted without detriment, or perhaps with advantage, to the connexion of the ideas, and the march of the poem. Some mention must, however, be made of this speech, as in it Kumbhakarṇa gives the same account of the divine origin of Rāma, as we have already met with in the earlier part of the poem (see p. 168 ff., above). He says that one day he had seen the divine sage Nārada, who had told him that he had just returned from an assembly of the gods who had met to take counsel for the destruction of the Rākshasas, on which occasion Brahmā had spoken as follows (sect. vi. 40, 44 ff., ed. Gorr.): Evam ukte tu vachane Brahmā devān uvācha ha | abadhyate vam mayā daśtam deva-daśiyāśca rākṣasāh | mānushēbhyo bhayaṁ tasya vānaro bhyaśča devatāḥ | sūrā-sūra-saṁēḥ pi badhas tasya na vidyate | tasmād esa Harir devaḥ padma-nābhas trīvikramaḥ | putro Daśarathagātūtā chaturbāhuḥ sanātanaḥ | bhavanto vasudhām gatvā Viṣṇuṁ asya mahātmanāḥ | vānarāṇāṁ tanaṁ kṛte vahyatevaṁ karīṣhyaḥ | “When [the priest of the gods Viṣṇapati] had thus spoken, Brahmā said to the gods: ‘I have conferred [on Rāvaṇa] 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 (Viṣṇu), 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 Viṣṇu.’” Kumbhakarṇa says that Viṣṇu 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, Rāvaṇa utters the following defiance of Viṣṇu (sect. 41, 2 ff., ed. Gorr.): Ko ‘sau Viṣṇur iti khyāto yasya tvam tīta bībhaye | devate na namasya tam tathā ‘nyān devata-gaṇān | mānushyaṁ gato taśmin kim bhayam tvam upasthitam | nityam samara-bhiṁ tatas tu mānushaḥ sumahābala | khādayitvā tu tāṁ pūrvam katham pahād namāmy aham | praṇāmya mānushaṁ Rāmaṁ Sitām datvā tu tasya vai |
hāṣya-bhūtas tu lokānām anuyāyāmi prarghastaḥ | Rāghavāṁ tam mahā-
bhū doṇa-rūpo 'tha dāsa-cat | piddhiṁ cha patyanāno 'eya kathāṁ sakhyām jīvitaṁ | kriyā tasya purā bhāryāṁ maṇam kriyā sudārumaṁ | prañamod Rācayo Rāman oṣa te buddhi-nirṇayaḥ | yadi Rāmaḥ svayaṁ Viṣṇur Lakṣmaṇo 'pi Saṭakraṭuḥ | Sugrivaś Triyambakaḥ sakhyāt suṣayam Brahmatu Jambavān | aha śatraṁ añhitāṁ yasya te buddhi śyādi ṭāttāni | altāśrami saṁ Rāmaṁ yo namaskartum icchasi | devatam yaḥ parisyayā śāṅkhuṁ yoniṁ abhīṣitaḥ | āṃśaṁ kantaṁ kheśaṁ abhīṣitaḥ kathakaṁ mayā | yadi va Rāghavo Viṣṇur evaktaṁ te śrotam āgataḥ | devatānāṁ hitārthaṁ tu praviṣṭhaṁ maṇuṁ nāmam | sa vānaraṣeṁ raṇāṇaṁ Sugrivaṁ ṭaraṇāṁ gataḥ | aha 'eya sadriṣaṁ sakhyāṁ tiryagyoni-gataiḥ saha | vīrya-kīnas tu kim Viṣṇur yaḥ abhīṣitaḥ πikha-vānaraṇ | athsaḥ vīryaṁ hino 'saṁ yena pārṇam maḥaṁvaḥ | vānaraṇaṁ pārṇam ṭābhya yačiṁ ādiḥ sūtrāḥ padam | Balis tu ḍikhiśito yajna tena tvamaḥ sakhyāṁ icchasi | yena dattā maḥi savva sa-pāṛgoreṇvāva | upaḥāra-kriyā pārṇam sa baddha yaṇa-ṛṣikhatā | upakārtā hatas tena so 'smān rākṣatra vairigaḥ | yadda me nirjītkā devāḥ evamāṁ gataṁ teṣāṁ saha | tadda kim nātī Viṣṇutaṁ tasya devaṁ Rākṣasaṁ | sāṃprataṁ kutaḥ ayataḥ sa Viṣṇur yasya bīkhyam | śāṅkura-saṅkhabārthāya brūsaṁ tvam vākyam āṭṣvam | nāyaṁ kṣetrikaṁ kālo yoddhāṁ niṣāchāra | svāṁyaṁ Viṣṇu mahāṁ praptaṁ trailokyam | vāṣa-gaṁ kriyam | Rāghavam prañamam kṣamāṁ hīna-vīryaṁ-purākładam | tad gachha bāgyanāṁ te saṁ pīva tvam vīgata-joraḥ | kāyānāṁ na hanyāḥ tuṁ Rāghavo Lakṣmaṇoṣe natthā | ahaṁ Rāmaṁ badhisyaṁ Sugrivaṁ ca Lakṣmaṇam | vānaraṁ bhadhaṁ hanishyaṁ tato devaṁ maḥaṁvaṁ | Viṣṇuḥcchaveya badhisyaṁ ye ca Viṣṇu-anuyāyinaḥ | gachha gachhavvsa tat kshetraṁ chirasā jīva suktāḥ bhava | bhrāṭaram to evam uttara 'saṁ Rāṣaṇaḥ Kāla-choditaḥ | sācāleṣam sa-garjancha punar vacanaṁ abravīṅ | jānāmi Sitaṁ dharanā-prasaṭiṁ jānāmi Rāmaḥ Madhu-
danacho | sted hi jāne to ahaṁ asya badhyas tennāṁta me Janakāma-
jaśe | 20 na kāmadhāvai na krodhaṁ dharāṁ Janakāmaṇaṁ | nihalo gantum icchāmi tad Viṣṇoḥ paramaṁ padam |

20 A verse resembling this in most of its clauses had previously occurred in a similarly defiant speech of Rāvaṇa's in sect. 34, 7, of Gorrésio's recension: Jānāmi Sitaṁ Janaka-prasūtiṁ jānāmi Rāmaḥ Madhusūdanaṁ cha | Etad hi jānāmi ahaṁ asya badhyas tathāpi sandhiṁ na karomy anoṁa | "I know Sita to be Janaka's daughter, and Rama to be Madhusundana; and I know this that I shall be slain by him; and yet I cannot make peace with him." Gorrésio regards both passages as of doubtful authenticity. In explanation of the epithet dharaná-prasaṭi applied to Sita, I may quote these lines from the Rāmāyaṇa (Bombay ed.) i. 66, 13 ff., where
APPENDIX.

"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 Brahman—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: Ati va krisnatah khetrahn langoa utthita tatah | 14. Khetrahn sadhayat labhah namna Sitteti vishrutah | bhutali utthita sa tu eva-vardhata mamaiyaj | 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 Sita (the furrow). This girl, sprung from the earth, grew up as my daughter.” In the next verse she is styled ayonijā, “not born from the womb.”

The commentator quotes the following lines from the Padma-purāṇa on the same subject: Ati lokevari Lakshmir Janakasya pure svatah | iubha-kshetre halotkāha tare chottara-phālgune | ayonijā padma-kara bālaraka tata-samātihā | Sita-mukhe samukpanā bāla-bhāvena sundari | Sītā-mukhādha vātī Sītā ity asayi nāma chākarat | tato ’bhud aurasi tasya Urmilā nāma kanyakā | 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 Sita, because she sprang from the opening of the furrow (siitā). 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 Vishnu? Whence has this Vishnu now come, whom thou fearest? Thou speakest in this strain to save thy body [from injury in battle]. This is not the time for timidity, Rākṣasa, but for fighting. I have obtained dominion from Brahmā; the three worlds are subject to me; why should I bow down before Rāma who is destitute of energy and valour? Go, therefore, to thy couch; drink, free from disquiet. Neither Rāma nor Lakshmana will kill thee when thou art sleeping. I shall slay Rāma, and Sugrīva, and Lakshmana, and the monkeys, and then the gods also in a great battle. I shall kill Vishnu too, and all Vishnu's followers. Go, go then to thy abode, live long, live at ease.' Having thus, impelled by fate, spoken to his brother with arrogance and in a loud tone, Rāvana said again: 'I know Sītā to be sprung from the earth; I know Rāma to be Madhusūdana. And this I know, that I am to be slain by him; and therefore have I carried off this daughter of Janaka. It is not from passion or from anger that I retain her: I desire, being slain, to go to that highest abode of Vishnu.' Compare the quotation from the Vishnu Purāṇa, given above, regarding Śiśupāla, pp. 215 f., note 212.

The change of tone in this last short speech is remarkable. The defier of Vishnu all at once acknowledges his deity and becomes his humble worshipper. This looks like a still later addition to the preceding part of the section, inserted by some editor who considered the earlier portion to be too blasphemous to be allowed to stand without some qualification, or recantation.

Again, after Rāvana's death, 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 mansha-mātreṇa Rāmena yudhi nirjitaḥ na eyapatrapas rajas kim idām rākṣasēvara | 6. Kathakātra-ākramya śriyā viryena chānāvitam avishāhyam jaghāna tvam mansho vana-gocharaḥ | 7. Mānushānaṁ avishaye charataḥ kāma-rūpinaḥ vināśas tavā Rāmena saṁyuge nopapadyate | 8. Na cha iti

21 Such is the sense—apparently not a very suitable one—of the words.
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karma Rāmasya kṛddādāhāni chamū-mukho | sarvataḥ samupetasya tava
tenādhirishvaḥ 9. Athavā Rāma-rūpeṇa Kṛtāntaḥ sevayam āgataḥ |
māyām tava vināśaya vidhāyapratītākītam | 10. Athavā Vāsavena tvam
dharshito 'si mahābala | 11. Vāsavasya tu kā saktis tvām drashṭum api
samāyuge | Mahābalaṁ mahāviryaṁ deva-katram mahaujasam | 12. Vyā-
ktam esa mahāyogī paramātma sanātanaḥ | an-ādi-madhyā-nidhano
mahataḥ paramo mahān | 13. Tamasaḥ paramo dhāta śankha-chakra-gada-
dharaḥ | 14. Śrīvatsa-vakṣah nitya-bhir ojaṇayaḥ śaśvato dhrusvaḥ | mā-
nusakaṁ rūpaṁ āsthaya Vishnuḥ satya-parākramaḥ | 15. Sarvāḥ pari-
vṛito devaṁ vānaravatvam upāgataiḥ | sarva-lokeśvaroḥ śrīman lokānāṁ
hitā-kāmyaḥ | sa-rākṣasā parivāram deva-katram bhayāvaham | 16. Indriyānī
cūrā jīvā jītam tribhūvanāṁ tvayaḥ | smarādihīr iva tad
vairam indriyair eva nīrjtāḥ | 17. Yadaiva hi Janasthāne Rākṣasair
bhūthāḥ vṛtiṣaḥ | Kharas tu nihato bhṛtā tādā Rāma 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 un-
conquerable? 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 (Kṛtānta)
came in the form of Rāma, applying an unimagined magic for thy
destruction, (10) or thou hast been overwhelmed by Vāsava (Indra).
11. But what power had Vāsava in battle even to look at thee, who
wast the mighty in force and heroism, the glorious enemy of the gods?
12. This was manifestly the great contemplator (Mahāyogin),
the supreme spirit, the eternal, without beginning, middle, or end, the
great Being superior to the great (or to Mahat, i.e. Prakriti or matter),
(13) superior to darkness, the sustainer, the wielder of the shell, the
discus, and the club, (14) who bears the Śrīvatsa on his breast, who

22 Saṁbhāvika-sarva-saktī-yuktaḥ | Comm.
23 This knowledge of the truth, says the commentator, was derived by Mandodari
from the divine favour (saṁyam evam Mandodarī jānīte Bhagavat-kripāya).
24 The commentator does not say in what sense the word mahat should be taken.
25 The commentator says that tamaṁ pramaṁ means prakṛteḥ pravartakaḥ, "he
who causes the activity of Prakriti (or matter)." Instead of tamaṁ, he adds, some
read tapasaṁ.
enjoys perpetual prosperity, the invincible, everlasting, unchanging, Vishnu, of genuine prowess, who had assumed a human form, (15) and was attended by all the gods in the shape of monkeys, the glorious lord of all the worlds, who desired the good of all the worlds. [He slew thee], the terrific enemy of the gods, with thy attendants Râkshasas. 16. Formerly, by subduing thy senses, thou didst subdue the three worlds; but thou wast [afterwards, i.e. when thou didst carry off Sîtâ, etc.] overcome by thy senses, which, as it were, remembered [and revenged] that [former] hostility [of thine towards them]. 17. For since thy brother Khara, attended by many Râkshasas, was slain [by Râma] in Janasthâna, Râma 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 5–6 are nearly the same in both recensions; but instead of two verses (the ninth and tenth) affrrming the divine character of Râma, 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. Athavi Râma-rûpeya Vîshnu cha svayam âgataḥ | tava nádya máyākhy pravishyânapalakhitaḥ | 10. Yadaiva hi Janasthâna râkshasair bahubhir viñâta | Kharaś tava hato bhûâtâ tadaivâsan na mánushakaḥ | “Or Vîshnu himself came in the form of Râma, having entered into him unperceived, through supernatural powers, for thy destruction. 10. For since thy brother Khara, attended by many Râkshasas, was slain by [Râma] in Janasthâna, Râma 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 Râma-yaña made no allusion to Râma being an incarnation of Vîshnu, it might at first sight seem as if the ninth and tenth verses of the Bombay text,

36 It is necessary (with the commentator, who says hatavîñ iitâ śvahā) to supply the words in brackets, or some others of a similar tenor, in order to make sense.
37 This clause the commentator explains thus: “Purâ” Bhegavaud-uddédema tapa-nâshthâna-kâla | “tad vairâma” na-joya-nimittaṁ vairâma smaradâhûr indriyâr akarma-pravrîtti-sampañdanâma nirjitaḥ |
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which represent Death (Kṛitānta), or Indra, as taking the form of Rāma, were more genuine than the corresponding verse of Gorresio's edition, which declares that Vishṇu 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 Vishṇu, but specifies the birth of Sītā as the means whereby Rāvana is to be destroyed. After the Rākshasas had been defeated by Rāma and driven back into Lankā, 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 Vishṇur Mahendro vā Satakratuḥ | hanti no Rāma-rūpeṇa yadi vā svayam Antakaḥ | 26. Hata-pravirāḥ Rāmeṇa nirāsāḥ jīvite vayam | apiṣyanto bhayasyāntam anāthāḥ vilopāmahi | 27. Rāma-hastād Daśagrīvḥ śūro datta-mahā- varah | idem bhayam mahāghoraṁ samutpannam na budhyate | 28. Tām na dāvah na gandharvaḥ na pīḍāchāḥ na rākṣasaḥ | upaśrīdham paritrātum āktaḥ Rāmeṇa saṁyugo | 29. Utpatāśāpi drīṣyante Rāvanasya rana rana | kathayanti hi Rāmeṇa Rāvanasya nibhaṇam |

26 Apaiṣyanto 'paśvantyaḥ | Comm.
27 Upaśrīdham hantum ārubbham | Comm.
30. Pitamahena prītena deva-dānava-rākshasaiḥ | Rāvanaṣayābhayaṁ
dattam manushyāyam na yāciṣṭam | 31. Tūd idam mānusham manya
prāptaṁ niṣṭamāyam bhayaṁ | jñīṇānta-karaṁ gharāṁ rakhanaṁ
Rāvanaṣya cha | 32. Piḍyamānās tu balina vara-dānena rakhanaṁ
diptais tapohir vibudhāḥ Pitamaham apāyayaṁ | 33. Devatānāṁ
hitārthaya mahātmā vai Pitamahāḥ | uvācha devatās tushṭaṁ idaṁ
sarvāḥ mahād vacaḥ | 34. Adya-prabhṛiti lokāṁ trṣm sarvo dānava-
rākshasāḥ | bhayena prabhṛitāṁ nityaṁ vichārakṣanyanti śāśvatam 40 | 35.
Daivatais tu samāgyama sarvāḥ chendra-purūgamaiś | viśeṣa-śaṇeju
Tripura-hā Mahādeva pratoṣitaḥ | 36. Prasannas tu Mahādevo deva
stād vacho 'brahitaāy utpataya hitārtham vo nāṁ rakṣaḥ-kehayāvaḥ,
37. Kṛśā devaṁ prayuktā tu kṣud yaṭāḥ 41 dānavaṁ purāṁ 
| bhaksha-
vyahitaṁ naḥ sarvāṁ rākṣasa-ghni sa-rāvaṅān | 38. Rāvanaṣaṇaṁ
durveṇīṣṭaṁ durmaṇaṁ | ayaṁ niṣṭasakā 42 ghorāṁ śokena samabhīpūdante |
39. Tan na pasyāmaḥ loko yo naḥ bāraṇa-do bhacet | Rāghavaṇaparīṣ-
ṭanāṁ kālemaṇa yugakṣayaḥ | 25. "Either Rudra, or Viṣṇu, or the
great Indra Satakratu, or Death himself, slays us in the form of Rāma.
26. Having had our heroes destroyed by Rāma, we despair of life.
Seeing no end of our apprehension, we lament, deprived of our pro-
tectors. 27. The heroic Daśaagrīva (Rāvaṇa), who had received a great
boon [from Brahmā] does not perceive this great cause of alarm which
[comes] from the hand of Rāma. 28. Neither Gods, nor Gandharras,
nor Piśāchas, nor Rākshasas, are able to deliver him when assailed by
Rāma in fight. 29. Portents, too, regarding Rāvaṇa are seen in every
battle, which foretell his destruction by Rāma. 30. Pitamaha, gratiśod,
granted to Rāvaṇa security against Gods, Dānavas and Rākshasas, 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: Dānavaḥ rākṣasaṁ cha bhayena prabhṛitāṁ devaṁ bhayaṁ bhīkṛṇaṁ uṣ eva vichārakṣanyanti | devaṁ rāma pravato vṛ eṁ māṁ piṣṭayābhayaṁ ity arthaḥ | "The Dānavas and Rākshasas shall not
about entertaining fear of the gods: viz. that the gods themselves, or through others, would distress them." This verse is thus given in Gorresio's edition (74, 36 f.).
41 "Purāṁ" pūrva-kalpe | devair dānava-nādiṁrtham prayuktā kṣud yaṭāḥ dānavaṁ
harati ema | "As formerly, i.e. in a former Kalpa, Hunger, being appointed by
the gods for the destruction of the Dānavas, carried them off."
42 Apaniṣṭena anayena | Comm. 43 Niṣṭasakā niṣṭaḥ | Comm.
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32. Now the gods, when oppressed by the Rākaśas (Rāvāna), who was mighty through the boon which [Brahma] had conferred on him, worshipped Pitāmaha (Brahmā) with ardent austerities. 33. The great Pitāmaha, pleased, addressed this great word to all the deities for their benefit: 34. 'From this day forward all the Dānavas and Rākhasas 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 Tripura (or, the three castles). 36. He, being pleased, thus spake to them: 'For your benefit there shall arise a female who shall bring destruction to the Rākhasas.' 37. This female slayer45 of Rākhasas, being commissioned by the gods, shall [now] devour all of us, including Rāvāna; as Hunger formerly [devoured] the Dānavas. 38. Through the folly of the misguided and wicked Rāvāna 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 Kāṇḍa. Both of these forms of the legend appear to regard Sītā, and not Viṣṇu, as the real destroyer of Rāvāna.

In an earlier part of the poem it is related that after Rāma had slain the Rākhasa Khara, he was congratulated by the gods in a way which, strictly speaking, is scarcely consistent with the idea that the poet regarded him as an incarnation of Viṣṇu:


44 The commentator remarks here: Šeṣam Brahmanāh prāṇāṭāt sakhayato-mātram pṛōpitam | saṁhārdhiḥkṛtā-Rudra-praṇāden tu naśa evāvākam ity āhuḥ | "Thus by the favour of Brahma, the gods only obtained that the [Dānavas, etc.] should be terrified: but through the favour [granted to them] by Rudra, whose function is destruction, we shall be destroyed."

45 Said to be Sītā, according to the commentator (sā eka Sītā eva ity āhuḥ). Gorresio's text has Saśā daiva-praśrīhū tu kahuddhi Janakātmajā, etc.
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antara devāṃ chāraṇaśa saha sangatāḥ | duṇdubhimśchādhiśnīghmaṇeḥ
Chaturdaka sahasraṇi rakhasāṃ kāma-rūpyām | Khara-Dūṣhka-
mukhyāṇam niḥatiṁ mahāmārīdho | 32. Aha bata mahat karma Rāmasya
viditaṁmanāḥ | aha viryam aha dārāhyam Viśnu vca hi dīṣyate | 33.
Ity ovam uktā te sarve yayur devāḥ yathāgatam | 27. "Burnt up by
the fire of the arrow, Khara fell like Antaka, who was formerly con-
sumed by Rudra in the Śveta (white) forest." 28. He fell like Yī ~
smitten by the thunderbolt, like Naṃuchi by the foam, 47 or like Bāśi
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 Rākṣasas,
changing their shapes at will, headed by Khara and Dūṣhaṇa, 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 Viśnu!' 33. Having thus
spoken, all those gods went as they came.'

If the writer of these verses regarded Rāma as an incarnation of
Viśnu, it would seem to have been superfluous to compare him with
that deity. In the corresponding section of Gorresio's edition (the
thirty-fifth) the several classes of rishis are introduced as [among

46 On this legend the commentator informs us as follows: Andhakāśuraḥ Śvēta-
rāyaḥ Rūđraṇa haṭataḥ iti purāṇa-prasiddham | . . . "Śvētāmya yathā 'ntakāh"
iti prachurāḥ pātaḥ | tatra Kāveri-śīra-vartiṁ Śvētaṁśa Mārkaṇḍeya-chieṛaśīv-
śa Antaka-saṃhāra Rūduṇa kriṇāḥ iti tan-māhātmya prasiddhiḥ | Kuruṁ ti
uttarākhaṇḍe Śvētaṁ rājaraheḥ paramākṣayam Sālande porvato tapasy abhi-
rataṁyā mārgaṁyā tātattvayā Antakaṁyā Śivena vāma-pūda-prahāraṁ samhāraṁ kriṇāḥ
iti syātṛāṁśa 'dhyāyaṁ uktam | "The asura Andhaka was slain by Rudra in the Śvēta
forest, as is well known from the Purāṇas. . . . The reading, 'as Antaka is
the Śvēta forest,' is frequently met with. Regarding him it is told in the Glorifi-
tion of Mārkaṇḍeya that, to prolong the life of this sage, Antaka (the Endor,
Death) was destroyed by Rudra. But in the latter part of the Kūraṁ-puriaṁ, sect. 36, it
is related that Antaka, who had come to kill the royal rishi Śvēta, an eminent votary
of Śiva, who was addicting himself to austerities on the Kūlanjara mountain, was
destroyed by a blow of Śiva's left foot." Compare A.V. xi. 2, 7, quoted above
p. 336, where Rudra is called "the slayer of Andhaka."

47 See above, p. 261, and note 250.

48 Vidūṭiśmanāḥ. This epithet is not explained by the commentator.
other things] applauding Rāma for displaying the qualities of a
Kahatriya (dharmaṇa vardhase dishṭyā khatra-dharmena Rāghava, v. 99),
and as saying to him (vv. 105 ff.) that all the gods, Gandharvas,
etc., were saluting him with congratulations on his victory (jayā-
strabhīḥ), and that Brahmā and Mahādeva were paying him honour.
Rāma is then said to have "made obeisance to the gods whom he
saw not far off standing on their celestial cars" (namāḥ chakra vimā-
nasthaṁ dṛṣṭvā 'dāre dīcakasaḥ).

The following is another passage of the sixth or Yuddha Kāṇḍa
occuring 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:

vi. 106, 1 ff. (Bombay ed.): Tato yuddha-paripārāntam samara chintaya
sthitam | Rāvaṇaṁ chāgrato dṛṣṭvā yuddhāya samupasthitam | 2.
Daivataiḥ cha samagamyā drāṣṭumat abhyāgato raṣam | upagamyābraeṣḍ
Rāmaṁ Agastya bhagavāṁ tadā | 3. Rāma Rāma mahābāho śriṇu
guhyaṁ sanātanaṁ | yena sarvāṁ arin vata sa samara vijyāyisyate | 4.
Āditya-hriṣyam purṇaṁ sarva-satra-vināśanam | jayāvaham jōpan
nityam akṣhayam paramaṁ śivam | 5. Sarva-mangala-māṅgalyaṁ sarva-
pāpa-pragāśanam | chintā-bōka-prasamanam āyurvardhanam uttanan | 6.
Rāmimantam samudyaṇṭam devāṣura-namaskritam | pūjayaeva Vivas-
vantam bāṣkaram bhuvanēvaram | 7. Sarva-devātmaka hy esa tejasv
raśmi-bhāvanāḥ | esa devāṣura-gaṇam lokān pāti ghasṭhīḥ | 8. Esah
Brahmā cha Viṣṇuḥ cha Śivaḥ Skandaḥ Prajāpatiḥ Mahendra Dhanadaḥ
Kālo Yamaḥ Somo hy Apāṃpatiḥ | 9. Pitaro Vasavaḥ Śādhyāḥ Akṣīnau
Maruto Manuḥ | Vyūr Vāhniḥ praṇāḥ ritu-kartā prabhākaraḥ | 10.
Ādityāḥ Sṛtiḥ Sāryāḥ kha-gaḥ Pūṣaḥ ghasṭhīmān | swarna-sadriṣṭo
bhūnā hiranyā-retāḥ 46 divākaraḥ | . . . . 26. Pājayaevainam ekāgro
devā-devaṁ jagat-patim | stet trīguṇītaṁ jāptvā yuddhāyuṣ vijayāyati | 27.
Amin khaṇe mahābāho Rāvaṇaṁ tveṁ jahishyati | evam uktvā tato
'gastya jagāma sa yathāgataṁ | 28. Ekāḥ chhātuva mahātejāḥ nasya-
śoko 'bhavat tadā | dhrayāmāsa suprīto Rāghavaḥ pratyatmaṇān | 29.
Ādityam prakṛtya jaṭēvedam param harṣam avāptaṇān | trir ābhāmya

46 Akṣharādhikāyaṁ īrsham | Comm.
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śaḥ chi bhūtā dhanur ādaya vīrya-vān | 30. Rāvaraṃ prakṣhayā hṛiṣṭāṁ
jayārthām samupāgamat | sarva-yatnena mahatā vṛitas āsya badhe bhave
31. Āthā roviv avadad nirikṣahya Rāmām mudita-manaḥ paramam pra-
hriṣhyamadyaḥ | niścharapati-śankhayaṁ viditeva sura-gana-madhye-gaśa
vachas tvaretī |

"The divine Agastya then beholding [Rāma] fatigued with the conflict, standing anxious in the battle, and in his front Rāvana, who had drawn near to the combat, [Agastya, I say], (2) who had arrived to see the conflict, joining the gods, and coming near to Rāma, said: 3. 'Rāma, Rāma, great-armed, hear the eternal mysterious [prayer], by which, my son, continually muttering it,—(4) the holy Āditya-hridaya (‘heart of the sun’), which destroys all enemies, brings victory, is undecaying, supreme, beneficent, (5) the auspiciousness of all auspicious things, the destroyer of all sins, the allayer of anxieties and sorrows, the prolonger of life, the most excellent—thou shalt conquer all thine enemies in battle. 6. Worship the rising Vivasvata, the radiant sun, adored by gods and Asuras, the lord of the world. 7. For he possesses the essence of all the gods, is fiery, the producer of rays. He by his beams sustains the gods, the Asuras, and the worlds. 8. He is both Brahmā and Vishṇu, Śiva and Skanda, Prajāpati, Indra, Kuvera, Kāla (Time), Yama, Soma, and the lord of waters (Varuṇa), (9) the Pitṛis, Vasus, Śādhyas, Āśvins, Manu, Vāyu, Agni, created beings, breath, the former of the seasons, the producer of light, (10) Āditya, Savitri, Sūrya, moving in the sky, Pūshan, the radiant,

50 The commentator will not allow this apprehension to be real: Ēvaṃ bhuva-
ṁaṇaṁ tam-mūlakam Agastyād upadeśa-grahaṇam lohanugrāhāya lokasya jayas-
sādhanam-vastuvprakāśānātham iti tatvam | "The truth is that this acting (or
simulation) of fear, and the acceptance of instruction from Agastya founded thereon, originated in kindness to mankind, and in a desire to reveal to them the means of gaining victory."

61 See above, p. 389, how much Brahmā was offended by having this appellative.
vata, "my son," applied to him by Vishṇu. If, then, the poet here intended to represen Rāma as possessing a divine nature, he must have conceived of Vishṇu as less susceptible than Brahmā, when he makes Agastya address him thus.

62 Compare the hymn to Sūrya in the Mahābh. iii. 166 ff., of which some specimens
are given in the fifth volume of this work, p. 161. It is there said, v. 190: "Śivam
Indram āhus tvam Vishṇu tvam Rudras tvam Prajāpatiḥ | tvam Āgnis tvam maṇi
sukhamāṃ prahās tvam Brahma ēāvatom | "They call thee Indra; thou art Vishṇu,
Rudra, Prajāpati: thou art Agni, the subtle Mind, thou art the lord, the Eternal
Brahma."
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of golden hue, the shining, who has golden seed, the maker of the day." Then follow (vv. 11-15) many other titles of the Sun, succeeded (vv. 15-21) by invocations addressed to him under various appellations, among which is (v. 19) Brahmeśānūhyutākṣayā,44 “to the lord of Brahmā, Isāna (Siva), and Aḥyuta (Vishṇu).” 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 Rāvaṇa. 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 Rāvaṇa with gladdened spirit, he approached to vanquish him; and with great intentness became bent upon his slaughter. 31. Then the Sun, with rejoicing mind, exceedingly exulting, looking upon Rāma, knowing the [approaching] destruction of the chief of the Rākshasas, and standing in the midst of the gods, uttered the word ‘speed.'”

This extract, as I have said above, is entirely wanting in Gorresio’s edition, in which a verse (the last of its eighty-ninth section) corresponding with the last in the hundred and fifth section of the Bombay edition, is succeeded immediatley 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

44 Brahmaśānūhyutākṣayā yāhī ca mārāra-sthiti-kartṛṇām śiṣya svāminī | “yāhī ca mārāra-sthiti-anta-karṣyām Brahma-Viṣṇu-Srīvārakākṣām sa sanjñānāṁ yāti bhagavān saha eva Janārdanaḥ” iti smṛtāḥ | “To the lord of Brahmā, Isāna, and Aḥyuta, who are the authors of the creation, destruction, and continuance (of the world); according to the Smṛtī text: ‘The divine Janārdana alone receives the conjoint title of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Siva, 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 is 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 Rāvaṇa, and come over to Rāma’s side, a consultation took place among the friends of the latter, whether the deserteer 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 ff., Bombay ed.): *Sa dūkhaḥ vāṣya adukhaḥ vā kim akṣaraṁkaraḥ | sūkhaṁ āpy aṁśaṁ kartum mama sāktāṁ kathānam | piśāchāṁ dānavaṁ yaksāṁ prarthāvam chaiva rākhāsan | angul-yogāṇas tān āhams āhams hari-pancevara | “Whether the Rākshasa 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, Yakṣas, and Rākshasas on the earth, with the tip of my finger.” *

54 On this the commentator remarks: *Anoma sankalpa-siddhir aśvaraṁ aṁśaṁ uktam | yady evam asadādhi-saṅgraha vyarthas tatra āha “iḥkham” iti | many niradādhi-mahāmamāḥ tāttvikam Brahma-bhāvan prakāśikartum iḥkham yadi eva tadā tathāvāṁ kuryām sampratī tu deva-bhāvia-niśa-vitāsair adhvaṁ “abhisayam aṁśaṁ mayaiva dattam” iti tat-piropaṇiyā veda-divya-bhāvam veda-saktiyā eva antardhāyā manuṣya-maryādāyām sthityā tad-bhāva-prakṣaṇāya eva Sītā-vr̥g-prayukta-rodana-vad bhaveṇaṁ-sahāya-melanam | vastuto na vāśtu śaś- yūntāryākṣām mama | manuvahṣayāṁ sāmaṁra-maryādā-jñāpanāṁ tad-vyavahāraḥ phalam iti bhaveva | “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 sat [declared in the words] ‘I have conferred [on Rāvaṇa] indestructibility,’ which I intend 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 Sītā. In reality I have no need for any other ally but myself. To show to men the limitations of worldly existence is the fruit of my so acting. Such is the purport.” The meaning of this passage is clear, though I may not have succeeded in accurately rendering all the phrases in it.
rather points to an inherent divine power. In Gorresio's edition the expression is somewhat different. Rāma there says (Sundara K. 91, 3) that he could destroy all those beings "forthwith, and by the power of a divine weapon" (saktā 'ham sahasa hantum divyaṁstra-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 Utara Kāṇḍa.¹⁵ Time, in the form of an ascetic, comes to his palace-gate (103, 1 ff.), and asks, as the messenger of the great Rishi (Brahmā), to see Rāma. He is admitted and received with honour (v. 8), but says, when asked what he has to communicate, that his message must be delivered in private, and that any one who witnesses the interview is to be slain by Rāma (v. 11 f.). Rāma promises to abide by this, informs Lakshmana of it, and desires him to stand outside (v. 13 f.). Time then tells Rāma (104) that he has been sent by Brahmā to say that when he (Rāma, i.e. Vishnu), after destroying the worlds, was sleeping on the ocean, he had formed him (Brahmā) from the lotus springing from his navel, and committed to him the work of creation (vv. 4–7); that he (Brahmā) had then entreated Rāma to assume the function of Preserver, and that the latter had in consequence become Vishnu, being born as the son of Aditi (v. 9 f.), and had determined to deliver mankind by destroying Rāvaṇa, and to live on earth ten thousand and ten hundred years (v. 11 f.): that period, adds Time, was now on the eve of expiration (v. 13), and Rāma could either, at his pleasure, prolong his stay on earth, or ascend to heaven and rule over the gods (v. 14 f.). Rāma replies (v. 18) that he had been born for the good of the three worlds, and would now return to the place whence he had come, as it was his function to fulfil the purposes of the gods. While they are speaking, the irritable rishi Durvāsas¹⁶ comes to visit Rāma, and when Lakshmana asks him to wait a little, insists on being introduced into the presence of the former immediately, under a threat, if refused, of cursing Rāma, his city, kingdom,

¹⁵ All the references to this Kāṇḍa apply to the Bombay edition. I have not seen Gorresio's edition of this book.
¹⁶ Compare p. 196, above.
and all his family (105, 1 ff.). Lakshmana, preferring to save his kin-
men, 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 Laksh-
mana, (v. 13) who goes to the river Sarayu, suppresses all his senses
(nigrīhya sarva-srotāśīnī), 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 ff.). Rama’s subjects are filled with grief, and say they also
will follow him wherever he goes (vv. 9 ff.). Kusa and Lava, Rama’s two sons,77 are then installed as kings of the Southern and
Northern Kosalas (vv. 17 ff.). Messengers are sent to Satrughna,
the other brother, at Madhura, 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-prathāna, 109, 1 ff.), silent, indifferent to external objects, and
to ease, with Sri 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
Vasāṭkāra, by rishis, by earthly divinities (i.e. Brahmans, māhīturiś),
by his women, female slaves, old and young, eunuchs (varaśavecaraḥ),
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,

77 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 Apsaraes, Rāma enters the waters of the Sarayū; and Brahmā utters a voice from the sky, saying: “Approach, Vishnū; Rāghava, thou hast happily arrived, with thy god-like brothers. Enter whatever body thou pleasest, thine own body as Vishnū, or the eternal ether. For thou art the abode of the worlds (loka-gatiḥ): no one comprehends thee, the inconceivable and imperishable, except the large-eyed Māyā, thy primeval spouse.” Hearing these words, Rāma enters the glory of Vishnū (Vaishnavam tejas) with his body and his followers; and is worshipped by the gods, rishis, etc. He then asks Brahmā to find an abode for the people who had accompanied him from devotion to his person, and Brahmā appoints them a celestial residence accordingly (lokān santānākān). 55

Instead of describing any such resumption of his divine nature, the Mahābhārata, which in the Droga-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 (chaturvidhāḥ prajāḥ Rāmaḥ svargāṁ nītā vā devaṁ 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 bhātāni Rāmo Dāharathir babhau | rishināṁ devatānāṁ cha mānushānāṁ cha sarvasaṁ), but no reference is made to his being an incarnation of Vishnū. The word īśvara 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

55 These worlds are explained by the commentator as realms an abode in which gradually leads to final liberation by the attainment of Brahmā’s heaven (Krameṇa Brahma-loka-prāpti-devārā muktī-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. 43 (Bombay ed.), remarks on 46 ff.: 

Itaḥ uttaram kochit ślokāḥ “ramante satataṁ tatra nārīḥ bhāma-

prabhāḥ” (v. 50) ity antāḥ ślokāḥ prakshiptāḥ prāchīna-pustakās

anupalambhād iti Kāṭakāḥ | “Kāṭaka (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 Utāra Kāṇḍa the

commentator remarks: Itaḥ param pancha-sargāḥ prakshiptāḥ bodhyāḥ.

“After this 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, Kānsa is mentioned by anachronism.

At the end of the thirty-seventh section of the same book the com-

mentator furnishes the following piece of sensible criticism: Itaḥ

uttaram Bālī-Śugrīvatpattitāhāse Rāvaṇaya Sveta-dvīpa-gamanakacai

cha katipayaś sargair Agastyoktītāya kvacchit pustakēṇa dṛiṣyante | tu

pūrva-sargānta eva Agastyasya svārūma-gamana-kathānād asasyatāh

Kāṭaka-Tīrthādy-anādritavāc cha mayā 'pi na vyākhyātāḥ | “That

which follows—viz. the tale of the birth of Bālī and Śugrīva,

and the story of Rāvaṇa’s journey to Sveta-dvīpa—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 ff.) of Agastya’s departure to his

hermitage, and have not been received by Kāṭaka, Tīrthā, 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: Etaḥ uttarāṁ ismā-
mātur akhyānāṁ gridhrulakākhyānanca kvacchī dṛiṣyate | Tīrthā-

Kāṭakādy-asprīṣṭatvamā prakshiptam iti na vyākhyātām | “The story

of the dog’s mother and that of the vulture and owl which follow,

are found in some copies: but as they are left untouched by Tīrthā,

Kāṭaka, 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 Vishṇu 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, (Rāmopākhyaṇa) which is told to Yudhishṭhira 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 Vishṇu some of a sufficiently suspicious character are found, such as that of Kṛṣṇa, which I do not recollect to have discovered in any other part of the poem. Besides, this chapter has no close bond to connect it with the context, and might be removed without the least injury to the poem.”
The birth and history of Rāvaṇa and his brothers are described in much greater detail (vv. 15881–15928), and many particulars are given which do not occur in the earlier part of the Rāmāyaṇa, though the Uttara Kāṇḍa contains a similar account. According to the episode in the Mahābhārata, Brahmā had a mental son Pulastya, who again had a son Gaviputra 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 Viśravaṇa, vv. 15884 (tasya kopat piś rājana vasanātmanam atmane | sa jaya Viśravaṇa nama tasyātmadinaṃ vai dviyaḥ) and again, v. 15889: Pulasyasya tu yaḥ krodhād ardhād bhavaḥ munih Viśravaṇa nama ityādi). This Viśravaṇa looked upon Vaiśravaṇa with indignation. The latter strove to pacify his father (v. 15890 ff.), and with this view gave him three elegant Rākshasas to attend on him: Pushpotkaṭā, who had two sons, Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarna; Mālini, who bore Vibhiṣaṇa; and Rākṣa, who bore Kharā and Sūrpaṇakāhā. These sons were all valiant, skilled in the Veda, and observers of religious rites; but perceiving the prosperity of Vaiśravaṇa, they were filled with jealousy. They accordingly (except Kharā and Sūrpaṇakāhā) began to practise austerities to propitiate Brahmā, and at the end of a thousand years Rāvaṇa cut off his own head and threw it as an oblation into the fire (v. 15908). Brahmā then appeared to stop their austerities and offer them boons (except that of immortality). 46

46 Viśravaṇa is here meant, although according to v. 15883 ff. Pulastya reproduced himself as Viśravaṇa 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 Viśravaṇa, and in v. 15925, Vaiśravaṇa (Kuvera) is said to be the brother of Vibhiṣaṇa, who must have been the son of Viśravaṇa, as his brother Rāvaṇa is called in v. 15930.

47 See above, p. 223 and p. 488, below.

48 This disagrees with the statement in the Rāmāyaṇa (quoted above, p. 483) that he was doomed to long sleep as a curse.
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mahatāṁ niḍrāṁ tamaśa grasto-cetanaḥ, v. 15916). Vibhishana asks that even in the greatest misfortunes he may never meditate any unrighteousness, and that the Brahmān’s weapon may become manifest to him without being learned.32 Brahmā promises him immortality. Having obtained the power above described, Rāvana expels Vaiśravaṇa (Kuvera) from Lankā (v. 15920). The righteous Vibhishana follows his brother 44 (v. 15923) 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 Brahmā (v. 15929 ff.), who promises that as Rāvana could not be killed either by gods or Asuras, the four-armed Vishṇu, the chief of

32. Aśīkhetanā chāyauvan Brahmāstram pratibhātu 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 Kaṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa below in p. 488. In v. 15897 Vibhishana is said to be the handsomest of Pulasta’s sons (rūpeṇa sareebhyo ‘bhayaḥhitāḥ), and a protector of righteousness, and practiser of religious rites (dharmagopī kriyāratīk).

44 In v. 16157 f. Vibhishana 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 Sugrīva, it might appear to be implied that he came from Lankā, as is expressly related in the Rām., vi. 17, 1, Bombay ed. In Gorr. ed. (Sundara Kaṇḍa, 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, Vibhishana came immediately to Rāma. Gorresio’s text adds that after leaving his brother, Vibhishana 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 conjuncture Mahādeva sees Vibhishana 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 Rākṣasas (v. 11 ff.). Vibhishana arrives, kneels and touches the ground with his forehead, when the two gods give him the advice which Mahādeva had proposed (v. 21 ff.). Vibhishana remains thoughtful (v. 38). 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) (Tusmaed uttisūṭhe gachha tvam pūruṇam prabhum avyayam ādhārayat sava-bhūtānāṁ śāśvataṁ śrīvagrāham | 40. Sa hi dharam-nidhīnam cha gatir gatimātām varaḥ | kriṣtamaya jagato mūlaṁ tasmād gachhareṇa Rūpāyaṁ). Vibhishana hereupon rises, makes obeisance to the two gods, and goes to Rāma through the sky (v. 41 ff.).
No account is, however, given of the way in which Viṣṇu was to become incarnate in one or more of the sons of Daśaratha; or how this was accomplished. Brahmā also desired Ilastra and the other gods to be born on earth, and beget on the she-bears and she-monkeys sons who should assist Viṣṇu, which they accordingly did. He also gave injunctions and instructions to a Gandharvī called Dunubhi, 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 ff., and 15960 ff.).

Whether the portion of the episode which relates the earlier history of Rāvana, and the means adopted by Brahmā for his destruction, formed an original part of the poem, I need not attempt to decide; but an allusion is afterwards made in a later part of it to the monkeys of Rāma’s army having been begotten by the gods (v. 16309), where Sāgara, the Ocean, who had appeared to Rāma, is introduced as saying:

_Asti tatra Nālo nāma vānaraḥ tiṣṭi-sammataḥ | Tvaśṭur devaśya tasya bhalvaṁ Viśvakarmacāḥ_ | “There is there a monkey called Nala, approved by artisans, the strong son of the god Tvaṣṭṛ 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 Sītāyāḥ Lankā-pura-praveśaṁ vind Rāvana-badhayāṇ-yatayā tat-siddhaye devaś preritāyāḥ kriṣa-kubja-vahayāḥ Mantharāyāḥ Rāmābhiseka-vighna-pravṛttitum . . . . . . vaktum upakramate_ | “Now since Rāvana could not be killed unless Sītā entered into Lankā,—with a view to the accomplishment of that, he (the poet) begins to relate how Mantharā, who had been sent by the gods, and had taken the disguise of a hunchback, threw obstacles in the way of Rāvana’s inauguration, etc.” Again, as we have already seen, long periods of sleep are said, in the larger poem, to have been inflicted by Brāhma on Kumbhakarṇa as a curse, but in the episode to have been granted as a
boon.

The account which will be given below from the Mahābhārata is a sort of reconciliation of these two statements. Another discrepancy noticed by the commentator has been already cited above, p. 415, note 193.

In the sequel of the story, as given in the Mahābhārata, it is said that, after the destruction of Rāvana, and the appearance of the gods to persuade Rāma to take back his wife Sītā, Brahmā offered Rāma any boons he might choose, and that Rāma accordingly desired that he might continue steadfast in righteousness, and unconquered by his enemies; and solicited the resurrection of the monkeys who had been killed by the Rākhasasas (vv. 16570 ff.). The poet, who represents Rāma as consenting to receive these boons from Brahmā, could scarcely have regarded him as the Supreme Spirit, as he is declared in some parts of the Rāmāyana to have been (see above, p. 180 ff.). The last act of his which is described (vv. 16600 f.) is the celebration of ten āsvamedhas. No reference is made to his death.

As I have noticed above, the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyana contains an account of the birth, and a sketch of the earlier history, of Rāvana and his brothers, which varies in some particulars from the narrative in the Mahābhārata. We are there told how after Rāma had returned to Ayodhya, and taken possession of the throne, the rishiis assembled from the east, west, north, and south, to greet him (1, 1 ff.), and Agastya, in answer to his questions, recounted many particulars regarding his old enemies. In the Kṛta Yuga (or Golden Age) the austere and pious Brahman-rishi Pulasṭya, a son of Brahmā, and who was like his father, being teased with the vicinity, sports, singing, and dancing of different damsels, who interrupted his austerities, proclaims that any one of them whom he again saw near his hermitage, on the side of Mount Meru, should become pregnant. The others kept

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62 The story of Rambhā, which is related in the passage referred to above (461 f.), is in this episode briefly sketched in these words (v. 16151 ff.): Nalakūvara-dāpama vakshītuḥ hy asi nandini | lepto hy aha purā pūpo badhūn Rambhām parāmāśitan | na śakoty avadīm nārim upasīm qītendriyaḥ | “Thou art protected, charming one, (i.e. Sītā) by the curse of Nalakūvara. For this wicked being of unrestrained passions (Rāvana), having formerly been cursed when insulting his (N.’s) wife Rambhā, is unable to approach a helpless woman.” See also v. 16953 f.; and p. 461 f., above.

63 “Not intentionally,” says the commentator on v. 8, “but like (dried) grass and fire” (ṭrīṇāgni-niṇyena na tu buddhi-pūrvam).
at a distance, but the threat had not been heard by the daughter of the royal-riahi Trisvavidu, 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 Bharadvaja, 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 Viśravakarman for the Rākshasas, but had been abandoned by them through fear of Viśnū, 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-vāṁśad udbhūtāḥ rākṣasah iti nāt kṛutam | idāṁyaṁ anyataḥ chāpi sambhavaḥ kirtitas tvayā). He therefore asks who was their ancestor, and what fault they had committed that they were chased away by Viśnū. Hearing the polished (saṁskārālankṛitam) 87 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 Rākshasas—to guard them. 88 The first Rākshasa kings were Heti and Praheti (v. 14). Heti married Bhayā, the sister of Kāla (Time). She bore him a son Viḍyutkeśa (v. 17), who in his turn took for his wife Sālankaṭankaṭā, the daughter of Sandhyā (v. 21). She bore him a son Śukeśa (v. 32), whom she abandoned (v. 24), but he was seen by Siva, as he was passing by with his wife Pārvati (v. 27 ff.), who made the child as mature as his mother, and immortal, and gave him a city which moved through the ether. Pārvati, too, gave as a boon to the Rākshasa women the power of immediate conception and parturition, and to their children instant maturity equal

87 See the second volume of this work, pp. 167–169.
88 See Note A, p 439.
to that of their mothers (v. 30 ff.). 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, Sundarī, bears Vajramūshī, Virūpāksha, Durmukha, Supatagha, Yajnavakopa, Matta, Unmatta, and one daughter Anala (v. 35 ff.). Sumāli’s wife, Ketumattī, bears Prahatanā, Kampana, Viśāṣa, Kālikāmukha, Dhūmrākṣa, Daṇḍa, Supārśva, Sanhrāti, Praghasa, Bhāsakarṇa, and four daughters, Rākā, Puspati, Kaikānti, and Kumbhānti (vv. 39 ff.). Māli’s wife, Vasudā, bore Anala, Nila, Hara, and Sampaṭi (v. 43). The three Rākahasas, 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-sriśtya-anta-kartāram ajam avyakta-rūpiṇam | adhāraṁ sava-bhūtānaṁ), who, having regard to his protegé Sukeśa (the father of Mālyavat, etc., see above), says that he cannot kill the Rākahasas (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 Rākahasas 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 Rākahasas 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 unwarrorlike conduct (na jāntihe keśatram dharmam purātanam), and wishes to renew the combat (sect. 8, v. 3 ff.).

The next verse (4) adds: Puruṣāṅkha-vadham pāpam yath karoti surēvara | sa hantā na gataḥ evargam labhate punya-karmaṇām | “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 Rākshasas, and that he would destroy them even if they fled to Pātāla (v. 7 ff.). The battle is renewed, but Mālyavat and Sumāli are driven into Lankā (v. 20), and being unable to withstand Vishnu, at length retire to Pātāla (v. 22). These Rākshasas, Agastya says, were more powerful than Rāvaṇa, and could only be destroyed by Nārāyaṇa, i.e. by Rāma himself, the eternal indestructible god (v. 24 ff.). Sumāli with his family lived for a long time in Pātāla, while Kuvera dwelt in Lankā (v. 29). In section 9 it is related that Sumāli 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 Rāvaṇa (v. 29) whose birth was succeeded by portents, of the huge Kumbhakarna (v. 34), of Sūrpaṇakhā, and of the righteous Vibhishana, who was the last son (v. 35),70 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 her son Rāvaṇa to strive to become like his brother (Kuvera) in splendour. This Rāvaṇa 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, Rāvaṇa throws one of his heads as an offering into the fire (v. 10). He performs this oblation nine times at equal intervals, and is about to do it the tenth time, when Brahmā appears (v. 12 ff.), and offers a boon. Rāvaṇa asks immortality, but is refused (17). He then asks that he may be indestructible by all creatures more powerful than men, etc.; which boon is accorded by Brahmā (v. 22), together with the recovery of all the heads he had sacrificed, and the power of assuming any shape he pleased. Vibh-
ahāna (nearly as in the Mahābhārata, see above, p. 483) asks as his boon (v. 80 ff.) that "even amid the greatest calamities he may think only of righteousness, and that the Brahman’s weapon may become manifest to him without being learned; and that in every stage of life his aims may be righteous." (paramād-gataṣyāpi dharme mama matir bhovet | abidehitancha brahmāstram bhagaon pratibhātu me!| ya ya me jāyate buddhir yeshu yeshu ākramehu cha | sā sa bhavatu dharmishthā taṁ taṁ dharmam cha pālaye). The god grants his request, and adds the gift of immortality. When Brāhma is about to offer a boon to Kumbhakarna, the gods interpose (v. 35 ff.), as they say, he had eaten seven Apsarasas and ten followers of Indra, besides rishis and men; if he has done this without receiving any boon from Brāhma, he would, if he should obtain such a favour, devour the three worlds; and they end by suggesting that under the guise of a boon stupefaction should be inflicted on him (v. 39). Brāhma thinks on Sarasvatī, who arrives (v. 40), and by Brāhma’s command (v. 42. Vāyi 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).72 When, however, Sarasvatī has left him, and he recovers his own consciousness, he perceives that he has

71 The commentator explains these last words thus: Abhēhitam sad-gurupadesam vināpīti arthāḥ | brahmāstram brahma-vidyā | etad varam param aśekha-brahma-vidyā- siddhi-pratibhandhaka-nivṛttiye | "Unlearned, that is, [may it appear to me] even without the instruction of a good teacher. The Brahman’s weapon is the science of Brāhma (or of the vedas). This choice of a boon seeks the removal of all obstacles to the attainment of divine knowledge." The commentator also says that by dharma ("righteousness") in the first line is meant Nrūyaṇa (Vishnu), according to the saying, "Rāma is the incarnate righteousness": as looking to what follows, the passage would otherwise be tautological ("Dharma" Nrūyaṇa matir bhovet | "Rāma vigra-havān dharmah" ity ukter atra dharmo-padena Nrūyaṇaḥ anyatha "sā sā bhavatu dharmishthā" ity anena paunarṣtyaṁ eyā | |

72 The commentator remarks here: Eoam uci | atra shen-mūsād arvēk jāgaranaṁ na iti niyamaḥ? tad-adhiṣṭ ṣī niḍrā tu bhavasyo eva iti vara-varūpam bodhyam | atah eva shen-mūsān naṃpita iti pūreñc Bibhiphanoktyā vārshāṇya anekāni iti Kumbha-karyaktyā cha pūrvoktaṇya na evirāhā | "In these words of Brāhma (v. 46) there is no condition that Kumbhakarna should wake after six months, but it is understood as the nature of the boon that he might sleep for even a longer time. Wherefore, although it was formerly said by Vibhibhāsa that ‘he sleeps six months,’ and Kumbhakarna here speaks of sleeping many years, there is no discrepancy between the latter and the former."
been deluded (v. 47). Kuvera, on the demand of Rāvana, and by his father's advice, gives up the city of Lankā to Rāvana (sect. 11, v. 39 ff.).

The Uttara Kāṇḍa, sect. 36, vv. 44 ff., contains in its description of the monkey Hanumān’s history the following testimony to his literary merits: 44. Asau punar evākaraṇam grihītyan sūryomukhaḥ prasāmanah kopindraḥ | udyād-giror asta-girīṁ jagāma grantham mahād dhārayan aprameyaḥ | 45. Sa-sūtra-vṛitti-artha-padaḥ mahārthaṁ u-sangraham sidhyati vai kopindraḥ | na hy asya kāśchit sadrīśa ‘sti sāstra vaiśāraḍe chhandha-gatau tathaiva | sarvāsu vidyāsu tapo-vidhāne praparāhate ‘yāṁ hi gurum surāyam | 44."“Again the chief of monkeys (Hanumān), 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 (vṛitti), the vārttika (arthapada), the Mahārtha, and the Sangraha [of Vyādi]. The chief of monkeys is perfect, no one equals him in the āstras, in learning, and in ascertaining the sense of the Scripture, [or in moving at will]. In all sciences, in the rules of austerity, he rivals the preceptor of the gods.”

The following is the commentary on the above passage: Udyād-giror udaya-giror mahād grantham dhārayan arthataḥ pāṭhata śa grihīsam | dhārayan aprameyaḥ iti nuṣ-abhāva ārshah | sūrya-sāmmukhyarthe tāvad gamanam | 45. Ko ‘sau granthas tatraḥ “sa-sūtra” iti | sūram ashtadhyāya-lakṣanam | vṛittis tātkalika-sūtra-vṛittiḥ | artha-padaṁ sūtrartha-bodhaka-padavād vārttikam mahārtham mahābhāṣyaṁ Pa-tanjali-kṛitaṁ | “sa-sangraham” Vyādi-kṛita-sangrahākhyā-granthasahitam | “sidhyati vai” sidhāha bhavati sāstrāntaraścya apitī arthah | tad evaḥ | na hy asya sādriśaḥ sāstro kāśchit “chhandha-gatau” pārswttara-mimāṃsa-mukhena vedārtha-mirṣaye “vaiśāraṇe” vaśīshyāḥ | viśīshya navama-vyākaraṇa-kartaḥ 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 aprameyaḥ is vedic (ārsha). He went to face the sun. 45. In the words ‘with the sūtras,’ etc., he describes what the book was. The sūtras mean the eight books of Pāṇini (ashtādhyāya). The vṛitti is the contem-
poraneous gloss on the sūtras (sūtra-vṛtti). The artha-pāda 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 sāstras also, as the author goes on to say: ‘for no one is like him in the sāstras, in ascertaining the sense,’ in determining the meaning of the Veda by the mouth of the Pūrva and Uttara Māmānsā. ‘In skill,’ i.e. in learning. When specifying, it is well known that Hanumat was the ninth author of Grammar; such is Kastaka’s explanation.’

The other eight grammarians are mentioned by Colebrooke—Essays, ii., pp. 39, 48 (ed. 1837).

NOTE E.—Page 261, note **8**, line 3 from bottom.

With this compare the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa xiv. 11, 28, where it is said: Indro Yatīn sālārikebhyāḥ prāyachhat | tam aditīt vṛg abhyavatā | so ‘suddho ’manyata | sa etat ‘suddhāsuddhiyam aparāyat | tena asudhyat | ‘Indra gave up the Yatis to the jackals. An evil voice addressed him’ [charging him with the murder of Brāhmaṇs, according to the Commentator]. ‘He recognised himself as unclean. He beheld this ‘Suddhāsuddhiyam,’ [a particular sāman 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 ‘Suddhāsuddhiyam,’ Indra went to Prajāpati, who gave him the ‘Upahavya’ (Prajāpatim upādhaev | tasmai etam upahavyam prāyachhat). 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 ff. It is also referred to in the Tāṇḍya Br. viii. 1, 4, and xiii. 8, 17. The latter passage is as follows: Indro Yatīn sālārikebhyāḥ prāyacchhat | teshāṁ trayāṁ udāśeyanta Prithurāśmīr Brihadgirīṣh Kāyo-vājaḥ | te ‘bruvaṇ ko naḥ imān putrān bharīṣhātī’ iti | ‘aham’ iti Indro ‘bravīt | tān adhinidhya parichārya charan vardhayaṁ tān vardhayaṁ ‘bravīt ‘kumāra-kāḥ varān evātithvam’ iti | ‘khaṭrām mahyaṁ’ ity abravīt Prithurāśmīr | tasmai etena pārtharāśmena khaṭrām prāyacchhat | khaṭrākāmaṁ etema stvāta | khaṭrāyaiva eteva prakāśo bhavati | ‘Brahmavarchasam mahyaṁ’ ity abravid Brihadgirīṣh | tasmai etena bārhadgireṇa brahmavarchasam prāyacchhat | brahmavarchasam-kāmaṁ etena stvāta | brahmavarchat bhavati | ‘paśaṁ mahyaṁ’ ity abravid
Rāyovājaḥ | tasmai etena rāyovājyena paśūn prāyachhat | paśukamāḥ
etena etvānaḥ | paśumān bhavati | 18. Pārtharāṣṭram rājanīyāya brahma-
sāmā kuryāt bārhagiram brahmāṇāya rāyovājyām vaiśāyām | svene avem
māṁsā tad-rūpeṇa samarāhayaḥ stomaḥ | “Indra gave up the Yatis to
the jackals. Three of them were left, Prithurasmi, Bṛihadgiri, and
Rāyovāja. They said, ‘Who will cherish these persons, me, 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.’ Prithurasmi said, ‘May regal
power be mine!’ He accordingly gave him regal power by means of
this ‘pārtharāṣṭra’ sāman. Let the man who desires regal power offer
praise with this sāman; and he obtains distinction like that of regal
power. Bṛihadgiri said, ‘May Brahmanic lustre be mine!’ He gave
him Brahmanic lustre by means of this ‘bārhagira’ sāman. Let him
who desires this characteristic offer praise with this sāman; and he
obtains it. Rāyovāja said, ‘Let me have cattle!’ He gave him cattle
by means of this ‘rāyovājya’ sāman. Let him who desires cattle offer
praise with this sāman; and he obtains them. 18. Let a ‘pārtha-
raṣṭra’ be the ‘brahma-sāman’ performed for a Rājanya, a ‘bārhagira’
that for a Brahman, and a ‘rāyovājya’ for a Vaiśyā. 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” (oda-
vrūddha-niyamopatā); on xiii. 4, 17, to be “the persons so called who
were hostile to sacrifices” (stot-saṇijākān yojna-virodhi-janān); on
xiv. 11, 28, to be “persons hostile to rites” (karma-virodhi-janān); and
on xvi. 1, 9, to be “Brahmans who did not celebrate the jyotiṣṭoma
and other sacrifices, but lived in another way” (jyotistomadāh akṛite
prakārāntaraṇa vartamanāṃ brahmāṇāṃ). The Yatis are also men-
tioned in the Taît. Sanhitā ii. 4, 9, 2, in these words: Yatinām adya-
mānāṇāṃ śrīrājī parāpatan | te khurjūraḥ abhavai | “The heads of
the Yatis who were being eaten fall off. They (the Yatis) became
trees.” In the same Sanhitā, vi. 2, 7, 5, they are again referred to
thus: Indro Yatin saññāvikābhyaḥ prāyachhat | tān daksinātaḥ uttaro-
evadāḥ ātanta | “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: Pāramahāmya-rūpāḥ chā-
turthäram pracāmakam yathām Yatim mukhe Brahmatmakac-pratipaśeko vedaṁta-kādo nāsti tān Yatim Indrāḥ aranyabhāṣa śravasyaḥ prayachhat | tathā Kaushitakbrhāmanopanishad Indrasya pratijnā samāmnāyate "Arunmukhān Yatim sālāvīkabhyah prayachham" iti | yatitavat teṣāṁ tathātvam yuktam tathā cha smaryate "nitya-karma parityajya vedaṁta-kraṇam vina | varamānas tu sannyāsī pataśy eva na saṁśayaḥ" iti | teṣām cha saṁśayair bhakṣaṇam śaśītha-kaṇḍo samāmnāyate . . . iti | vedānta-kraṇa-vānakhāṁ vina nitya-karma-parityakṣavatāṁ bhavātām api idrīṣi gatiṁ iti darśayitum vedi-sāṁsā sāśāṇam eva | “Indra gave up to the wild dogs those Yatis in whose mouth (although they had attained the fourth stage of life [āstama], that of Paramahānas) 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 Arunmukha 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 Sāyāṇa, 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 Brahmins. Prof. Cowell adds in a second note that the commentator (in the Kaush. Br. Up.) “explains the Arurmkhas” (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 Arurmghas “were no doubt a kind of degraded Aryas, very likely a tribe of the ancient Iranians,” etc.
NOTE F.—Page 310, note 10.

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 śru = śru; and there are, he adds, a number of passages where the sense “renown,” traditionally ascribed to śravas, however wide this idea is, and in however forced a manner it may be applied, does not suffice. The forthcoming fasciculus of his Lexicon will, Prof. Roth informs me, supply details on this subject.

Wilson, Westergaard, and Williams, in their Dictionaries, give a second śru as equivalent to śru, “to move,” “to flow,” etc. Prof. Aufrecht is of opinion that in addition to śru, “to hear,” there is another root śru, with the meaning “to quake,” “to shake,” “to tremble.” This root, he states, occurs only twice in the whole Vedic literature which we have before us. The passages in which it is found are R.V. i. 127, 3: Viṣṇu chid yasya samrītān śravād vanaṇa yat sthīrān| “Even the strong quakes at his attack, and even the firm shakes like trees;” and R.V. i. 39, 6: A vo yāmāya prithivi chid ahot | “Even the earth trembled before your rush.” From this root is derived ārūḍa, “lame.” Prof. Aufrecht does not think that in any Vedical passage the root ārūḍa has the meaning of śravatī, “to flow.” In his note on the former of these two passages, Sāyāṇa explains śravatī by gachhet, utriṣṭa, i.e. “will move,” “will crumble.”

NOTE G.—Page 412, line 19.

In her lamentation for Rāvaṇa (Rām., Bombay ed. vi. 113) his queen Mandodari, among other attributes which she ascribes to him, speaks of him (v. 49) as jetaṁ lokālānāṁ keśpiṇaṁ Sankaraṁ 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 Nandīvāra, quoted in the Appendix, above, p. 460 f., it will have been seen, however, that Rāvaṇa was really no match for Sankara.

NOTE H.—Page 413, note 188.

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. Rāvana 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 Rāvana,—which he is unable to do on account of the boon conceded to the Rākshasa chief by Brahmā (v. 18); but he would slay him at the proper time (v. 20). Meanwhile he tells Indra to fight with Rāvana (v. 21). A battle takes place between 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 Rāvana, who had routed the gods, kills him, reducing to ashes his bones and all the rest of him (v. 50), and puts the Rākshasas to flight. They are, however, rallied by Indrajit (sect. 28, 1 ff.), and the gods repulsed. Indra’s son, Jayanta, enters the fray (vv. 6 ff.). The gods are furiously assailed by Indrajit. Both sides, in the confusion, smite their own warriors (vv. 17 f.). Jayanta is carried off by his grandfather, his mother Sachi’s father, Puloman, the Daitya, who enters with him into the sea (vv. 19 f.). The gods, thinking that Jayanta had been killed, take to flight (v. 21), and are pursued by Indrajit. Indra himself now comes upon the scene (v. 28), and is opposed by Rāvana (vv. 29 ff.), whom he eventually captures (sect. 29, v. 18 f.). Meghanāda (son of Rāvana), afterwards called Indrajit, becoming invisible by his magical power, which he had obtained from Mahādeva, binds Indra and carries him off (v. 27). The gods, headed by Brahmā, follow them to Lankā (sect. 30). Brahmā praises Meghanāda’s valour, and declares that he shall be called Indrajit (“the conqueror of Indra,” v. 5). Brahmā then asks that Indra shall be released (v. 7). Indrajit, as a condition, requires the boon of immortality (v. 8). This Brahmā refuses (v. 9). Indrajit then says, v. 11: Srūya-śām vā bhavet siddhiḥ Sātakrūt-vimokṣhaye | 12. Māmeshtaṁ nityato havyair mantraḥ sampūjya Pāvakam | sangrāmam avatarkuṁ cha saitra-nirjaya-kāṅkṣitaḥ | 13. Aśva-yukto ratho mahyam uttihṣhet tu Vībhavasoḥ | lat-ātasyāmarataṁ syād me esha me niśchito varah | 14. Tasmīn yady asamāṇe cha jayāhame Vībhāvaseu | yudhयgyayaṁ deva-sangrāme

73 See similar cases above, pp. 223 and 482.
15. Sarvo hi tapasā deve vijñāty amaratām
vyamā | viśramena mayā to stad amaratam pravartitaṃ | 16. Eevam
astu iti tathā chāha vākyam deveḥ Prajāpatiḥ | muktaḥ chendrajitā Śaṅk
galāḥ cha tridēvena surāḥ | 11. “Listen: or let me attain perfection
by releasing Satakratu (Indra). 12. My wish is,—desirous as I am
of conquering my enemies,—to enter into battle after constantly
worshipping Agni with texts and oblations: (13) and the boon I have
fixed to ask for is that (whenever I shall do so) a chariot with horses
may rise up for me out of the Fire, and that while I stand in it I may
remain immortal: (14) and if I fight in it against the gods before I
have finished my prayers and oblations to Agni, let me perish. 15.
For, O god, every man desires by austerities to attain immortality.
And by my valour I have sought for this immortality. 16. ‘So be it,’
said Brahmā. Then Indra was released by Indrajit, and the gods went
to heaven.” Brahmā then tells Indra (vv. 17–48), who was standing
humiliated and thoughtful, that he had incurred this misfortune be-
cause he had corrupted Ahalyā (v. 46), the first woman, whom Brahmb
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 ff.). She is then
assured that she would be restored to purity by the vision of Viṣṇu
incarnate in Rāma, and received again by her husband (vv. 41 ff.); and
Indra himself was enjoined to offer a Viṣṇu sacrifice by which he
would be purified (v. 47 f.).74 (Compare the forty-eighth and forty-

74 The commentator remarks on verse 49, where the performance of this sacrifice
is mentioned: Devānām na yajnavah adhikāraḥ iti Jaimini-aktaṃ tu pramādaśa iti
mirūpitam praḥ | “The saying of Jaimini that the gods have not the prerogative of
sacrificing has been before determined to be founded on an inadventure.” The end
of the remarks on Rāmāyaṇa i. 29, 7, quoted above, p. 131, note 131, may be here
referred to by the commentator. Besides the text cited in p. 262, note, mention is else-
where found of sacrifice being offered by Indra. See the story of 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 yajñāṃ Sākraḥ pārvāyād bhava jāvaṇaḥ jāvaṇa
bhava jāvaṇa mām iva bhava jāvaṇa | yuvaḥ eva bhava jāvaṇa
bhava jāvaṇa mām iva bhava jāvaṇa | VIṣṇa
ninth sections of the first book of the Rāmāyāna, 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 praṣṭā ekāḥ erishṭīḥ sathā prabhā | sva-varṇāḥ samābhāshāḥ sva-rūpāḥ cha sarvasāḥ | 20. Tāsaṁ nāsti viśeṣo hi darśane lakṣhaṇe 'pi vā | tato 'ham ekāgra-manās tāḥ praṣṭāh samachintayam | 21. So 'ham tāsaṁ viśeṣhārthāṁ striyām skāṁ vinirmiṁ | yad yat praṣṭānām pratyagāṁ viśeṣhīṁ tath tad udāẖiṁ | 22. Tato mayā rūpa-guṇaṁ Hālīyā śrī vinirmiṁ | Hālīṁ nāmeḥ vairūpyaṁ hālīyaṁ tat-prabhavaṁ bhavet | 23. Yasyāḥ na vidyate hālīyaṁ tenāhalyeti viṁśata | Ahalyeto eva cha mayā tasyāḥ nāma prakṛtitam | 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 ‘Ahalyā.’ And I have made her known by this name.”

NOTE I.—Page 427, line 7 from the foot.

Professors Aufrecht and Müller have been good enough to furnish me with the text of this Durgā-stava, or Rātri-sūkta, which, in the Sanscrit 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 Pariśiṣṭa:

R.V. x. 127.—1. Rātri vi akhyad āyati purutra devi akṣabhīḥ | viśvāḥ adhi śriyo 'dhiṁ | 2. Ā uṣu aprāh amartya nivato devi uṣvataṁ |

speaks: “Let Sakra (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.”

VOL. IV.
3. Nir ú vasāram askrita uhasam deivi äyati
stonam ūrmya | aṭha naḥ sutarā bhava | 7. Upa mā popiṣat tamaḥ kri-kṣṇaṁ vayaktaṁ aṭhita | uṣhaḥ rind ieva yātaya | 8. Upa te gāh ieva akarorn vṛighśva duhitar dīvaḥ | rātri stomaṁ na jīgyuṣha | "The divine Night arriving, hath shone in many places with her eyes; she has assumed all her splendours. 2. 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, 0 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, 0 Night, daughter of the Day."  

1. (—Nir. iv. 29; A.V. 19, 47, 1; and Vāj. S. 34, 32)—Ā rātri pārthvann rajaḥ pitur aprāyaḥ dhāmabhīṣ | dīvaḥ sadāṁni bhrati vi tīshkan a toshahνm vartate tamah | 2. (A.V. 19, 47, 3) Ye to rātri nirvākakhaśa
yuktaṃ" navatīr navas | aṣṭiḥ saṁte asaṣṭa uvo to sapta saptaiḥ | 3. Rātrim propadeśa janantīṁ sarva-bhūta-nivesanīṁ | bhadram bhavatīṁ kriṣṇāṁ viśaya jagato nīśam | 4. Samvānīṁ saṁyamaṁ
graha-nakata-mālāniṁ | prapanno 'ham śivāṁ rātrim bhadā paraṁ aṣṭiṁ mahi bhadre paraṁ aṣṭiṁ om namaḥ | 5. Stosyāṁy ānāṁ deiviśaṁ
sarayāṁ bahvricha-priyāṁ | sahaera-sammitaṁ Durgāṁ Jāe-
vadda sunavaṁ somam | 6. Sānty-arthaṁ dvyācaryāṁ rashikho
semāpāśritoḥ (samupāśritoḥ?) | pīg-vedaṁ teṣaṁ samutpannaṁ 'rātiyato nīś-
hāti vedaḥ | 7. Ye tvāṁ deivi propadyante brahmaṁ havya-vākenāki

76 For yuktāśaḥ, the A.V. reads drasāṭāraḥ, "seem."
77 This, Professor Aufrecht remarks, is imitated from R.V. i. 36, 1: Rātrim jagat
nivesanīṁ.
78 The final pāda 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, pervaded the celestial mansions, and awful darkness returns. 2. Night, may the man-beholders which are united with thee78 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 Bahvṛichas (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.
visitation of fire, and thieves, for the prevention of inauspicious planets, (10) in difficulties, perplexities, battles, and foresta, 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 jīhā bhavataḥ Kāli kāla-nischā-śrī prabho | bhayān naḥ pāhi pūpebhyaḥ aikikāčcha maha-bhayāh | 53. Karāli nāma yā jīhā mahā-pralaya-kāranam | tayā na pāhi ityādi | 54. Manojāvā cha yā jīhā laghimā guṇa-lakṣhaṇā | tayā ityādi | 55. Karotī kāmāṁ bhūtebhyo yā te jīhā Sulohita | tayā ityādi | 56. Sudhamra-varṇā yā jīhā prāṇināṁ roga-daśikā | tayā ityādi | 57. Sphulingini cha yā jīhā yataḥ [yā te?] sahā-laṁ-pudgalā | tayā ityādi | 58. Yā te Viśvā sada jīhā prāṇināṁ karma-daśini | tayā ityādi | 52. “By thy tongue Kāli, the final destroyer [of the world], preserve us from sins and from great present alarm. 53. By thy tongue Karāli, the cause of the great mundane dissolution, preserve us, etc. 54. By thy tongue Manojāvā, 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 Sudhamravarna, which inflicts diseases on living beings, preserve us, etc. 57. By thy tongue Sphulingini, the loveliest of all, preserve us, etc. 58. By thy tongue Viśvā, which always bestows blessings on living beings, preserve us, etc.”

In the course of this hymn to Agni he is said (v. 41) to have been formed eightfold: Tvām aśṭadha kalpayita yajnam ādyam aklpayan |
"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 śīvam rūpaṁ ye cha te sapta hetayah | taiḥ pahi naḥ stuto dova 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 tataṁ śīvam idaṁ charācharam Hulaṁnaiko bakudhā 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 sandhyā 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 amāṣaye is not a substantive, as I had understood it, but the third person singular present, from the root st+āsu+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. Sāyu is, he adds, a very common Vedic form for sāte. See also the fasciculus of Böhtlingk and Roth’s Lexicon (recently received), s.v. st, where also sāye is stated to be the 3rd pers. sing.; and the scholiast on Pāṇini viii. 1, 41, is referred to in proof. In the same work the root st+āsu+ā is explained as, in this passage, signifying “to stretch over.”

I find from Böhtlingk and Roth’s Lexicon, s.v. śatabāhu, that the words here referred to occur in the Taittirīya Aranyaka x. 1, 8. I quote in full the verse in which they occur, as well as that which precedes it: Ābhakrānte rathakrānte Vīshyakrānte vasundhāra | tāraśi dharāyishyāmi rakshasva mām pado pado | bhūmir āhenur dharasyā loka-dhārayā | uddhīrīta ‘ei varāhena krīṣṇena śatabāhunā |
ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

See Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa, xx. 14, 2 ff.; the commencement of which corresponds with the text from the Panchavimśa Brāhmaṇa, quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 392.

See Tāṇḍya Br. iv. 1, 4.

For “vi. 2, 42,” read “vi. 2, 4, 2.”

viii. Page 39, line 23.
Ahāṁ durgād āhartā. Compare R.V. i. 61, 7, and viii. 66, 10, in pp. 67 and 91, and the quotation from Sāyāṇa’s commentary given in p. 92 f., above.

ix. Page 44, line 22.
For “5, 32,” read “5, 34.”

x. Page 45, line 5.
See Tāṇḍya Br. viii. 2, 10.

xi. Page 56, line 11.
Compare Tāṇḍya Br. vii. 4, 2; where it is told that the gods failed to gain heaven by either the Gāyatrī, the Trishṭubh, the Jagatī, or the Anushṭubh metres, but gained it by the Brīhāti.

xii. Page 58, last line of the text.
Compare Tāṇḍya Br. vii. 5, 11; 6, 5; xii. 5, 23; 9, 21; 13, 27 f.

xiii. Page 61, line 5.
See the discussion among the gods about a formula in Tāṇḍya Br. vii. 8, 1 f.

On the word mātri, “measurer,” Böhtlingk and Roth have the following explanation: “Sāyāṇa brings under this head the verse 1, 61, 7, making the word equivalent to ‘the world-creating (-sustaining) sacrifice.’ Benfey translates ‘carpenter.’ But Vṛtra’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, f.

xvi. Page 80, line 5 from the foot.
Vishṇu is also mentioned in R.V. v. 49, 3: Ḫidro višnur Varuṇa,
Mitro Agnir ahāni bhadra janayanta dasmaḥ |

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 pravīḍha satpate
sahasram mahishān aghaḥ ād it to indriyam mahi pra vārīdha).

"The Aśvins," etc. Read "Ye, Aśvins, have come by a path
which yields enjoyment."

For "yan na" read "yan naḥ: 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 Sipivishṭāya: Yajno vai Vishṇuḥ | paśwah śipih |
yajnaḥ oṣa paśwuh pratiśhṭati | "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 Nirukta, p. 59. I am indebted
to Prof. Aufrecht for the following remarks on "Sipivishṭa:" "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 im-
portant verses vii. 100, 5 and 6. The A.V. does not know the word,
and in the other Sanhitās and Brāhmaṇas it has been, as in other cases,
adopted from the R.V. It is perfectly clear that something oppro-
brious 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 Śipivishṭa'? Do not conceal even that shape of
thine from us, as thou wearest another form in public.' Now Aupa-
manyava says clearly that 'Śivipishta' is 'kutaitārthīya' (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.\textsuperscript{39}

\textsuperscript{39} The complete words of Aupamanyava are as follows: "Śiśivishṭa Viśṇuḥ iti Viśṇor devaś ca bhavaṁś ca pūrvaṁ ity Aupamanyavaḥ" ‘Aupamanyava says that there are two names of Viṣṇu, Śiśivishṭa and Viśṇu: 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 “Viśṇo” tevam “yat” yasmat kāraṇat “Śiśivishṭa asmi” iti prakaraṇa “vavaksha” punaḥ punar vakti tasmāt “te” tava manasi “kim it pari-chakṣaḥyam bhūt” kim idān garhaṇīyam abhūt | na etad garhaṇīyam evāḥ eva tava lajā ity abhiprāyaḥ | yadṛṣṭa eva nāma loke ātyanta-rūpyaḥ | udghāṭita-guhya-te-vimukhīh prāyaṇyate “Śiśivishṭa ‘yam’ iti tathāpy avayavārthasya brāhmaṇaḥ vyākhyāte tāyastī atara tava lajā-kāraṇasya | tasmād “etad eva” varīśhthāṁ nāma “asmad mā apagūhāḥ” asmākam agra guḍham mā kurvai “yat” yasmat tevam guṇanāya eva somitē vavake śaṁkrāntyaścābhāyaḥ guṇo “anyāyopā babhūthāḥ” babhūthāḥ | tad anyastā yathātathā eva bhavev tathāpy asmad-śrīdhau (quere buddhau?) praśaṇtam idam mā gopāya ity arthāḥ | “O Viśṇu, since thou repeatedly sayest I am Śiśivishṭa, 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 Śiśivishṭa,’ yet as the sense of its component parts is expounded in this Brāhmaṇa (ii. 5, 6, 2, see above), thou hast no occasion for shame. Do not therefore conceive from us thy most excellent name (so the commentator understands varpaḥ). Inasmuch as in the battle thou hast for the sake of concealment been covered by a coat of mail and a helmet,—whether the fact be so or otherwise, do not conceal that which in our estimation deserves praise.’

The word “Śiśivishṭa” also occurs in the Satarudriya (Vajas. Sanhitā 16, 29); and is thus commented on by Mahādhara on the verse: “Śiśivishṭa Viśṇur-pūyaḥ “Viśṇuh Śiśivishṭaḥ” iti ēṛuteḥ | yadeśa śīpauḥ paśauḥ viśṇau praviśhṭaḥ | “paśavo vai śīpī” iti ēṛuteḥ | sarva-prāyogika antaryaṁśayaḥ sthitāḥ ity arthaḥ | yadeśa “yajno vai śīpī” | yajno ‘dheevatātēna praviśhṭaḥ | śīpī udītyo va maṅgala-dhīṣāh iti ity arthaḥ | tasmāi namaḥ | “śīpī ‘tara rāmayaḥ uchyaṁ tair ēśovāh bhavati” iti Yaskaṭā (Nirukta, 5, 8).” “To Śiśivishṭa, i.e. to him who is in the form of Viṣṇu: for the Veda says Śiśivishṭa is Viṣṇu. Or, according to the Vedic text, that ‘śīpī’ means cattle, Śiśivishṭa will mean, he who enters into cattle, i.e. who is present in all creatures, pervading them. Or ‘śīpī’ means sacrifice; and so Śiśivishṭa may signify him who has entered into sacrifice as its presiding deity. Or, ‘śīpī’ is the sun who presides over the circle of the sky—to him be reverence; according to what Yaska says (Nirukta 5, 8) ‘śīpī’ means rays; by them he is pervaded.”

Professor Weber has the following notice of ‘Śiśivishṭa’ in his Indische Studien ii. 37 f., note. This is one of those words which already gave trouble to Yaska (Nirukta 5, 9). Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Mītra has the following: “Nīveshitā-saḥāya (śīpāya?) | sarva-dhāva eva-pradesādau va yathā ādītyātmanā | yathā Sandhyā-pūseyā Śaṁyayam-anustapena | āyām āyām vṛtī prachakṣate | tatpaśu rākṣasena | āyāmaś śīpāyaś śīpāyaś “yajno vai Viśṇau paśavoś śīpī” iti ēṛuteḥ sarva-prāyogika antaryaṁśayena praviśhṭaḥ ity arthaḥ | [Prof. W. then quotes the passage of the Mahābhārata, 13229]. “śīpī” is akin to ‘śeṣa,’ ‘śīpāra,’ Kisfer, hip, Hūfhe, cippus.”
This piece of information is taken from the Amarakosha, where it is said, \textit{Sipivisha\'tas tu khalatau dv\'acharna\'ti mah\'es\'vare}. Hal\'ayudha and Hemachandra have the same. Amara must have taken the two first meanings (‘bald-headed’ and ‘leprous’) from actual use; and there is no reason to doubt that even in the Vedic passages ‘Sipivisha\'ta’ means either bald-headed, or one who has a skin disease. So long as the sense of ‘\textit{\'{s}ip\textit{i}}’ is undetermined, it will be difficult to choose between the two. The word ‘\textit{\'{s}ipi}’ is not found used separately. For what the Taittir\'iya Sanhit\'a ii. 5, 5, 2 (quoted above) says, \textit{yajno vai V\'ishnu\'h \textit{pas\'ava\'h \'{s}ip\textit{i}\'h}} (T\'\'an\'\'ya Br. xviii. 6, 26 \textsuperscript{84}), and all that the modern Hindu commentators say, about ‘\textit{\'{s}ip\textit{i}}’, is worthless. A glimmer of light is cast upon ‘\textit{\'{s}ipi}’ by ‘\textit{\'{s}ipit\'am}, ‘\textit{defective},’ in the \textit{Satap. Br. xi. 1, 4, 4}.\textsuperscript{85}

\textit{xx. Page 91, note 7.}

See also R.V. viii. 22, 1.

\textit{xxi. Page 95, line 1.}

For ‘ix. 166,’ read ‘ix. 100.’

\textit{xxii. Page 95, line 10.}

Another verse in which \textit{V\'ishnu\'} is mentioned is one in the funeral hymn, R.V. x. 15, 3: \textit{\textit{\'{A} h\textit{\'{a}h\textit{n\'\'{a}} p\textit{\'{i}\textit{\'{t}\textit{\'{r}\textit{\'{i\'m\'\'{n\'\'{a}} \textit{\'{s\textit{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'{\'}
ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

fall, the path leading to the gods, on which those who go along it do not fall.” Sāyana on R.V. x. 15, 3 makes the word = vinātahāvā, “the absence of destruction.”

xxiii. Page 114, line 14.

For “verse” read “sense.”


As regards the question whether or not ether (akāśa) 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 “pravṛtiḥakti” read “pravṛtiḥakti.”

xxvi. Page 128, line 5.

The Commentator on the Taitt. Ár. (Bibl. Ind.), p. 372, explains utkara thus: Vedas uttara-bhāge pāṁśu-trīṇādayo yatra prakṣipāyante 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 Namuci, 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 Hārivarṣa” (tad mam pāṇīyam vāchaṁ vadaṁ anvavartata “vīra-ḥam adruko ‘drukaḥ’ iti | tad na rīchā na sāmāna apahantum ataknot | tad hārivarṣasya ova niśhanēna apahata)

xxix. Page 297, line 18.

To the word “Jarāsandha” at the beginning of the line, prefix “582.”

xxx. Page 300, line 6.

For “x. 70,” read “v. 70.”
ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

xxxi. Page 302, line 15.
Prof. Whitney has since given up this interpretation. See p. 399.

For "ii. 2, 29," read "xi. 2, 29."

xxxiii. Page 303, line 22.
For "commentorial," read "commentatorial."

See Wilson’s Vishnu Purāṇa, Dr. Hall’s ed., vol. ii., pp. 77 f.

xxxv. Page 319, line 2.
For "x. 26," read "xii. 26."

xxxvi. Page 400, line 11.
For "ii. 23," read "ii. 33."

For "x. 99," read "x. 90."

xxxviii. Page 471, line 12.
For "Devavatī," read "Vedavatī."

xxxix. Page 491, line 27.
For "xiii. 8, 17," read "xiii 4, 17."
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